

Tilak on the occasion of a presentation of a purse of Rs. 1,00,000 when he completed 60 years in 1916.

BAL GANGADHAR TILAK

A NARRATIVE AND INTERPRETATIVE REVIEW OF
HIS LIFE, CAREER AND CONTEMPORARY EVENTS

By
T. V. PARVATE

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PUBLISHER'S NOTE

We the countrymen and women of the Great Lokamanya celebrated his birth centenary in 1956. This was an occasion for us to pay our deepest and most heartfelt homage and gratitude to him, who was a rare path-finder for us during the most difficult years of our fight for freedom.

On this occasion the Indian National Congress under whose glorious banner the Lokamanya had fought his great battles for our national dignity and self-respect, announced that a prize would be given to his best biography in English. Shri T. V. Parvate was one of the competitors for this and he was declared to have submitted one of the three best biographies out of 31 submitted on the occasion.

Shri Parvate has styled this his attempt as " a narrative and interpretative review of his (Bal Gangadhar Tilak's) life, career, and contemporary events ". By now a whole generation and more has gone by and history in India has turned the corner of slavery to come out in the free field of its independent nationhood. We can now safely venture to survey the life and work of the Great Lokamanya without passion and prejudice and with calm balance and detachment on the strength of mature study and research which have been amply put forth by scholars and historians of the stirring days of the late Lokamanya.

Shri Parvate has well tried to do this in his book, which we gladly publish. We need not mention that the views and estimates he has given of men and matters he refers to in his book are obviously his own, and not of the Navajivan Trust. We hope the reader will find in the book a very interesting and instructive record of the life and work of the Great Lokamanya, with copious side-lights on the times in which he lived and the human material amidst which he worked.

27-5-'58

EPITOME OF TILAK'S CHARACTERISTICS

The following four Sanskrit quotations aptly sum up Tilak's characteristics. The first, a couplet from the Geeta, was recalled by Vinoba while paying a tribute to Tilak during the Tilak Centenary Celebration. He said he felt as if the *shloka* in the Geeta was composed to conjure up Tilak's image. The second of them is from the *Mrichchakatika* by Shudraka which is (originally) a description of Charudatta, the hero of the play. The third was specially composed by Khadilkar for daily publication below the crest of the *Lokamanya,* a Marathi daily founded and edited by him soon after his Master's demise. The fourth is from Bharavi's *Kiratarjuniya* occurring in the dialogue between Dharma and Bheema. It was suitably altered by J. S. Karandikar, senior Trustee of the Kesari-Mahratta Trust and for many years editor of the *Kesari,* to serve as a heading for the tribute he paid to Tilak in 1921, on his first death anniversary :

I

मुक्तसंङ्गोऽनहंवादी धृत्युत्साहसमन्वितः ।
सिद्धयसिद्धयोर्निर्विकारः कर्ता सात्त्विक उच्यते ॥१॥

[That indeed is a doer of good deeds who is free from attachment, who has lost sense of self, who is possessed of courage, firmness and enthusiasm, who remains unaffected by success or failure.]

II

दीनानाङ् कल्पवृक्षः स्वगुणफलततः सज्जनानाङ् कुटुम्बी ।
आदर्शः शिक्षितानां सुचरितनिकषः शीलवेलासमुद्रः ॥
सत्कर्ता नावमन्ता पुरुषगुणनिधिर्दक्षिणोदारसत्त्वः ।
ह्येकः श्लाघ्यः सजीवत्यधिकगुणतया चोच्छ्वसन्तीव चान्ये ॥२॥

[He alone lives who is like the desire-fulfilling celestial tree bent down with the weight of its fruit in the form of virtues ;

the patriarch of the meritorious and an ideal (mirror) for the educated ; the touchstone for testing character ; the last limit of the highest tide of the sea ; who never despises any one and is a treasure of manly virtues : who is courtesy and magnanimity incarnate ; who is possessed of numerous virtues and merits. Others merely breathe.]

III

लोकोद्धारे प्रवीणं टिळकसुचरितं ध्यायते तद् वरेण्यम् ।
उद्दीप्तं राष्ट्रभक्त्या जनपदहृदयं यस्य कारानिवासैः ॥
बद्धाकाङ्क्षः स्वराज्ये परिणतवचसा भारतो यस्य जातः ।
दृश्यो गीतारहस्ये विमलयतु गुरुर्नो धियो लोकमान्यः ॥३॥

[The outstanding life of Tilak is meditated upon (by his countrymen). It was dedicated to the uplift of the people. His imprisonments set afire the spirit of patriotism among the people and his mature words of wisdom made India fix her gaze on the loadstar of Swaraj. May he, as revealed in the *Geeta-Rahasya* purify our minds and chasten our intelligence.]

IV

मतिभेदतमस्तिरोहिते गहनेकृत्यविधावनुयायिनाम् ।
सुकृते स्वचरित्रतेजसा कुरुषे दीप इवार्थदर्शनम् ॥४॥

[You serve like a lamp to afford a vision of affairs to your followers by your life's example and guide their steps, when they are lost in the darkness of discordant counsels.]

PREFACE

The idea of my writing a biography of Tilak originated with a plan conceived 15 years ago by the Filmistan Ltd. when Sir Chimanlal Setalwad was Chairman of its Board of Directors, Rai Bahadur Chuni Lall its Managing Director and Mr. Shashadhar Mukerji its Producer-Director. I was working with them as Publicity Manager. The plan was that I should produce a small biography from the pictorial point of view to serve as a basis for a proper scenario. I had completed three chapters dealing with three important episodes in his life when Sir Chimanlal and a few months later Rai Bahadur Chuni Lall passed away and Filmistan Ltd. dropped the plan. I went back to journalism and Tilak's biography remained in cold storage.

However, having commenced the biography, I thought of enlarging it into a sizable book, but something or other came in my way. On the 1st of August 1952, Mr. M. S. Aney publicly deplored in an article in the *Kesari* that there was not a good, dependable biography of Tilak in English, although it was a great need of all India. I met him and showed him what I had written. He encouraged me to pursue and finish the task as a national duty. I decided to obey. Owing to other preoccupations I could make but little progress. In the meanwhile, the announcement of the celebration of Tilak's birth centenary was made by the Indian National Congress, in October 1953 and I made up my mind to complete my work for publication by that time. The Lokamanya Tilak Birth Centenary Celebration Committee later came into being with Mr. Morarji Desai as its Chairman and it announced a prize of Rs. 10,000/- for the best biography of Tilak in English, to be submitted to the Committee on or before December 31, 1955. I resolved to submit my manuscript to the Committee. I am happy to state that not only was I able to carry out that resolve but also that the Committee adjudged my effort as 'best' with two others among the 31 biographies submitted to it.

It will be noticed that this biography has departed from the traditional way of narrating events in the chronological order.

The departure is deliberate, my object being to show in each chapter, in bold relief, some one or other of the important aspects of Tilak's career. After having dealt with almost all the features of his life in the previous chapters, I have dealt with some less important features in the last chapter entitled "Some Less Known Aspects" in order to give such completeness to the biography as was possible. As the book is being published nearly a year and a half after the Centenary Celebrations, I have covered that event also.

I claim that this biography is a dispassionate account of Tilak's life. I was never an unreasoning admirer of Tilak. In fact, in my younger days, in the light of the opinions expressed by the newspapers I then read, I had formed the impression that Gokhale's sudden death was brought about by Tilak's trenchant and unsparing comments on the part Gokhale played in the negotiations for compromise between the militant and moderate wings of the Congress. Men like Dr. R. P. Paranjpye did, not a little, to create and confirm this impression by their utterances and writings about Tilak. Even Gandhiji was said to have expressed to Tilak his disapproval of Tilak's comments on Gokhale. A close study of the lives of Tilak and his contemporaries and a survey of the times in which he lived dispelled all my doubts and I realized his pre-eminent position among them all.

The career of Tilak as those of Dadabhai, Gandhiji and Jawaharlalji must remain as outstanding landmarks in India's march towards Swaraj. Their idealism behind the devotion to work for Swaraj transcended patriotism as it is ordinarily understood. It was part of their work for bringing a better world into existence. Their patriotism was not akin to nationalism of the West which necessarily developed into imperialism. It was not aggressive. Therefore, their careers are landmarks not only on India's march towards Swaraj, but also the world state to come. The gold of India's present leadership has been burnt in the Gandhian furnace, melted and made solid in the Gandhian crucible, hammered on the Gandhian anvil and has been polished by the Marxian process of approach to affairs of life. It has the capacity to pursue and the potentiality to realize that ideal, which may not, after all, be so distant as those who worship in the shrine of mere nationalism might think. The

new teaching of Sarvodaya if adopted by the world, should help to bring the Kingdom of God on this earth. No single individual but Gandhiji has done as much for the realization of this ideal as he and although he has been removed from among us, his race is by no means extinct. It is multiplying every day not only in India, but in other parts of the world also, Vinoba being its living and leading representative in India. So, why should we despair ?

Some readers may think this is a digression and so I shall hasten to close this preface. Before concluding, I wish to acknowledge the debt of gratitude that I owe to a number of individuals and institutions. The libraries of the Kesari-Mahratta Offices, the Servants of India Society, the Asiatic Society at Town Hall, the Bombay Sachivalaya and the Records Office have been of immense use to me. Among the individuals who must not remain unmentioned is Prof. N. R. Phatak who was kind enough to go through the manuscript covering nearly one thousand typescript sheets. He loaned me books, which but for his guidance, I might not have thought of looking into. That certainly would have proved a regrettable omission later. I am highly beholden to him.

Prof. S. D. Javdekar must be mentioned next. His approach to post-Tilak happenings in Maharashtra as embodied in his writings has considerably influenced my outlook. It is with a wrench in my heart that I have to say that owing to his illness, I did not have the privilege of consulting him before completing my manuscript. He was kept on oxygen in a hospital when I went to see him in Poona, and there was little hope of his survival. To all the authors mentioned in the bibliography, I am extremely grateful for the use I have made of their books. I am indebted to my friend Mr. R. M. Humane for volunteering to prepare the index as a labour of love. He has taken pains to execute that task to my satisfaction.

Finally, I must thank the Navajivan Trust, Ahmedabad, for having taken up my manuscript for publication as their own work. I consider this a very high privilege indeed.

T. V. Parvate

7, Forjett Hill Road, Bombay 26
April 15, 1958.

CONTENTS

BAL GANGADHAR TILAK

CHAPTER I

PRECOCIOUS CHILD

The long, narrow strip of land, extending over about 400 miles from Surat to Mangalore on the Western Coast of India is known as Konkan comprising Thana, Kolaba, Ratnagiri and Kanara Districts, the former Savantwadi and Janjira States and Portuguese territory of Goa. The breadth of this region nowhere exceeds 40 miles from the coast to the Western Ghats, known in Indian languages as Sahyadri ranges. In comparison with other parts of Bombay State or even the Indian Union, this is a poor tract of country, growing rice and some inferior varieties of millets. hardly sufficient to support its population even for three to six months in the year. This is particularly true of Ratnagiri District. In the absence of other forms of gainful activity its half-starved and ill-clad population has to resort to migration for subsistence. For this reason, the sons of Konkan have spread out to all parts of India and it must be put down to their credit that they have distinguished themselves in every field of activity. This has been happening for centuries.

In the recent pre-British past of Maharashtra, a number of persons attained provincial prominence or all-India importance in this way. In the Mahratta history of the last three hundred years, many an adventurous man left his poor hamlet in the Konkan to go to Poona and Satara and other far-flung places in India, attained distinction and left his footprints on the sands of time. Balaji Vishwanath Bhat, the first Prime Minister of the Mahratta King Sahu, grandson of the great Shivaji, opened up a highway as it were, to members of his small community, the Chitpavan Brahmans, to glory and success. His descendants continued to occupy that position of Prime Minister of Mahratta kings till the dynasties of either became extinct. The Bhanus, the Phadkes, the Patwardhans and many others like the Bhats occupied positions of power, trust and responsibility during the period of Mahratta supremacy till the British finally subjugated the Mahrattas.

The tradition continued and even strengthened under the British rule. The people of Konkan continued to migrate and attain distinction. Mandlik, Ranade, Karve, Tilak, Gokhale were as prominent personages of the British period as Bajirao, Nana Fadnavis, Haripant Phadke, Bapu Gokhale and others were great celebrities of the Mahratta period. All these names belong to a sub-caste among the Maharashtra Brahmans known as the Chitpavans. Members of other castes and communities like the Saraswat Brahmans and the Prabhus also rose to prominence during the Mahratta and British periods, by reason of their intelligence and pluck but the belief has persisted that the Chitpavans are a class of superior people even among the acknowledgedly intelligent Konkanis of all communities, although all such beliefs are wholly unscientific and therefore no more than myths.

Bal Gangadhar Tilak belonged to a Chitpavan Brahman family, particularly well known for piety and learning. Because he was a Chitpavan Brahman, his community, for some time at any rate, came under the disfavour of British officials and their henchmen. Sir Valentine Chirol's *Unrest in India* and the Rowlatt Committee's report are remarkable for the diatribes they contain against Chitpavan Brahmans for being particularly anti-British. Some colour is lent to this belief on account of the exploits of Vasudeo Balvant Phadke and Vinayak Damodar Savarkar. Sir Valentine Chirol described Tilak as "Father of Indian Unrest". He probably used this epithet as the most effective expression for the worst possible attack he wanted to launch against Tilak from the view-point of the British governing class, but it has automatically served to measure Tilak's greatness from the view-point of the Indian people and to elevate him among his contemporaries as Father of Indian Revolution and Maker of Modern India.

Tilak was born on July 23, 1856, at Ratnagiri. His proper name was Keshav which was superseded by the nickname Bal or Balvant, which adhered to him through his life. Ratnagiri had, however, very little to do with his activities in later life. He commenced his illustrious career in the city of Poona, where his father had moved while Tilak was yet a child. His keen intellect, audacity and stubbornness marked him out from other children of his age and neighbourhood.

Tilak's father, Gangadhar Ramchandra Tilak, was a teacher by profession, but his Sanskrit learning was of such a high order that he was held in great esteem even by an Oriental scholar of the late Dr. Ramakrishna Gopal Bhandarkar's standing and on that account he came to be known as Gangadhar Shastri. He did not have the benefit of English education and therefore the highest post that he could reach in the Education Department was that of Assistant Deputy Educational Inspector of primary schools. This appointment brought him from Ratnagiri to Poona in 1866, when Tilak was ten years old. His primary education was then just completed but in subjects like Sanskrit, Mathematics and Grammar, he was far in advance of boys of his age, thanks to his father's home tuition in these subjects.

An anecdote of these days testifying to Tilak's proficiency in Sanskrit and Mathematics which had surpassed even his father's estimate may be related here. Sanskrit literature had a special fascination for him and he had learnt by heart many psalms and hymns in praise of the Vedic deities. Tilak acquired a nodding acquaintance with the works of Kalidasa and Bhavabhuti, Dandi and Bharavi. His father, however, imagined that Bana was beyond him because this Sanskrit poet is the despair of even advanced students of Sanskrit on account of the very lengthy combinations of words he employs in his *Kadambari* and *Harshacharita.*

One day, while Gangadhar Shastri was engrossed in unravelling the word combinations of the *Kadambari*, Bal happened to be playing about. He demanded that the book father was reading should be given to him. Father considered the demand extraordinary but did not want to discourage the precocious propensities of his son, though he wanted to put him off. Father laid down a condition, the fulfilment of which would entitle son to the possession of the book. A fairly difficult sum in Arithmetic was set to Bal in the expectation that he would be unable to solve it. Bal did find the sum rather difficult but he did not grumble. For full two hours he struggled and ultimately solved the sum. Exhilarated by his success, he made a triumphant demand of *Kadambari* and Tilak senior surrendered it to Tilak junior with renewed assurance in the promise that Bal held out as an intellectual prodigy.

There is another anecdote of his young days which may be related here, because that reflects his love of truth, independence of character and intrepidity. While in a lower standard in the primary school at Ratnagiri, his class-mates brought groundnuts in the class, ate the seeds during the recess and threw about the shells. When the teacher appeared on the scene after the recess, he asked all the boys to collect the shells and sweep the floor. Bal refused to obey the order, pleading that he had nothing to do with the groundnuts affair as he had repaired to his house as usual for his midday meal. The frightened and intimidated class-mates gave evidence against him. The teacher threatened to cane him, if he did not carry out his orders. Bal picked up his satchel and left the class in protest. The teacher spoke to Gangadhar Shastri about this incident who completely bore his son out, telling the teacher that his son was never in the habit of eating anything outside his home or buying things from the bazar on his own and that what he had told in the class was nothing but the truth. Apparently, the practice of giving pocket-money to children did not obtain in Gangadhar Shastri's household. This incident throws a flood of light on Tilak's upbringing and also testifies to the great confidence his father had in him.

Gangadhar Shastri's transfer to Poona changed the course of Tilak's career almost in a revolutionary way. Had his father continued to stay in Konkan, the chances of young Bal's intellectual and moral development would not have been bright. On coming to Poona, Bal was immediately sent to an Anglo-Vernacular school. In this school, he had to read Morrison's *History of India* which he often criticized as a one-sided version unduly biased in favour of the British and against the Mahrattas, the Sikhs and the Mussalmans. In this school, too, he had an encounter with his teacher of Mathematics. Tilak insisted that a particular method he followed in solving a certain sum was the correct one and no less a man than Prof. Kero Lakshman Chhatre had to adjudicate upon the dispute.

A few months after the Tilak family had settled down in Poona Bal's mother succumbed to a short-lived illness. She was a rather weak, delicate woman, rendered all the more so, on account of her constant penance and fasting. She believed quite

sincerely that her son Bal was a reward given to her by the Sun-god as a result of her prayers to him for 18 months. Rationalists may call her superstitious, but she did believe that her son would shine as brilliantly as the tropical sun did over the Indian skies. Whatever her belief, the fact remains that Tilak did illumine the skies of the Indian public life and so doing outshone every other contemporary luminary by reason of his uncommon devotion to public weal and unequalled sufferings and self-sacrifice.

Bal inherited from his mother not a particularly strong physique. Gangadhar Shastri's duties involved a good deal of touring in Poona District and so after his mother's death, he was brought up by his paternal uncle, Govindrao Tilak and his wife. Six years after his wife's death, Gangadhar Shastri also died when Bal was in the Matriculation class and 16 years old. Gangadhar Shastri had known to his cost how his own prospects had been marred by his lack of English education and he did not want his son to suffer on the same account. He had, therefore, made provision for his son to be sent to college and nominated Govindrao as his guardian. A few months before his death, Gangadhar Shastri got Tilak married to a girl of ten, who hailed from a respectable family of Chitpavan Brahmans of Ladghar, near Dapoli in Ratnagiri District. Her name Tapi was changed to Satyabhama when her lot was thrown in with the Tilaks. It was a perfectly orthodox child-marriage which had taken place after a careful comparison of the horoscopes of bride and bridegroom.

It is worth while noting the domestic and contemporary influences that contributed to the formation of Tilak's character. Tilak was born in a family which may be aptly described as belonging to the lower middle class in Indian society. The Tilaks were *Khots* of Chikhalgaon and his grandsons, removed from him by several degrees, probably continued to function as *Khots* in their village, until *Khoti* was abolished by the Government of Bombay in 1953. *Khots* were petty landowners in parts of Ratnagiri, Kolaba and Thana Districts. They helped in bringing fallow land under cultivation by settling peasants on it and collected revenue for the Government. The necessity for this arose because the land reclaimed from the hills or the sea was

virgin and needed to be rendered arable. Yet this class of land-holders was by no means rich. The *Khot* just managed to keep over the subsistence level and had even physically to co-operate with the peasants in the various agricultural operations. But his *forte* was that he was literate, even learned, in certain cases. The training at home made for self-reliance, circumspection, caution and daring coupled with discretion. Bal was a product of such upbringing. His father, whose combined income from his ancestral land and his job was limited, never lived beyond his means and managed to leave for his son enough to see him through his university education.

His grandfather had become a *sannyasi* even when he was a middle-aged man. He was in Banaras during the stormy days of the Indian Mutiny of 1857. He once came to Ratnagiri and Bal got the opportunity of hearing from him stories of Nana-saheb, Tatya Tope, Rani Lakshmibai of Jhansi, the Begum of Oudh and the Emperor of Delhi. Bal listened to these stories with rapt attention. The deep impressions made on his young mind by these stories must have contributed in no small measure to his later decision to devote his life to the task of winning for his country freedom from British domination. It was the year of his graduation in which Vasudeo Balvant Phadke was brought to bay. He was tried and sentenced to transportation for life and kept at Aden till he died in 1883. Tilak, whom hearsay associates with Vasudeo Balvant as his sympathizer saw how futile and ill-considered his effort was. The Mutiny of 1857 and this insurrection must have taught him that the secret of British power lay in its superior civilization and organization and that collection of a few fire-arms and slaughter of a few white men would not shake the well-established British raj in India.

Two other events also must have made deep impression on his youthful and patriotic mind. One was the deposition of Malharrao Gaikwad and his subsequent trial by a special commission on the charge of having attempted to poison the resident Col. Phayre. The people in Baroda and elsewhere took the Prince to be innocent. He was not restored to the Gadi of Baroda, though the special commission which inquired into the case against him differed in its findings. The other was the great famine of 1877-78 which

took a toll of 50 lakhs of lives. This made him pass many sleepless nights. He chafed at the people's behaviour. They suffered quietly and surrendered themselves to their fate without protest. They needed to be taught to assert their right to live as human beings. There was a vague discontent abroad, but no shape was given to it. It needed to be organized for improving their condition. Such were the influences which determined Tilak's attitude to life and affairs. His puritan upbringing at home was the background.

Gopal Krishna Gokhale who figured as a moderate political agitator as distinguished from Bal Gangadhar Tilak as an extremist agitator, both having political emancipation of their country as a goal, is reported to have remarked to an English friend of his that, had Tilak been born a hundred years before his time, he would have carved out a kingdom. Gokhale, very probably, had the career of the great Shivaji in his mind when he made this remark while wanting to convey to his English friend that with his methods of political campaigning, he was an anachronism in his own day. Whatever that may be, Dr. R. P. Paranjpye, who was a disciple of Gokhale and never a camp-follower of Tilak, paid " willing and unstinted tribute " to Tilak's courage, patriotism, sacrifice and keen intellect and made " a dispassionate appraisal of his services to the country " and emphasized " the high place he was bound to occupy in any history of freedom movement not only of Maharashtra but the whole of India ". Dr. Paranjpye, who was broadcasting from the Poona station of the All India Radio, 33 years after Tilak's death, said, " He (Tilak) was well called the uncrowned king of Maharashtra during the last 20 years of his life. The British Government regarded him as enemy number one but the great mass of the people of Maharashtra and in fact the whole of India regarded him with an admiration and devotion, unexampled in Indian history, before the advent of Mahatma Gandhi."

Gokhale and Paranjpye differed widely from Tilak ; so did Mahatma Gandhi with respect to philosophic attitude to problems of life. But this is what he wrote when Tilak died :

> " Lokamanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak is no more. It is difficult to believe of him as dead. He was so much part of the people. No man of our times had the hold on the masses that he had. The devotion that he commanded from thousands of his

countrymen was extraordinary. He was unquestionably the idol of his people. His word was law among thousands. A giant among men has fallen. The voice of a lion is hushed. What was the reason of his hold upon his countrymen? I think the answer is simple. His patriotism was a passion with him. He knew no religion but love of his country. He was a born democrat. He believed in the rule of majority with an intensity that fairly frightened me. But that gave him his hold. He had an iron will which he used for his country. His life was an open book. His tastes were simple. His private life was spotlessly clean. He had dedicated his wonderful talents to his country. No man preached the gospel of Swaraj with the consistency and the insistence of the Lokamanya. His countrymen, therefore, implicitly believed in him. His courage never failed him. His optimism was irrepressible. The Lokamanya had hoped to see Swaraj fully established during his life-time. If he failed, that was not his fault. He certainly brought it nearer by many a year. It is for us who remain behind, to put forth redoubled effort to make it a reality in the shortest possible time. For us, he will go to the generations yet unborn as a maker of modern India. They will revere his memory as of a man who lived for them and died for them."

The lefthanded compliment, "Father of Indian Unrest", from an adversary belonging to the then ruling race, the cautious and careful characterization by those who did not believe in his way of political work and thinking, the well-measured tribute from Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru's estimate of him that he was the first mass-leader who taught his people to stand erect and roused them to militant action, serve to emphasize Tilak's pre-eminence among his contemporaries.

CHAPTER II

ARDENT DEVOTEE OF LEARNING

Although Tilak's parents were no more by the time he passed his Matriculation examination of the University of Bombay (December 1872) provision had been made for him to take up a degree course at the University. His guardian and uncle, Mr. Govindrao Tilak felt that it was in Tilak's interest to give up further education and take up some suitable job as he had already been married and was by no means in affluent circumstances. Tilak's own love of further studies and acquisition of knowledge, in addition to his father's desire, as expressed in his will, were, however, overpowering considerations for even his worldly-wise uncle and Tilak joined the Deccan College early in 1873 with his uncle's acquiescence.

Even though Tilak had a passion for learning, he was not oblivious to the fact that he was not quite well-endowed with a sound and sturdy physique. He, therefore, set about in right earnest for removal of this deficiency. He devoted the whole of his first year at college to physical culture. He was quite indifferent to the first year's examination and so he took his failure for granted, but by the end of the year, he did become a champion swimmer and wrestler. His companion in those pursuits was Daji Abaji Khare, who in later life belonged to a different political camp, but remained his devoted personal friend and legal consultant till his death. Boating was Tilak's another hobby. Cricket and tennis had, however, no attraction for him.

In 1874, Tilak passed his first year's examination, then called the Previous examination. There was no failure thereafter and in 1876 he became graduate in Arts with first class honours in Mathematics. Sir Narayan Chandavarkar also passed the B.A. examination with similar distinction in the same year. Sir Narayan, too, like Mr. Khare belonged to the political school that was opposed to Tilak's. They are not known to have got on well together in their political activities, but Tilak died much before Chandavarkar and the latter paid Tilak a posthumous tribute in the columns of *The Times of India* by describing him as " the Great Mr. Tilak ".

Among Tilak's contemporaries during his undergraduate days were men who rose to prominence sooner or later. Among them was Sir Mahadeo Chaubal who was a member of the Public Service Commission with Gokhale and died as member of the Executive Council of the Governor of Bombay. There was Mr. Sharangpani who became Dewan of Baroda. Mr. G. S. Khaparde, another distinguished contemporary, remained his life-long political colleague. Mr. R. N. Mudholkar was once President of the Indian National Congress and for many years Secretary of the Industrial Conference. But those who became his active associates in the two-fold adventure of journalism and national education were Messrs. Gopal Ganesh Agarkar and Vaman Shivram Apte. Tilak and Agarkar felt drawn to each other, because they had a rare intellectual and emotional kinship. Both were seriously concerned about the condition of their society and country and their nascent, patriotic feeling was fanned by constant confabulations into a veritable passion by the time they left the Deccan College as graduates in Law and Arts respectively of the University of Bombay. The story of how they first worked together as close colleagues and later opposed each other with vehemence will follow in later pages. Apte chiefly remained an educationalist and died very early (1892).

Many and varied are the stories of Tilak's undergraduate days, which will excite merriment and admiration even today. They will not fail to impress the reader for the evidence they supply of Tilak's great intellect, high moral courage, independence of judgment, integrity of character, genuine love for learning and earnestness in pursuit of knowledge. In later life, Tilak came to be universally recognized in academic circles as a great scholar, Sanskritist and Mathematician, chiefly because of his researches into the antiquity of the Vedas and his monumental commentary on the Geeta. His scholarship and ability were also put to a test in his major and minor skirmishes with men like Bhandarkar, Telang, Ranade, Pherozeshah, Gokhale, Paranjpye and Annie Besant. The foundations of his versatile scholarship were deeply and truly laid in his studies in the Deccan College. He may be one of the very few who ever made full use of the college library and approached even their texts with rare originality of outlook and effort. No subject was unapproachable and un-understandable to his keen, penetrating

intellect. But curiously enough, Tilak was never among the distinguished winners of prizes and scholarships in the various university examinations or in the whole course of his college career. As a matter of fact, he once failed at the Previous examination and later failed to annex the degree of Master of Arts. Yet the fact is indisputable that Tilak was an intellectual giant in his day. He simply refused to join the scramble for scholarships because he cared more for mastery in a subject than mastery in the art of arresting the examiner's eye.

This is illustrated by a number of authentic reminiscences told by his contemporaries at college. There was no subject in which he was not interested. Mathematics and Sanskrit were particularly his favourite subjects, but his intellect penetrated with equal ease into the depths of any subject. History, Astronomy, Anatomy and Physiology also claimed his attention, even when they were not strictly necessary for his examinations. His habit was to go to the root of everything. He never depended upon the notes dictated by his professors or their rambling lectures. During the course of his studies, he had once to read the reigns of Mary and Elizabeth. It was enough for the purpose of examination to take down a few notes from his professor. He read instead about a dozen standard authors, made his own summaries of what he read and produced a comprehensive essay in the light of his extensive reading. Several among his classmates copied his essay word for word and all of them were found to be excellent experts on the reigns of Mary and Elizabeth by their professor without his aid. For acquiring experimental knowledge of Astronomy, he used to pass sleepless nights in the company of Prof. Chhatre, with a telescope in hand. While studying human anatomy, especially with regard to the heart and the skull, he had brought a bullock's heart and skull into his room and made a comparative study.

While carrying on his studies with thoroughness and exactitude, he felt so confident about the correctness of what he was doing that he often confronted his professors with such courage and directness that he was often misunderstood to be insubordinate, pugilistic and insolent. In reality, he was only plainspoken and refused to employ euphemisms to express his thoughts. He was actually more proficient in Sanskrit than his

Prof. Dr. Keilhorn and had little to learn from him. So he often used to avoid sitting in his class. Dr. Keilhorn once asked him about it and Tilak is said to have replied that it was pure waste of time to attend his class and he assured Dr. Keilhorn that he utilized his time to a better purpose. Prof. Jinsivale, who was a Fellow in the Deccan College at that time said that Tilak was really far better grounded in Sanskrit than even Vaman Shivram Apte, the lexicographer, who was later universally recognized as one of the greatest Sanskritists of the day. Of course even in the college days, the prizes and scholarships were bagged by Apte and not Tilak. During the whole of his college career, he is reported to have secured only once a junior scholarship of Rs. 10/- for six months only.

For just one term Tilak was in Elphinstone College in Bombay, where Prof. Hawthornthwaite was taking Mathematics. Tilak considered this professor as of mediocre ability. And so he was in comparison with Tilak or his great Prof. Chhatre. Tilak used to take up difficult questions in his papers first and leave the simple ones alone. The professor thought that this was rather eccentric on the part of Tilak but he did not know that Tilak never overvalued his success in the examinations. Once the professor tried to solve some very difficult problems from the *Cambridge Mathematical Journal.* While he was struggling, Tilak solved them in no time. This naturally surprised the professor and he esteemed Tilak very highly, but Tilak chose to leave the Elphinstone College after one term and went back to Poona to join the Deccan College where he was in more congenial company, having Prof. Wordsworth for his Principal and Prof. Chhatre for one of his teachers.

All these habits of his continued even when he was reading for the LL.B. examination. He refused to read Hindu Law from the English commentators. Rather he preferred to read Manu, Yajnavalkya and Narada in the original. This was not so in regard to Hindu Law only, but in respect of all other subjects. It is well known that even after taking the Law degree Tilak never practised for a day in any court of law, but his mastery of theoretical as well as case law was so perfect that he gave free advice to and wrote free petitions for numerous people like any capable practitioner. He would easily have amassed a

fortune, had he charged fees for this work. He conducted a Law Class for many years in which he taught all subjects. Once he was lecturing on equity when Justice Ranade walked into his class and took a seat in a corner, unnoticed by either the teacher or the taught. He was amazed at the range of Tilak's knowledge and highly complimented him on it.

Tilak's physical courage too was a match for his intellectual dauntlessness. While in the junior B.A. class in the Deccan College, a number of undergraduates were one day chatting on the terrace of the college dormitory. When young people fall to talking without reserve among themselves, there are no limits to which they will not go. One of them raised the point as to how they could secure their escape if all of a sudden the building caught fire and walking down the stairs was absolutely out of the question. While others were discussing possible means of escape, Tilak just tucked up his *dhoti* and jumped down from that two-storied building into the square below. His companions were amazed at this feat and they hurried down the staircase to see if Tilak was not badly hurt. They found to their utter surprise that he was walking up the stairs. He was often seen in his undergraduate days in the Deccan College, floating like a duck on his back with bread in his hand for hours in the college swimming pool. Teaching his sons to swim in the Sinhagad fort tank was a favourite pastime of his whenever he went for rest to that hill station.

Stories of his jocular and mischievous nature have also gained currency. He was not given to lying with the lamb and rising with the lark and quite often his discussions with friends like Apte, Agarkar, Khare, Kathavte, Gole, Upasani and others used to extend deep into the night. They used to ramble and discuss at odd hours in the college compound and on the hill, where now the *Parnakuti* of Shrimati Premlilabai Thakarsey, made famous by Gandhiji's stay there, stands. The discussions covered everything under the sun including their plans for the future. Tilak and Agarkar considered various plans about devoting their lives to the service of the country. They took the vow of service and self-sacrifice right then and kept it. Both of them were extensively-read people and it was not always that they took the same view of a particular problem. Even in those days, they discovered mutually that their approach and attitude to

life's problems would not be the same in spite of the identity of aim. But that did not disturb them and they cultivated a steadfast friendship at college which lasted for long afterwards.

Tilak had to read Scot's *Kennilworth* in one of his years at College. Tilak was given the nickname "Mr. Blunt" by his fellow students, taking their cue from a character of that name in that novel. This was due to his outspoken, frank and robust manner of speech. He was also called "Devil" because there was no knowing when he might attack whom and for what reason. There was one student in his days who was a sort of an aesthete and had developed such delicacy of manners and dress as to invite ridicule. He used to sleep in a bed of rose petals and jasmine flowers to give him freshness and coolness in the hot season. Tilak once burst open his room, disturbed his bed and trampled upon the flowers he had carefully spread on his bed-sheet. Another of his comrade imagined that he had a weak constitution and he used to take various drugs and patent medicines. Tilak broke all his bottles and glasses and dragged him to the playground to impress upon him that physical exercise and observance of other rules of health constituted the real remedy and not patent medicines and drugs. He never cultivated the habit of chewing tobacco or smoking. Needless to say that he was a complete teetotaller throughout his life. But the chewing of broken areca-nuts was a habit with him since early years which he kept throughout life.

Mention has already been made of the fact that Tilak failed to take the M.A. degree in Mathematics, while he had gained a first-class with honours in the same subject at the B.A. examination. This strikes one as rather surprising. What is more surprising is that while Agarkar and he had decided to take the M.A. degree, Tilak gave up his plan and turned his attention to the LL.B. examination. In view of the fact that they had decided to devote their lives to the cause of education and thus bring the younger generation under their influence it is rather strange that Tilak began to keep terms in Law and possibly even thought of practising in the Bombay High Court. A story is current that he gave up the idea of appearing for M.A. in Mathematics because he had come to the conclusion that he had no hope of getting through, as long as certain examiners were there. Tilak was perhaps influenced by the example

of the late Rao Saheb Vishwanath Narayan Mandlik, who had established himself as a most capable and prosperous lawyer, esteemed alike by the Government and the people for his interest in public affairs as well as his learning. Mandlik came from the same taluka in Ratnagiri District from which Tilak came and it may be that for the time being Tilak's mind was filled with the idea of following in the footsteps of Mandlik. Had Tilak kept to this plan, practised in the High Court, made Bombay his headquarters instead of Poona and commenced his activities in Bombay, the course of the history of India in this century would have been materially different.

CHAPTER III

EARNEST EDUCATIONIST

While Tilak and Agarkar were meditating as to how best to devote themselves to the service of their country after their university education, they almost came to the conclusion that the spread of education of the right stamp among the rising generations was the best method of working for the country's uplift. As their plans for national education were taking tangible shape in their minds, they came into contact with a third remarkable person who was thinking on similar lines. He was the late Vishnu Krishna Chiplunkar, the celebrated author of the *Nibandhamala*. This was a monthly periodical in Marathi which ran for eight years, all the time educating Maharashtra to the supreme need for self-help and self-reliance in asserting its national self-respect and regaining its past political glory.

The appeal of Chiplunkar's writings particularly lay in his ability to rouse people to the recognition of their self-importance and refusal to accept the advent of the British with their influence on Indian life as an unmixed blessing. Himself a product of English education and an ardent admirer of the English language, literature and history, he sedulously endeavoured to assert that India, before her acquaintance with English culture and civilization was by no means heir to an inferior culture or a lesser civilization and that the British need not pride themselves on being the only evangelists of reform in India as the

British minds of his day and earlier days loved to contemplate. He had in mind the professions and protestations of Burke, Macaulay, Mill and Fawcett and similar pronouncements of British administrators like Elphinstone in India and he was out to demonstrate that these were but half-truths and that Indians should refuse to accept them at their face value.

Holding these opinions as Chiplunkar did, he sprang into prominence as the opponent of Ranade who propounded and preached the theory that the British connection with India was providential in character and was therefore almost a *Divine Dispensation.* Ranade was no less alive to the greatness and glory of India's past but he believed that India's future would have been cramped and crippled for lack of the British connection. While this was a fundamental, philosophical foundation of Ranade's school of thought, Chiplunkar's school considered the British connection as an inseparable accident or a dispensable non-essential of India's future, probably believing that the French connection would have been equally good or equally bad. Chiplunkar's career was cut short by his death at the age of 32, in 1882, soon after he had inaugurated the New English School and the weekly newspapers, the *Mahratta* and the *Kesari.*

Tilak was more kindred to Chiplunkar in spirit, particularly in his vivid sense of pride in India's past and in his utter disdain for the theory of considering the British connection as providential. This new school of thought came to be known as the Tilak school of thought as opposed to Ranade's. Agarkar also belonged to this Tilak school. Indeed, it was he who gave systematic shape to this school by his eloquent and vigorous writings in the *Kesari,* although many people claiming sole discipleship of Tilak and heirship to his political teachings may not concede this claim. The transformation that eventually became noticeable in Tilak's line of action in social and religious matters sustains the view that both of them would have been close colleagues in all public activities in the evening of their careers as in their early days, in spite of their differences of emphasis in the intervening period. An oration of Tilak's by way of tribute to Agarkar, 20 years after his death lends further support to this view. As things were, however, Agarkar like Chiplunkar, died prematurely in 1895, after editing the *Kesari* for about four years and a weekly of his own, called *Sudharak*

for seven years. He was compelled to start this paper, because he could not freely present his personal views in the *Kesari* which was the mouthpiece of their whole group.

Chiplunkar was senior to both Agarkar and Tilak by six years. Born in 1850 as son to Krishna Shastri Chiplunkar, an illustrious man of learning, he had the best opportunities of studying at close quarters the movements and personalities of the early days of British rule in Maharashtra as Krishna Shastri's house was a centre of these movements and a common meeting place of these personalities. He became a pre-eminently well-read person with great powers of observation and deduction even before he was out of the portals of the Deccan College in 1872. He took eight years to complete the four-year degree course, his passion for reading having left him little leisure to study Logic and Mathematics, which were compulsory subjects in his examinations. This led to his frequent failures. He took up a schoolmaster's job in 1872, but he took more interest in conducting the *Nibandhamala*, which was his *magnum opus*. He started in 1874 and continued it till 1882. During these eight years, the publication virtually convulsed educated Maharashtra by its magnificent, rhetorical essays, containing trenchant, elaborate and exhaustive, if unbalanced, criticism of the British people and administration, as well as the religious and social movements and personalities of his day. M. N. Roy in his *Transition of India* has called Tilak the father of revivalist, orthodox nationalism in India, but its real progenitor, at least in Maharashtra, was no other than Vishnu Krishna Chiplunkar and Tilak necessarily was a pioneer of political democracy, representative institutions and responsible Government.

Being favourably impressed by his writings, Tilak and Agarkar saw this gentleman after their graduation and it was decided after several conferences among them that Chiplunkar should give up his job of a schoolmaster and that they should start a new High School with him as their chief. Accordingly Chiplunkar resigned on the 1st of January of 1880 and they started the New English School which later expanded into the Deccan Education Society which now conducts several high schools and colleges, including the Fergusson College at Poona, the Willingdon College at Sangli, the Brihan Maharashtra College of Commerce and Economics at Poona and the Bombay College

in Bombay. As has been said before, the principal object of starting this institution was to provide such education for the coming generations as would create in their minds love for their country, respect for their forbears and pride in India's past. The founders sought to produce through this institution men and not mere clerks and Anglisized job-hunters turned out by the educational factories by the Government and the Christian Missions. They also aimed at cheapening and rationalizing education by a legitimate and natural emphasis on the mother-tongue as the medium of instruction. When Indians became sufficiently educated, political power could not be withheld from them according to the professions of British thinkers, statesmen and administrators themselves and therefore this coterie of young patriotic men decided to take up the work of spreading education of the proper type in India as quickly as possible. They took up this work at great personal self-sacrifice, without waiting or caring for Government, because they did not want Government to plead the excuse that they were short of funds. They decided to prove by action that popular control of education would be much less costly and yet efficient.

Chiplunkar, Agarkar and Tilak started the New English School from the first of January 1880. In a letter written to his younger brother, Mr. L. K. Chiplunkar on September 13, 1879, V. K. Chiplunkar wrote : " The memorable 1st of October is approaching, I shall enjoy the pleasure of kicking off the chains that day. Mr. Agarkar going for M.A. and Mr. Tilak going for LL.B. have tendered proposals for joining me in my enterprise. This they have done of their own accord. We have settled the 1st January for the hoisting of our standard." Chiplunkar meant by kicking off the chains that he was resigning his job as teacher in the Government High School at Ratnagiri to start the New English School. On the inaugural day of the school, viz. January 2, 1880, Chiplunkar and Tilak began their duties, Agarkar having stayed behind for a year with their consent to pass M.A. examination. He joined next year. But, there were others who joined almost from the beginning. One of them was M. B. Namjoshi who was a great help to them as an administrator. Another was Vaman Shivram Apte, the great Sanskrit scholar who was responsible for producing a succession of Jagannath Shankarshet Scholars from their school year after year. He had

the reputation of being a great disciplinarian. Vasudeo Shastri Khare was still another of their colleagues who made a name for himself as a history research worker and vigorous playwright in his later years.

The New English School went on making continuous progress. In its first year 12 candidates were sent up for the Matriculation examination of the University of Bombay, eight of whom were successful and a student, Arte by name, secured one of the Jagannath Shankarshet Scholarships for proficiency in Sanskrit. Hari Narayan Apte and Vaijanath Kashinath Rajwade were among the first matriculates, the former a great Marathi novelist and the latter a great scholar of English and Sanskrit literature. The number of students at the end of the first year swelled to 300. Before the end of the year, Agarkar also joined the school. In the year 1881, the Matriculation result was equally good and a candidate, Bodas by name won the first Jagannath Shankarshet Scholarship. The number of the school students on the register went up to 600. In 1883, both the Jagannath Shankarshet Scholarships were captured by the New English School students, B. V. Joshi and N. S. Panse, the number of students having gone up to 732. In 1884, it mounted up to 1,000. Much of the credit of the success of the school indisputably goes to Vaman Shivram Apte, who took a great deal of personal interest in the students. He enforced strict discipline and encouraged studious habits. Chiplunkar, the founder and the originator of this enterprise, however, passed away in 1882 at the early age of 32. He was fully satisfied at the time of his death, that his colleagues were the most competent possible persons to continue his work without interruption.

During these four or five years, the New English School rose high in the estimation of the Government, the general public and the Mahratta Princes. His Highness, Sir Sayajirao Gaikwad of Baroda paid a visit to the school and appreciated the work of this new band of public workers. The Chief of Kagal also visited the school and donated Rs. 500/-. Dr. William Hunter, President of the Education Commission, appointed by the Government of India inspected the school and recorded his unreserved admiration as follows: " Throughout the whole of India, I have not witnessed a single institution which can be compared with this

establishment. This institution can rival and compete with success not only with the Government high schools in the country but may also favourably compare with the schools of other countries." Principal Wordsworth looked upon the institution as an embodiment of the new spirit that was rising in India and predicted that the school would certainly leave its impress on the future events in India. The Christian Missionaries led by Principal Dr. Machickan held that Government could safely entrust secondary and higher education to institutions like the New English School and last, but not least, *The Times of India* wrote on 20-2-'84, "No doubt, these enthusiastic men will preach love of the country to their disciples, but it is better after all to have patriotism preached by educated men than wandering mendicants. We have given the people of India education and now it is for us to do all we can to have the moral energy created on our side and not against us." The reference to wandering mendicants is probably a reference to some *sadhus* in pink robes who went about the country appealing people to join the 1857 revolt.

What this band of patriotic educationists thought about themselves had better be briefly put in the words of the statement that was made by Principal Apte before the Hunter Commission. He said, "We have undertaken this work of popular education with the firmest conviction and belief that of all agents of human civilization, education is the only one that brings about material, moral and religious regeneration of fallen countries and raises them to the level of advanced nations by slow and peaceful revolutions and in order that it should be so, it must ultimately be in the hands of the people themselves." When Apte gave evidence before the Hunter Commission, Tilak and Agarkar were in jail on account of their conviction for defamation for their writings in the *Mahratta* and the *Kesari* against Rao Bahadur Barve, the then Dewan of Kolhapur State and Chiplunkar was no more; but Apte undoubtedly represented the view-point of his colleagues ably and faithfully. It may be added here, incidentally, that the publication and popularity of the *Kesari* and the *Mahratta* and the sentences passed against Agarkar and Tilak helped to enhance the popularity of the New English School. These activities of the staff of the school did not even stand in the way of Sir James Fergusson, Governor

of Bombay presiding over the annual function of the school on 13-2-1884. He spoke highly of the educational work the New English School was doing and gave a handsome donation of Rs. 1,250/-.

Success like this was bound to encourage the founders of the New English School to extend and expand their activities. They began to think of starting a college and founding a society to look after the school, the college and whatever other activities they would take up. A meeting of leading and influential men from Bombay and Poona was held on November 20, 1884 in the Gadre Wada, which housed the school and the Deccan Education Society was formed. The original founders of the Society besides Agarkar, Apte and Tilak were Mr. M. B. Namjoshi, Prof. V. B. Kelkar, Prof. M. S. Gole and Mr. N. K. Dharap. Among the fellows and patrons of the Society were such distinguished men as Sir James Fergusson, Principal Wordsworth, Prof. Selby, Justice Ranade, Dr. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, Justice Telang, Rao Saheb V. N. Mandlik, Rao Saheb S. V. Patvardhan and Rao Saheb Dr. V. R. Ghole. Dr. Bhandarkar spoke highly of the self-sacrificing and self-effacing venture of the young and patriotic founders of the Deccan Education Society and referring particularly to Tilak he said, "This first-class graduate in law would easily have become a Rao Saheb and amassed a fortune, had he chosen to serve private and personal ends only, instead of embarking on the career of an educationist in a private institution." Similar was the case of Agarkar who came from a very poor family and experienced immense difficulties while prosecuting his studies. The temptation to look for comfort and pleasure was even greater in his case, but writing to his mother on the eve of joining the New English School, this remarkable man said that she should not expect to be placed above want by her son because he had taken a vow of poverty and service to his fellowmen and that she could not look forward to any material prosperity or easy life for her son.

The council of the Deccan Education Society held its first meeting on 12-11-1884 and it was decided that the college to be started should be named after Sir James Fergusson, the then Governor of Bombay. He having agreed, the Senate of the University of Bombay was moved to grant affiliation. Affiliation

was granted subject to the condition that for the first three years, only the Previous or First Year's Class should be conducted. This condition was accepted and at the beginning of 1885 the Fergusson College was started in the Gadre Wada itself. Prof. V. S. Apte was unanimously selected as the first Principal of the College. He taught Sanskrit and English. Tilak who was a specialist of Mathematics was also regarded as an all-rounder, because whenever necessity arose he engaged students in Sanskrit, English and Science too. Yet he was chiefly entrusted with Mathematics and occasionally with Sanskrit. Although he was teaching certain subjects only as a professor it would seem that he took interest in other subjects also.

Once upon a time discussion centred round preparing text-books for different subjects and against Tilak's name was put down a book on Mechanics. Science was really Prof. Gole's subject but it was established once that Tilak was not only his peer, but even his superior even there. Prof. Gole once prepared a toy baloon and he was going to demonstrate a flying experiment before his colleagues. Owing to some mechanical flaw in the construction, it would not go up in the air. Some of his colleagues tried to help Prof. Gole, but ultimately the practical Mr. Tilak alone succeeded in removing whatever defect there was and the toy baloon went up. Everybody was all admiration for Tilak. Agarkar who always derided spiritualism, extolled materialism to the skies, and advocated scientific and industrial advancement of India, knew only theoretically the importance of science, but knew little about its practical and experimental side. He was very agreeably surprised by this feat on the part of Tilak.

As a teacher Tilak was greatly respected by his students but he was not as popular among them as Agarkar and Apte were. His lectures and teaching were appreciated by the intelligent scholars but ordinary students were unable to derive much benefit from him. Apte took pains to train his meanest students and bring them on a par with the most intelligent. It is said that he made a Jagannath Shankarshet Scholar out of Panse, who later became professor of Sanskrit in the Fergusson College, even though he was nowhere near the late Prof. S. M. Paranjpe, in intellectual calibre, who was also a Jagannath Shankarshet

Scholar, trained by Apte. Agarkar was popular because of his eloquence and aptitude for making everything easy for his pupils. Gopal Krishna Gokhale who joined the Deccan Education Society in 1885, also taught Mathematics, English, Economics and History, but on his own admission he was far behind Tilak in sheer intellectual calibre.

Tilak believed in devoting single-mindedly to whatever he took up. So long as he was a member of the Deccan Education Society, he believed in concentrating all his attention on educational work, the conduct of the *Kesari* and the *Mahratta*, of course, being considered by common consent as mere extension of their educational activity for the benefit of their adult countrymen. Left to himself, Tilak would have remained an educationalist and a scholar all through his life, like a true Brahman of old, spending all his time in acquisition and dissemination of knowledge. He said it in so many words when his political career had almost reached its zenith in an interview given to a representative of *Britain and India*, while in England in connection with the Chirol case. This original inclination of his mind is further emphasized by the reply he once gave to a question by another interviewer. Tilak was asked what he would like to do when Swaraj was achieved, the anticipated reply of the interviewer being that he would like to become President, Prime Minister or Foreign Minister. To his surprise Tilak replied that he would like to become a Professor of Mathematics again in some University.

When the movement for National Education was in progress, he took keen interest in it and helped to promote it by propaganda in the Press and on the platform and active association with the promoters of such ventures. Even when he and his colleagues started the New English School their idea was not to remain satisfied with that single school but to spread a network of similar schools not only all over Maharashtra but all over India. The rise of the Shikshana Prasarak Mandali in Poona, which like the Deccan Education Society conducts several high schools and colleges and similar other institutions in Maharashtra like the Aryan Education Society, the Gokhale Education Society, the Modern Education Society, the Maharashtra Education Society, the General Education Society and the Konkan Education Society show that their example was copied

on a large scale, the aim of all the institutions for all the time being, to take as much control as possible of the education of the younger generation in popular hands on as independent lines as possible. It may be mentioned here that the Dayananda Anglo-Vedic College started in Lahore in 1889 was a close imitation of the Fergusson College on the admission of the promoters themselves.

The coming into being of the Fergusson College and its popularity made a tremendous impression on the general public as well as the Government. Lord Reay, who succeeded Sir James Fergusson as Governor of Bombay even opened negotiations with the Deccan Education Society for handing over the Deccan College to the Society. Tilak, Agarkar and Namjoshi went to see the Governor at Mahabaleshwar in November 1886 to discuss the terms of taking over the Deccan College. Justice Ranade who was then in Calcutta was telegraphically consulted about it but when these young educationalists found that the Government was attempting to foist some European professors on them as a condition precedent to the transfer, they decided to reject the offer unequivocally. Lord Reay was highly displeased with them and the annual educational grant to the Society was also held up for some time. But, it is significant to note that Tilak and Agarkar stood firm on the point of maintaining the Swadeshi character of their institution ; they did not want imposition of European professors for certain subjects as a necessary condition of the continuance of Government favour.

CHAPTER IV

COURAGEOUS PUBLIC MAN

The band of public-spirited young men headed by Chiplunkar did not interpret education in the narrow sense of the term. Not only did they decide to open a high school, but they also resolved to start two newspapers, one in English and the other in Marathi. They started likewise a printing press, called Aryabhushan which is now owned by the Servants of India Society. In a letter written to his younger brother, by Chiplunkar he said, "I am resolved to try what might be done for public good with the potent instrumentality of a press establishment worked by a vigorous hand."

All these enterprises were started almost simultaneously. The school came into being on January 1st, 1880. The *Mahratta* and the *Kesari* started publication on the 2nd and 4th January 1881 respectively. A printing press was purchased and renamed Aryabhushan for publication of these papers. All these concerns were owned jointly by the founders of the New English School. All of them passed a promissory note to the proprietors of the press, one Mr. Sathe agreeing to pay them Rs. 2,400 by instalments. Chiplunkar's *Nibandhamala* was still running and its 66th issue was also printed in this new press. One of the founders of the school, Mr. M. B. Namjoshi had already been editing two papers *Kiran* in Marathi and the *Deccan Star* in English. *Kiran* had ceased publication but the *Deccan Star* was running. The latter was taken over and incorporated in the *Mahratta*. Tilak. Agarkar and others did not mind even manual labour for their institutions. It is recorded that they removed in person the type-cases, etc. of the press to the new premises and swept and cleansed the school building also on the eve of its opening. Later when the *Kesari* and the *Mahratta* were started they worked as common clerks by writing addresses and pasting stamps and occasionally distributing personally copies of the papers to their customers. Their offices too, were humble, lacking even in ordinary furniture as chairs, tables, cupboards and a cash-box.

What irresistible urge had fired the imagination of these young men so that they should have deliberately discarded comfortable

careers open to them ? It was none else than their patriotic resolve to rouse their countrymen to a consciousness that they were in no way inferior to their rulers. They might have lost their Swaraj by a historical accident or accidents but their birthright of Swaraj was unchallengeable and they must equip themselves by equalling and even surpassing their rulers for winning it back. This was the essence of the new teaching that Chiplunkar, Agarkar and Tilak aspired to convey to their countrymen as their message. They took stock of the position as it had developed since the advent of the British raj, and calculated that popular awakening was the only practical method open to them of achieving national advancement. Having determined this, they set out to put into practice their firm resolve. They recognized that for this purpose they had to wage war against men of the older generation who would not risk anything for the purpose of improving the lot of their countrymen. These men wore the badge of service but lacked the great virtues of self-sacrifice and preparedness for suffering. Ranade was a giant among such men but they did not hesitate to cross swords with him and men of his way of thinking. Much as they valued Ranade as a wise counsellor in every hour of difficulty, they did not accept him as their leader as he was not a man of action and adventure. To Ranade's credit, it must be acknowledged that he knew full well the worth of this new rising opposition and more than once, in public and in private, he generously expressed his admiration for Chiplunkar, Agarkar and Tilak whom he regarded as men of sterling character and uncommon ability and looked upon them as the future hope of the country.

It was but natural that in the hands of such men, instruments of popular education like the *Kesari* and the *Mahratta* should meet with popularity. And so it happened. Compared with the printed newspaper products of today, the issues of the two papers in their early years look like shabby rags, lacking not only in elegant appearance, but also in consistency, in presentation of views and trained sub-editing. The power of the papers really lay in their editors' sincerity of purpose, capacity to take infinite pains for pursuing their ideals and the vigour and enthusiasm they brought to bear on their work. Their writings in the *Kesari* and the *Mahratta*, particularly in the former, went

home to the people who were delighted to find able exposition of their own vague thoughts and feelings in the columns of the papers. Every possible public cause was espoused by these new organs of opinion, which awakened a new spirit of strength and resistance in the people.

It is somewhat surprising that in the early years of these two papers, Tilak did not write much. This was probably due to a disinclination on his part to writing anything with his own hand. He appears to have considered it a laborious, irksome process. As is well known, when he established himself as the sole proprietor of the *Kesari* and the *Mahratta*, his habit was to dictate his editorials, which a writer took down. That probably, partly explains why they were so direct and forthright and went home to the readers. The prolific and enthusiastic writers were Agarkar and Prof. V. B. Kelkar. The latter worked as a Professor of English language and literature in Fergusson College. Tilak concentrated on teaching and administrative work of both the educational institutions and the press. As a rule, Agarkar preferred to write in Marathi and therefore in the *Kesari*. While Tilak, Apte and Kelkar generally filled the columns of the *Mahratta*, Chiplunkar was not used to the comparatively brief and measured writing necessary for the limited space of the newspapers and he left them to be managed by his capable colleagues.

Even in the first year, the two papers attracted wide notice. The public felt assured that there was vigorous and free advocacy of their causes, ventilation of their grievances, pressure and propaganda in favour of their demands. Writers and correspondents from far and near began to flood the office of the *Kesari* and the *Mahratta* with communications and all kinds of complaints against the administration and officials of British and Princely India. The papers made full use of these communications for airing public grievances and supporting popular causes by editorial comments and contributions from outsiders. In the first year, the administration of Baroda and particularly its Dewan, Raja Sir T. Madhao Rao came in for some adverse criticism. Those were the days when people were inclined sympathetically towards the Indian States, because they looked upon them as relics of their past political glory. This sympathy was probably created by the expectation that Indian rulers

would be patriotically minded and in spite of their vassalage to the British Government, would, with the help of their Dewans, make use of whatever authority and power they had in internal administration for the welfare of the people and so provide an inspiring example to the people in British India. As a matter of fact, these rulers and their advisers misgoverned much more than the British administrators and forfeited whatever title they had to sympathy from their subjects in particular and the Indian people in general. Raja Sir T. Madhao Rao's conduct came in for unfavourable comparison with that of Dadabhai Naoroji, who gave up the Dewanship of Baroda rather than let down Baroda's interests. The accusations against Madhao Rao were that he was more or less a tool in the hands of the British Resident, that he did not safeguard the interests of the subjects of the Baroda State, that he brought an unjustifiably large number of South Indians into Baroda Service and that he assented to an undesirable constitution for Baroda and to the maintenance of the Baroda contingent. He was also accused of exercising undue control on Prince Sayajirao, the adopted heir-apparent, who was still to come of age. The young Prince was not allowed even the *Quarterly Journal* of the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha which was working under the guidance of Ranade. The editorial comments in the *Kesari* and the *Mahratta* on all these counts were bitter and trenchant but matters did not reach a crisis as happened in the case of Kolhapur in the second year of these papers. At the end of 1881, Maharaja Sayajirao was duly invested with ruling powers and Baroda entered on a path of all-round progress and the *Kesari* and the *Mahratta* took leave of Baroda affairs after addressing a few words of salutary advice to the new Maharaja. They turned their attention to Kolhapur next.

In 1870, Maharaja Rajaram of Kolhapur died without any issue. His two widows adopted a boy from a Sardar family and he was renamed Shivaji. Though he was well taken care of to all appearances, he was reported to have begun to show signs of lunacy from 1877. It was generally believed, at any rate, it was the talk of the market place that this mental derangement was deliberately designed and worked up in him by the administration of intoxicants and harmful drugs to the Maharaja. It was, further, freely talked about that the unfortunate Prince was

deliberately separated from his wife and kept alone in charge of soldier-caretakers called Green and Cox. His real mother, Radhabai, petitioned for being appointed his guardian and nurse but her petition was not granted. It was also said that the queen-dowager, Sakwarbai, wanted to remove this adopted Prince from the world by hook or crook and adopt a new heir to the gadi of Kolhapur. In all these intrigues, the Dewan, Rao Bahadur Barve, was freely alleged to have been an accomplice. That the whole of Maharashtra was agitated over this affair is obvious from the fact that a public meeting was held at Poona on November 24, 1881, presided over by so distinguished and respected a person as the late Sardar Gopalrao Hari Deshmukh, better known as *Lokahitwadi* in the world of Marathi letters. A resolution was passed, demanding that the Prince be immediately placed in charge of some trustworthy guardian. Immediately after this meeting, the rumour spread far and wide that an attempt was made on the Maharaja's life by poisoning him. Scarcely had the alarm caused by these rumours subsided, when Agarkar and Tilak happened to get possession of three letters purporting to have been written by Rao Bahadur Barve. The letters revealed a well-laid conspiracy to poison Prince Shivajirao. They published the letters in the *Kesari* and the *Mahratta* and challenged the Dewan of Kolhapur to disprove them by establishing his innocence in a court of law.

This was too much for the Rao Bahadur. Reports and comments similar to those that appeared in the *Kesari* and the *Mahratta*, were being continuously published in other papers also, but they did not adopt the militant and challenging attitude that these two papers did. Poona and Kolhapur were, of course, seething with discontent. A public meeting was held at Kolhapur also, similar to the one held at Poona and the same demand was made. The Rao Bahadur felt compelled to clear himself in a court of law and through his legal advisers, he served notices on all papers concerned asking them to apologize or get prepared to face legal proceedings for defamation. Most of those responsible for these writings tendered suitable apologies to Rao Bahadur Barve. Among these were *Native Opinion* of Bombay, *Poona Vaibhav* of Poona, *Arunodaya* of Thana, and *Maharashtra Mitra* of Satara. Some of these apologies were accepted but defamation proceedings were instituted against five different

parties. The five parties were: (1) Sadashiv Pandurang alias Bakhale of *Native Opinion*, (3) Waman Govind Ranade of *Dnyanaprakash*, (4) Bal Gangadhar Tilak of *Mahratta* and (5) Gopal Ganesh Agarkar of *Kesari*. The cases were tried before Mr. Webb, Presidency Magistrate of Bombay and after commission of the trials to the sessions, Mr. Justice Letham, in consultation with separate juries, delivered his judgment. All the accused were found guilty and sentenced to various terms of imprisonment, Tilak, Agarkar and Bakhale getting four months each. Proceedings against several others were not instituted by Rao Bahadur Barve and he contented himself with the apologies that they had tendered. Bhide and Ranade were sentenced to two years simple imprisonment and fined Rs. 1,000 each. Messrs Branson, Pherozeshah Mehta and Telang appeared to plead on behalf of Agarkar and Tilak, during the various stages of the trial.

How is it that Tilak and Agarkar were found guilty? Were they irresponsible? Did they deliberately publish false documents against an honourable gentleman and try to lower him in public estimation? What was the motive behind all this? What impelled them to be so resolute and unbending?

Their object in taking up this cause was to guard the honour of the Maharaja of Kolhapur, who represented the house of the great Shivaji, founder of the Mahratta raj and their national hero. Above all, they were determined to fight and suffer for what they believed to be true. Tilak had taken all possible care to convince himself about the authenticity of the letters he had in his possession and even after they were proved as fabricated, he held the view that the complaints against Rao Bahadur Barve contained in the letters were substantially correct. Tilak and Agarkar felt that as responsible publicists they must adhere to whatever they considered to be right and just and take the consequences of their unswerving stand. Even when found guilty in a court of law, their guilt was never acknowledged by the people at large. They were universally regarded as having acted in good faith and their honour was fully vindicated by the spontaneous and enthusiastic reception they had after they were released from jail. They went to jail as fearless publicists and came out as undisputed tribunes of the people.

Proceedings in this defamation case against Tilak and Agarkar began on February 8, 1882 in the court of Mr. Webb, Presidency Magistrate, Bombay. Mr. Inverarity appeared for the prosecution, instructed by Messrs. Cloveland and Little, Solicitors. Sir Pherozeshah Mehta appeared for the defendants instructed by Messrs. Shapurji and Thakordas, Solicitors. It may be stated here, incidentally, that Tilak was not the actual writer of what appeared in *Mahratta*, even though he was its editor. Vaman Shivram Apte was the real writer. Tilak did not want to evade responsibility as editor. This is worth pointing out, because editors of many other newspapers backed out and let down their writers. Agarkar was the real writer of the articles in the *Kesari* and its *de jure* editor also. In Tilak's case history also repeated itself in 1908 when he was prosecuted for seditious writings in the *Kesari*. At that time also, it is common knowledge, that the articles were written by one of his trusted assistants, K. P. Khadilkar.

As to whether Tilak and Agarkar were irresponsible, it is on record that Messrs. Ranade and Bhide, Tilak's co-accused who were practising lawyers, were convinced about the authenticity of the letters. Appearing as witness when Bhide was on trial, Tilak averred that he got the letters from Ranade, who had secured them from the private papers of Rao Bahadur Barve, but he did not disclose the name of the person from whom they had been secured. On the strength of these letters, a petition signed by Tilak, Agarkar and others was sent to the Governor of Bombay, requesting him to take immediate steps to protect the Maharaja of Kolhapur from those who were ill-treating him. Bhide when he appeared as witness in Tilak's case said as much and further stated that the letters were seen by such dignitaries as Justice M. G. Ranade, Sub-Judge Gopal Govind Phatak, the then Dewan of Bhor State and others who never suspected their validity. It never occurred to them that they could be forged documents. It was revealed when Ramchandra Vishwanath Joshi was examined during the course of the trial of Ranade that he had secured the documents from the house of one Ainapurkar, to whom he was closely related and who enjoyed great confidence of Rao Bahadur Barve and was always in attendance on the Maharaja as his nominee. Pressure was brought on Justice Ranade to appear as witness on behalf of Tilak and

say because he did, that he believed in the authenticity of those letters but he declined to be mixed up with this affair in any way. A Sardar from Kolhapur also insisted that his letters in Tilak's possession showing that the Maharaja was being ill-treated should not be used as evidence. Tilak had, therefore, to consign these letters to fire and then no evidence was available for substantiating the charges he and Agarkar had made against Rao Bahadur Barve. At last they had to make an unconditional apology. But neither the Dewan of Kolhapur nor his legal advisers accepted the apology. Telang pleaded on behalf of Tilak that he had acted in good faith etc., but that did not go very far and the five accused were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment and fines.

The public were greatly agitated over the turn events took but they were helpless. Tilak and Agarkar were sent to Dongri Jail for four months, where they passed their days together. Agarkar wrote a book of their jail experiences in Marathi called *One Hundred and One Days in Dongri Jail* and described in it the hell they had found there. Besides having to put up with all kinds of discomforts, they were starved in jail. Tilak lost 24 lbs. and Agarkar 16 lbs. during their imprisonment. They got a remission of 19 days for good behaviour. Agarkar says that they were not sorry for being jailed but they felt miserable when the unwholesome and the uninviting jail diet was served to them. Confinement to a cell of 13 sq. feet and the presence of caterpillars in blankets and bugs all over in the cells tried their patience. But they put up with all this, because they were together and could recall their happy college days and discuss future plans. Men like Principal Wordsworth and Rao Saheb Mandlik sent a petition for remission of their sentence and immediate release, but in vain. Acting upon the suggestion of *Deenabandhu*, the people decided to honour them on their release by voting them an address and taking them out in a procession. This was done with great pomp and pageantry in Bombay and Poona.

Although Agarkar and Tilak were convicted of defamation and punished for that, it was a universally acknowledged truth that Rao Bahadur Barve and the British soldiers appointed by him at the instance of the British Resident to take care of the

Maharaja were guilty of giving him the worst possible treatment and this rankled in the public mind for all time. The *Kesari* and the *Mahratta* wrote more than once about the Maharaja's whereabouts even while the trial was going on and even after Tilak and Agarkar were sent to jail. Again and again they reverted to the topic after resuming their work of writing in the papers. While reviewing the events in the year 1882, Agarkar wrote in the *Kesari* of June 9, 1883 about the affairs in Kolhapur and emphasized that those who wanted to write on public affairs must not put faith in Government's intentions, promises of so-called influential and respectable people and pledges of cowardly princes and their satellites. Obviously the hits and thrusts were aimed at Bombay Government, men like Ranade and Phatak and some Sardars from Kolhapur. He wrote in a similar vein in his book of jail experiences also.

As long as the Maharaja of Kolhapur was being persecuted and taken from Kolhapur to Mahabaleshwar and other places such as Poona, Nasik and Ahmednagar, in the custody of the British caretakers, the people found it difficult to forget this affair, although Tilak and Agarkar had already served their sentences and were back in their midst attending to their public and private duties. Many weeks after his actual death, the news that the Maharaja of Kolhapur had died as a result of a physical combat with Green, his caretaker, was published and a wave of sullen grief and mortification passed over the whole of Maharashtra. The Maharaja died under very suspicious circumstances and the feeling persisted that there was a good deal of *suppressio veri* and *suggestio falsi* in Government's explanations. On January 22, 1884, Agarkar, red with resentment and smarting under a feeling of utter helplessness, which was representative of the entire public of Maharashtra, wrote, " It is no use crying over spilt milk now and it is better for all concerned to think about the future. While selecting a new candidate for adoption to the Kolhapur Gadi, it will be better to have a grown-up boy, so that it will be easy to judge whether he is sane or insane, a man or a eunuch, and whether he is prone to be excited at the sight of his mother. It may be that such a choice might result in having a self-willed, uneducated rustic, but he will at least be spared horse whipping, a pressure on a swollen spleen and administration of whisky at the hands of

Green, instead of holy Ganges water when on the point of death. Whatever it may be, when we think of the fatal night of December 25, on which the Maharaja, mad with despair, deprived of the company of all his dearly loved ones, imprisoned in the lonely jail of Ahmednagar Fort engaged himself in a hand-to-hand fight with Green, consternation and utter despair overtake us and we realize the truth of the English proverb that 'The way to hell is paved with good intentions', because we are told that the Government of Bombay's intentions were the best in treating the Maharaja as they did."

This is not a literal translation of what Agarkar wrote in the *Kesari*, but it faithfully reveals the sentiment behind his words, utterly sarcastic, ironical and ill-tempered as they are. The attitude adopted by Tilak and Agarkar was entirely vindicated when the new ruler of Kolhapur was installed. He was the second son of Sardar Abasaheb Ghatge whose letters Tilak had to consign to flames during the course of their trial and thus knowingly knock the bottom out of their defence, but who was yet a genuine friend and sympathizer of Tilak and Agarkar. On March 17, 1884, the new ruler was duly installed and among the invitees at the Durbar held on the occasion, a representative of the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha was included. Mr. Sitaram Hari Chiplunkar represented the Sabha and read an address on the occasion. Tilak, Agarkar, Apte and their friends were prominent members of the Sabha. Condemnatory remarks were made in the address against the rule of Rao Bahadur Barve and all that followed it and hope for better days in store was expressed. Sardar Abasaheb Ghatge replied in his capacity as regent and spoke in very complementary terms about the Sabha as the mentor and monitor of the people of Maharashtra. A large amount was donated by the Kolhapur Durbar to the Deccan Education Society which facilitated the founding of the Fergusson College. The corner-stone of the College building was laid by the new Maharaja. All this goes to show that the sacrifice and suffering endured by Tilak and Agarkar on account of Kolhapur were adequately compensated by the latter, in a manner, gratifying to both. Public esteem for them was recorded in various other ways too, not the least of which was the readiness with which businessmen and rich men offered to stand sureties for them. Both these young publicists thus

had their feet firmly planted in the field of public service from which no withdrawal was conscientiously possible, nor did they ever think of it. Tilak's public career became brighter and brighter with the passage of time, Agarkar's having been cut short by his premature death in 1895.

CHAPTER V

CHAMPION OF ORTHODOXY ?

Confinement within a common cell of the Dongri Jail brought home to Agarkar and Tilak a clear consciousness of the difference in their intellectual and emotional approach to the problems of the day. Their general outlook was undoubtedly the same but their methods of approach to active work in the service of their fellowmen were certainly not identical.

Agarkar was a highly emotional and somewhat explosive person. He betrayed a tone of impatience and even impetuosity in his writings and easily slipped into hyperbolical language. Rhetoric often got the better of his reason with the result that he overshot his mark. He was as much given to finding fault with his own people for their many deficiencies and imperfections as to blaming the alien power for its many sins of commission and omission. He easily made light of the rulers' lofty professions about preparing Indians for representative and democratic institutions and asserted that they were only bent on economic exploitation and political domination. He attacked the Government and the people alike with fanatical fervour and with fearlessness, almost bordering on recklessness.

Tilak did not believe in writing or speaking disparagingly about the customs, institutions, habits and ways of his people, because he thought that it would breed in them an inferiority complex. He was, however, no less anxious than Agarkar for social reform. He would rather flatter the people by reminding them of their glorious past and remarkable cultural achievements and make that an argument for claiming for them as glorious a future. He felt it was more prudent to attack the foreign rule and concentrate upon capturing political power and use it as a means for bringing about social reform and all other reforms. He argued his point with such forensic skill that his

readers or listeners were led to believe that for all their ills, the foreign power was chiefly responsible and that Swaraj would set everything right. Patience was his watchword while dealing with his countrymen but he assumed the role of a discontented and impatient agitator while dealing with the foreign Government. Awakening of political consciousness among the people and capture of political power for using it as an instrument for whatever reforms were necessary had a decisive preference and an undoubted priority in his scheme of things.

Agarkar in his book in Marathi *One Hundred and One Days in Dongri Jail* carefully records these differences in their mental attitude and practical approach to all big and small questions of social importance that cropped up in their time. These differences were considered as non-essential by both in the beginning, but they became more and more pronounced, slowly but steadily, ultimately resulting in the separation of these two best of comrades. Agarkar felt compelled to start a new mouthpiece of his own called *Sudharak*. Prof. G. K. Gokhale, who had become a life member of the Deccan Education Society joined Agarkar as his helpmate in the work of the *Sudharak* and mostly wrote for its English columns. Wordy skirmishes between Tilak and Agarkar became quite frequent. Sometimes mutual recrimination overstepped all limits of decency and even at this distance of time, we cannot but feel aggrieved and amazed at the acrimonious billingsgate indulged in by both Tilak and Agarkar. Yet the lofty idealism and the fervent patriotism that bound these highly kindred spirits together made them maintain mutual respect in private and we have it on the authority of Agarkar's own wife that while on his deathbed, Agarkar sent for Tilak, had a long talk with him in which both reviewed their past in a penitent mood and Agarkar died peacefully a few days afterwards. Similarly, we have it on the testimony of other contemporaries of Tilak that he who hardly ever shed tears over anything, had his eyes moistened with tears, at frequent intervals, while doing Agarkar's obituary for the *Kesari*.

Because Tilak adopted the tactics he did, his conflict, not only with Agarkar but also with such leaders as Ranade, Telang and Bhandarkar became inevitable. These differences assumed serious proportions over what has passed down in history as the Age of Consent Bill Controversy and found expression in

several other controversies that raged in Western India during the eighties and nineties of the last century. The first public expression of the differences probably came over a Bombay High Court judgment in what is known as Dadaji versus Rakhamabai case which upheld the right of a Hindu husband to compel his wife to stay with him and sentenced her to imprisonment in default. Ranade and Agarkar criticized this judgment as a violation of a common civil liberty and Tilak severely chastised them for championing licentious ways of living. Tilak also sided with men like Rao Saheb V. N. Mandlik who questioned the right of the social reformers to pose as exponents of public opinion and supported some Poona Sanskrit Pandits who waited in deputation upon the Governor of Bombay to inform him of the orthodox view-point.

Mr. Byramji Malbari, a Parsi inhabitant of Bombay, conducted a journal called the *Indian Spectator* and advocated in it the cause of social reform which according to him was almost identical with copying the British in every respect. He carried on an agitation in England also for the removal of certain socio-religious practices among the Hindus with the help of legislation. He brought considerable pressure to bear upon the then Viceroy and his Council to consider his proposals. All of them related to the marriage systems among Hindus. He wanted, for instance, that co-habitation by husband with his wife under twelve years of age should be penalized. Again, in case of infant-marriages, he wanted the wife to get the right of cancelling the marriage on attaining majority, if she so chose. He wanted the husband to institute no legal proceedings for restitution of conjugal rights and he also went to the extent of suggesting the conferment on a widow of the right of inheriting the property of her husband, even after she remarried. He appeared to have effectively got the ear of the Government of India because a Bill to raise the age of consent from ten to twelve was actually moved in the Imperial Legislative Council on January 9, 1891. About a year before this, his activities were extensively and unfavourably noticed in the Indian Press in English and the Indian languages, the protest in Maharashtra being particularly loud and vehement. It may be noted here that the legislation favouring widow-remarriage among Hindus had already been passed many years earlier by the foreign Government. But no

agitation against it was then to be seen, nor did anybody bother very much when Lord William Bentinck abolished the system of *sati* and these undoubtedly constituted interference with the religious beliefs and practices of the people. Ranade, Bhandarkar and Agarkar held that if the reforms initiated by the Government were calculated to serve the best interests of the people, they should not be opposed, simply because the foreign Government sponsored them.

Tilak was uncompromisingly against this and although eminent Indians of his day like Romesh Chandra Dutt, Womesh Chandra Banerji, Telang and Setalwad agreed with him, they did not strike such an uncompromising attitude as he adopted. Telang actually went over to Ranade's side to support the Age of the Consent Legislation. Tilak was the only public man of his day to be wholly against the Bill and therefore he widely came to be looked upon as the only champion of Hindu orthodoxy and conservatism. Was he really so ? The way in which he spoke and wrote would show that he was quite reasonable and earnest about the cause of social reform. Only, he did not want to rush his people or get headlong into it like some others. He maintained this attitude towards all questions of social reform, throughout his life. Even in this case of Age of Consent Bill he was prepared to accept a compromise. He suggested that the attainment of puberty should be made the legal age for consummation of marriage but neither the Government nor the other social reformers were in a conciliatory mood. Tilak's idea was that as a spokesman of the common people, he must bend the Government to the will of the people. He addressed a number of public meetings at Poona and Sholapur and in Bombay and led a bitter attack against Ranade, Bhandarkar and Agarkar describing them as "reformers in a hurry". He contributed a number of letters to *The Times of India* on the subject and established his claim to be a peer of Dr. Bhandarkar with his merciless logic and proficiency in Sanskrit lore. The scholarly advocacy of his viewpoint became the subject of universal admiration. In the *Kesari* and the *Mahratta* he carried on an incessant campaign against Mr. Malbari, the social reformers and the Government. By this time he had resigned from the Deccan Education Society and had taken over these two papers. Although the campaign failed

he was discovered as the coming man in Western India, having crossed swords with most of the eminent Indians of the day. The campaign failed only in this sense that Government carried through the legislation in spite of his opposition. Even after the Bill was passed, he moved a resolution in the Bombay Provincial Social Reform Conference in May 1891 condemning the Government for not respecting legitimately and widely expressed public opinion and no one dared oppose that resolution. It was even resolved that Parliament should be moved to repeal that legislation but the movement slowly subsided and died down.

While this controversy was going on, Tilak publicly put forth certain suggestions in favour of social reform which establish beyond doubt that he was sincere in his faith in social reform and all that he wanted was that the initiative in that respect should be taken by educated Indians and that social reform should be primarily achieved by education of public opinion. He inveighed against legislation to force the pace of reform among ignorant masses because he believed that the method would not work and all such legislation would remain a dead letter. The social reform proposals he put before his colleagues were :

(1) Girls should not be married before the age of 14.

(2) Boys should not be married before the age of 20.

(3) No man should marry after he was 40.

(4) If a man wanted to marry again he must marry a widow.

(5) None should take to drink.

(6) The system of dowry should be abólished.

(7) Widows should not be disfigured.

(8) Every one accepting these proposals should be ready to contribute one-twentieth of his income to promote the cause of social reform and public work.

These proposals were seriously considered at a meeting held under the presidentship of Rao Bahadur Nulkar. Among those who participated in the discussion were Bhandarkar, Ranade, Agarkar and others. Tilak explained his proposals in a speech

and requested his friends to take a solemn pledge to abide by them once they were considered and approved. Ranade welcomed all these proposals and said that while Tilak wanted only those who took the pledge to be bound by them, he favoured legislation which would be applicable to all. Ranade was not against seeking the sanction or approval of Hindu religious heads or caste Panchayats because he held the view that they could never write upon a clean slate, meaning thereby that they could not forget their past while drawing the pattern of their present and future. Like Ranade and Telang, Tilak was as keen on not breaking with the past and sought to adjust the present and the future on that basis. Tilak's efforts proved futile because he found out that no one wanted to suffer and make sacrifices for his convictions. Yet it is noteworthy that among the signatories to this pledge were such persons as Gopal Krishna Gokhale, Hari Narayan Apte and many others. But gradually it dawned upon him, more and more convincingly that most of those who called themselves social reformers were not serious about practice and indulged merely in precept. He lost interest, therefore, in the Provincial and Indian National Social Conferences. For the first few years, however, he was as keen about the National Social Conference as about the Indian National Congress and attended the sessions of both.

Another episode which widened the breach between Tilak and the social reformers is known as the Pandita Ramabai episode. Ramabai, a daughter of one Anant Shastri Dongre, who had strayed away to Calcutta, came back to Bombay as an accomplished Sanskrit scholar and evoked popular admiration. She soon came under the influence of the Christian missionaries, went to America, became a convert to Christianity, collected funds and established a school for Indian girls, particularly widows. It was a residential school and the inmates of the school were constantly thrown in the company of the Christian missionary teachers of the Sharada Sadan which she established in Poona. Tilak did not like it very much, but Ranade, Bhandarkar and Agarkar were very enthusiastic about it. They became members of its advisory committee. Tilak also enrolled his name among the sympathizers of the school after satisfying himself that the Indian girls were not compelled to attend Christian prayers and the education imparted to them was

only secular. He soon discovered that the condition was not being observed and the institution was functioning as a proselytizing body. He brought this to the notice of Ranade and Bhandarkar. They protested against it. Ramabai explained that only four girls were learning the Christian scripture. The matter was referred to the headquarters of the missionary society in America. The society backed Ramabai and invested her with full powers to conduct the Sharada Sadan as she thought best. Ranade and Agarkar ought to have protested right then and exposed the Christian missionaries' game of pushing on proselytizing activities under the cloak of carrying on educational and social activities among Indians. They did not do so. The *Subodha Patrika* and *Sudharak* wrote tauntingly about Tilak, questioned his motives and called him an opponent of women's education. Tilak paid them in the same coin through the columns of the *Kesari* and the *Mahratta*. Ultimately even the social reformers found that it was impossible to support Ramabai's activities and shield her against public resentment. Agarkar was convinced of her double dealing and quietly removed a niece of his from the school one day. The Sharada Sadan was itself removed to Kedgaon and it is still carrying on its proselytizing-cum-philanthropic activities. This controversy between Tilak and the social reformers between the middle of 1891 and the close of 1893 led to further estrangement between them. But Tilak's triumph was indisputably established in this controversy because Ranade and Bhandarkar had to declare ultimately that since the Sharada Sadan was being conducted as a proselytizing institution, they had severed their connection with it.

As the controversy about the Sharada Sadan was going on, an insignificant event which was made much of, took place. It threw the social reformers and Tilak in the same camp as against the incorrigibly orthodox busybodies of Poona. Bhandarkar, Tilak, Ranade, Gokhale, and many other notables of Poona were invited to a lecture at what is known as the Panch Houd Mission. After the lecture, the guests were served tea. This was no part of the programme. Yet, not to offend the host, they took the tea and some of them ate biscuits too, served with the tea. All of them now could be charged with having accepted Christian hospitality and broken caste. One Gopalrao Joshi, who was said to be a convert to Christianity but really believed in no

religion whatever, had deliberately laid this trap, to place the Poona Hindu leaders in an awkward position and enjoy the resulting fun. This was a good stick in the hands of the orthodox Hindu leaders of Poona to beat the social reformers with. Led by Sardar Natu, the orthodox party lodged a complaint against these Poona celebrities with the Shankaracharya and prayed for their social boycott until they made suitable amends. A formidable list of 42 accused was prepared. Tilak and Ranade decided to appear before the Shankaracharya's court and defend themselves, while others did not care about this foolish proceeding because the court had no power whatsoever of enforcing its verdict. Ranade was severely criticized by his own friends in the social reform camp for submitting himself to the jurisdiction of this court and abandoning his fellow reformers. Tilak's theoretical stand was that society had a right to arraign offenders against its time-honoured customs and traditions and if any change had to be brought about in them, it should be brought about with the sanction of the religious heads. Five persons figured as complainants and the only defendant was Tilak who treated this childish affair with such seriousness that once he even made a trip to plead his case as far as Kurundwad before the court of His Holiness. He knew full well that he had not behaved as an irreligious offender but he stood by the principle that society had a right to watch the conduct of its leaders and take them to task. The whole dispute ended in the prescription of a certain light punishment like a pilgrimage to Banaras, but so long as the case was proceeding, attacks and counter-attacks on each other by the social reform and orthodox parties continued with vehemence and Tilak was bracketed with the social reformers by the orthodox party. As a matter of fact, Tilak was under a social boycott for some time by the Brahman priests. Girls from neighbouring houses who came to play with Tilak's daughters would not accept water from Tilak's household, even if thirsty. Tilak found difficulty in securing Brahman cooks and priests for the thread-ceremony of one of his sons. He put up with all this and held fast to his view that social reform was necessary but it should not be forced on people by legislation by foreign rulers, but that educated people, as enlightened leaders of society, should carry the message of social reform, to the common people by their example

rather than by mere precept and if possible with the sanction of religious heads. He never concealed his contempt for vicarious social reformers. He freely ridiculed them and there is no doubt that there was a big crop of them in Western India in those days.

It has often been said by many that Tilak adopted a broader outlook in regard to social reform and did not hesitate to assimilate the more catholic tendencies of the times after his return from Mandalay Jail. Probably, such people have in mind his declaration of sympathy for the depressed classes, which he made on the eve of his departure to England as well as his free interdining with any community or creed. This he did in a speech he made on a resolution in the Depressed Classes Conference in Bombay presided over by the Maharaja of Baroda. He said he would not recognize even God if He said that untouchability was ordained by Him. An attempt was made to get him to sign a pledge which enjoined on the signatory the obligation to do some active work from day to day for removal of untouchability, but he declined to sign that pledge on the ground that it would be impossible for him to fulfil such a pledge in the midst of his preoccupations. This was interpreted by some as lack of warmth or real sincerity for the cause of the untouchables. But it was obviously uncharitable. He was clearly against untouchability being observed in public places and on public occasions. A careful study of his attitude towards the problem of social reform reveals that though he himself was a keen social reformer, he obviously regarded political reforms and capture of political power as far more important. Men like Dadabhai Naoroji and Pherozeshah Mehta thought the same way. Even Gokhale who was quite keen on social reform devoted all his time and energy to work in the political field only. Only Agarkar, like Gandhiji considered simultaneous work on all fronts of national amelioration as the proper course. But even Gandhiji had to give priority to political agitation, once he got mixed up with politics after his return to India from South Africa and particularly since the days of the non-co-operation movement. Tilak was quite clear in his mind, ever since he gave up his educational career and took to public life, that he must concentrate on political work, treating all other pursuits, even his pursuits as a

research scholar as of secondary importance and conducted himself accordingly till the end of his life.

It was fashionable in certain sections to dismiss Tilak as a reactionary and an orthodox Brahman because it was alleged against him that he opposed the performance of religious and social ceremonies in the households of the Marathas according to Vedic rites. But even this was downright misrepresentation of his true position. In the two articles he wrote on this subject in *Kesari* he said unequivocally that Vedic rites could not be denied to any Hindu who wanted them. When Vedas themselves were no longer the monopoly of the Brahmans, Kshatriyas and the Vaishyas and could be studied freely by Muslims and Christians, how could their study be denied to the Shudras and the Antyajas as they were called ? How could also Vedic rites be denied to them if they insisted on them ? He dismissed any opposition to this on the part of orthodox Brahmans as childish and obscurantist. He also pointed out that there was nothing sublime about Vedic rites. Brahman women's worships and ceremonies were not performed according to Vedic rites. but on that account they did not become an inferior set of people in Brahman households. If the Marathas wanted to please themselves by having weddings and thread-ceremonies solemnized to the accompaniment of the chanting of Vedic mantras, they were welcome to please themselves. All that he said was that they could not force unwilling Brahman priesthood to officiate at such functions or threaten them with confiscation of their *inams* and *vatans* for refusing to do so, if the *inams* and *vatans* had been conferred on them for quite different reasons and services and so long as they were property rights under the law of the land, they could not just be wrested from them under such invalid pretexts. The Baroda and Kolhapur Durbars attempted to do this and he raised his voice of protest against those illegal demands.

It may be noted, however, that in his own personal life, he carried out all the reforms he had advocated. He educated his daughters and got them married only after the age of 16. He freely admitted members of the depressed classes in his company, he crossed the seas to England, he attended widow-remarriage parties, he freely interdined with men of any creed, community or religion. Yet his belief was that alienating the

masses of the people by assuming an arrogant and supercilious attitude towards them because they were slow to move, was wrong. Prof. D. K. Karve, founder of the S. N. D. T. University for women satisfied all these conditions when he, at the age of 35, having lost his first wife, married a widow aged 24 on March 3, 1893. Tilak's *Kesari* noted that the marriage was solemnized according to Vedic rites and extolled Karve's determination to act as he preached. The *Mahratta* wrote, " Mr. Karve, though never known to have been a blustering reformer has set a practical example of moral courage which not a whole legion of social quacks have shown in their conduct." The *Kesari* heartily approved Prof. Karve's line of not giving unnecessary offence to or of speaking contemptuously of other people, while publishing some letters from Prof. Karve on the subject. This being Tilak's attitude to social reform he submitted himself to a *prayashchitta*, a purificatory function after return from England and he did not mind Brahmans showering their Vedic benedictions on him when he left for England in connection with the libel action he instituted against Sir Valentine Chirol in the London High Court and as member of the Congress, and Home Rule League deputations. In this respect, his conduct is comparable among Indian leaders with that of the late Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, who was commonly regarded as a conservative Hindu in North India but who did not hesitate to go to England to attend the Round Table Conference and was wholly against untouchability. Tilak was not at all a champion of orthodoxy. He stood for hastening slowly in bringing about social and religious reform and against any sudden, violent break with the past. He was a good, progressive, conservative Hindu. His belief was firm that this policy would secure for him the support of the general mass of the people in his political campaigning against the British Government for the attainment of Swaraj and he stuck to it throughout his life. In his reply to Dr. Paranjpye, which is included in the chapter " Closing Days ", Tilak has fully explained his position in regard to social reform almost on the eve of his death.

CHAPTER VI

FROM PROFESSOR TO PUBLICIST

Tilak's withdrawal from the Deccan Education Society gave a decisively different turn to his career. He started life as an earnest educationist at the beginning of 1880, took prominent part in establishing the Deccan Education Society and the Fergusson College and tendered resignation of the membership of the Society on October 14, 1890 which took effect from February 8, 1891. For nearly eleven years he worked as one of the group of freshmen from the university which set afoot a number of constructive, nation-building activities. Why this withdrawal became necessary has been fully explained by Tilak himself in his lengthy letter of resignation. It throws a lurid light on what he thought of the relations between his colleagues and himself. It is in the nature of an affidavit of Tilak and therefore constitutes an original document of immense value. An attempt was made by Ranade to settle the dispute between Tilak and his colleagues but Dr. Bhandarkar, Principal Apte and others took the view that it would lead to nothing fruitful as Tilak had come to the conclusion of leaving the Society after very careful and mature consideration of all the circumstances that had led to the resignation and he said it in so many words in the letter of resignation itself.

The concluding words of this epistle are :

"I am giving up my life's ideal, but the only thought that by separating myself from it, I shall serve it best is my consolation. While I have been with you, I have not spared myself in serving the interest of the institution; and I shall not imperil its existence by continuing longer with you. I should not even now like to take this decisive step, if I should have the least hope that you will agree upon laying down in writing to abide by the original principles. I tried to have such a settlement on various occasions before but without success and I am now forced to come to the conclusion that such a settlement is an impossibility. In the end, I bid you, my dear colleagues, a goodbye, with my heart burdened with a load of sorrow; but in the hope that by severing myself from you, I may perhaps be able to help you in preserving harmony, so very essential to the welfare of our institution as it is for the sake of that harmony that I am making this sacrifice of myself."

Tilak speaks of giving up his life's ideal and making a sacrifice of himself while importunating his colleagues to permit him to withdraw from the Deccan Education Society. Why did he do this after working for eleven years with his colleagues? It would appear from his affidavit that he was not prepared to tolerate any departure from the basic principles on which they professed they had banded together, the principles of self-denial, self-sacrifice and devotion to the single cause of education by giving the best in them to it alone. The gravamen of all the disputations and bickerings between Tilak and his colleagues would appear to be this: Whether a member should devote exclusively to the service of the Society all his time and talents or he should be free to take up any gainful activity that would suit him, once he had taken the periods assigned to him in school and college? Tilak was emphatically of the view that a member should not be allowed to take up any other activity and in case he was allowed to do so, the proceeds from that activity should go to the Society's coffers since it was their claim that they were working on the lines of the Christian Missionary Societies like the Jesuits which followed this rule. It may be mentioned here that Gokhale adhered to this when he established the Servants of India Society and framed its rules, after providing properly for the maintenance of the Servant and his family, though he was on the side of relaxing this principle in the Deccan Education Society.

Tilak asserted that following the Jesuitical principles was agreed upon from the beginning and it was made public on two important occasions. Principal Apte in his evidence before the Education Commission said that their chief aim was the establishment of a native educational mission and Government was requested to help them in this plan, self-reliance and self-sacrifice being its foundation. Sir James Fergusson paid a visit to the New English School on February 13, 1884, when the declaration of the aims and objects of their body was made before him: "For a small yet decent remuneration we were prepared to establish a network of schools throughout Maharashtra and our ambition also was to start a private college to secure a continuous supply of graduates actuated by the same motives as their teachers." Sir William Wedderburn once said that self-denial and self-reliance had been their watchwords and the

mainspring of their actions and it was for these moral reasons that their work was valued so much. The Deccan Education Society which was formed soon afterwards had these principles for its foundation and the byelaws of the Managing Board were framed on the model of the regulations of the Christian Missionary bodies.

Tilak's letter of resignation shows that he made up his mind to resign his membership of the Deccan Education Society because he found that a deliberate departure was being attempted from the original principles and none but himself was in favour of sticking to them. Even Agarkar who was as firm as Tilak in the beginning was in favour of relaxing old austerity, possibly under the influence of new members or he himself felt that the principles were very rigid. A careful perusal of Tilak's letter of resignation leaves the impression that more than rigid observance of the principles, the constant squabbles and bickerings among his colleagues forced him to get away from them. Supposing the relations between him and his colleagues were cordial enough and had they made him an appeal to relax the rigidity of the principles on which he laid such great emphasis, would he not have fallen in line with them ? There is reason to believe that he would not have made so much of the right of the minority of one to adhere to originally adopted principles, because in the very beginning an exception was made in the case of Apte with Tilak's consent that he should write books and even earn otherwise. All of them were working for building up the Aryabhushan Press and the *Kesari* and the *Mahratta* newspapers as their common and joint property, every one looking upon it as a sort of extension of their mission of popular education. The first five or six years were naturally taken up by consolidation activity and there was little that they could do beyond work in the school, college, press and the papers. Yet all of them were members of the Sarvajanik Sabha and occasional contributors to its quarterly journal. The inference, therefore, becomes sustainable that Tilak would not have made so much of the principles of self-denial, self-sacrifice and single-minded devotion to the Society's work, had there been the necessary cordial and comradely atmosphere about them.

As days passed, this mental climate became rare and more rare. Individual contributions in the newspapers began to show

differences which became more and more pronounced. It would appear that so far as views on social questions and manner of their expression went, Agarkar was in a minority and so far as emphasis on single-minded devotion to work of the Society was concerned Tilak was in a minority. New members and even founder-members like Agarkar and Apte were for additional emoluments and freedom to work outside and curiously enough, Agarkar himself advanced the argument that since the Society's financial position had improved, members should get the benefit thereof. Tilak was for sticking to the previous decision of giving equal pay and equal rights to all members. There was, in addition, a provision for giving gratuities to needy members. Every member's life was insured for Rs. 3,000/- and it was expected that this should leave no motive for anyone to seek outside work and thus divert energy in different channels. Tilak himself had worked out this plan and every one had agreed to it as Tilak mentions in his letter of resignation. Tilak attempted more than once to have this matter properly considered but failed and Tilak's charge is that the rest of the members were bent upon violating the principles and rules of the Society in practice and adhere to them in theory only. Tilak objected to Gokhale's taking up the secretaryship of the Sarvajanik Sabha which involved devoting of two to three hours a day to its work and incidentally mentioned that he was also offered that work but he declined it because it would seriously interfere with his work in the Society. A vote of censure was passed against him. His capacity also came to be questioned. He was accused of having taken up outside work, because during the leave of one term that he took in 1889 he had worked for the Mamlatdars in the Crawford affair, and had also accepted secretaryship of the Indian National Congress. Tilak's reply was that he did the first job when he was on leave and the latter work was of a temporary character. He also pleaded that he was then thinking seriously of withdrawing from the Deccan Education Society for good, because he had almost come to the conclusion that his withdrawal alone might make for possible harmony in the Society.

It is better to mention at this stage the story of the bifurcation of the Deccan Education Society on the one hand and the Aryabhushan Press and the *Kesari-Mahratta* newspapers on the

other. The Society had become a registered body (1885) and begun to receive grant-in-aid from the Education Department. This necessitated the separation of the work of the press and the papers, though members of the Society continued to be the proprietors of both in their individual capacities. It was considered a distinctly separate branch of their common activities. The public generally regarded the views expressed in these papers as the common views of all the members of the Society. But different views were also put forth in the contributed columns or in the signed articles. Agarkar was editor of the *Kesari* but he was frequently required to tolerate expressions of views, quite opposed to his own, even in the editorials when they were written by some member other than himself. The whole of the year 1886 was taken up by discussions regarding the conduct of the press and the papers. Although the financial position of the school had much improved, the press and the papers were not paying their own way. The writers and the contributors were all honorary. This state of things could not continue for long and most of the members of the Society ceased to contribute to the papers. Messrs. Agarkar, Kelkar and Tilak were the only writers who regarded it as a labour of love. Tilak was asked to look into the accounts of the press and the papers and prepare a statement of the correct position. So firm was the general belief in the bankruptcy of the papers that Agarkar would not agree to sanction a loan to the press even of Rs. 500 from the Society's funds on one occasion and yet both the institutions were conducted jointly by the same people. The accounts were ready by the middle of 1886 and in October 1886, the press and the papers were formally made over to Prof. V. B. Kelkar.

The offer was first made to Agarkar because he was most keen on propagating his views on questions of public importance but he declined the offer on account of the financial liabilities it carried with it and also because he did not want to reduce himself to the position of a mere journalist. He went to the extent of saying that he would rather close the papers than take charge of them. Tilak was against closing them in any event, especially because the *Kesari* was daily growing in power, influence and prestige. He even offered to conduct them if no on else was prepared to take up that responsibility. Prof.

Kelkar was, however, ready to take over the press and the papers and they were made over to him, Mr. Hari Narayan Gokhale having been given the management. This Mr. Gokhale is reported to have agreed to come in only when Tilak agreed to go to his aid whenever needed. Prof. Kelkar requested the Board of the Society to declare Tilak as the next hypothecated member for the press and the Board passed a resolution to that effect on August 22, 1887. The press and the papers were thus handed over to Prof. Kelkar who was left at liberty to settle his terms with Mr. Gokhale while Tilak was declared as "the next hypothecated man" for the purpose of general advice and assistance.

This step was taken with a view to removing one cause of friction in the Society. There was a sense of relief felt by everyone but it was short-lived. Prof. Kelkar conducted the papers in such a way as not to hurt any member or interest. But that was not enough. Agarkar particularly felt strongly the need for self-expression on some social questions that cropped up because he felt strongly about them, but he had no unrestricted opportunity to do so. The offer of the conduct of the papers on his sole responsibility was again made to him, even though they had become personal property of Prof. Kelkar in a formal way, but Agarkar would not accept the offer, because of the financial liability that it carried with it. Differences arose among members regarding some criticism about Ranade that appeared in the papers. Agarkar and Gokhale disapproved of it, because Ranade was a highly esteemed counsellor of the Society. Some other less important reasons were also there which helped to aggravate estranged feelings and unhappy relations. The net result of it was that Agarkar started an Anglo-Marathi weekly journal of his own called *Sudharak* with the co-operation of Mr. Gokhale in October 1888. This only further accentuated existing differences of which there was a weekly demonstration on either side, even though Tilak, Agarkar, Kelkar, Gokhale, Namjoshi and Apte were still working as colleagues in the New English School and Fergusson College.

Tilak ceased to be a member of the Society from the end of 1890 and began to take more interest in the press and the papers. Tilak and Prof. Kelkar were still going on well together and Prof. Kelkar was still a link between the

Society and the press and the papers. He did his work diligently for the papers and yet because he did not take personal interest in public questions of the day by attending political discussions as Tilak did and also because he spent his leisure in the company of the theatrical people on the ground that they were staging his translations of two of Shakespeare's plays, an estrangement between him and Tilak was growing. Prof. Kelkar took the lion's share in conducting the *Mahratta* and an equal or a little less responsibility in running the *Kesari.* But when the Pandita Ramabai affair was being hotly discussed, Prof. Kelkar did not exactly adopt Tilak's line in attacking the Pandita and her Sharada Sadan and that eventually led to Prof. Kelkar severing his connection with the papers. In the Age of Consent Bill Controversy also, he was not with Tilak. The fate of the papers and the press had to be discussed once again. It was ultimately decided by common consent that Prof. Kelkar and Mr. H. N. Gokhale should keep the press and Tilak should entirely take over only the papers. He had to agree to this on one condition that he would pay to the press a sum of Rs. 7,000 which was incurred as debt by the press on account of the papers alone. The papers, however, continued to be printed at the Aryabhushan Press as before for many more years as job work. Tilak thus became the sole proprietor of the *Kesari* and the *Mahratta* by the end of 1891 and this brought about a complete transformation in the course of his life.

Even in the midst of these controversies and alienated feelings, occasions on which Tilak and his friends worked together were not altogether wanting. It was the desire of all the Poona leaders that the session of the Indian National Congress for the year 1889 should be held in Poona and it was left to Tilak and Namjoshi to represent Poona opinion to Sir Pherozeshah Mehta. The session was not eventually held in Poona but in Bombay. But the next Provincial Conference was held in Poona and Tilak, Gokhale and Namjoshi were elected its Joint Secretaries. In a reminiscence of those days Prof. C. G. Bhanu says that Tilak and Agarkar were entrusted with the task of drafting the report of the year 1888-89 covering a period of fifteen months of the activities of the Deccan Education Society which they did in a continuous sitting of 24 hours. Principal Apte was also collaborating with them.

The leave of one term that Tilak took in 1889 and the way in which he utilized it gave a clear indication of what was coming. He devoted this holiday to fight for the cause of the Mamlatdars who were induced to come forward to state the truth in connection with the inquiry into the conduct of a British Civilian, Mr. Arthur Crawford. Tilak also took keener interest in the Indian National Congress work in that year. The earlier four sessions of the Congress were not attended by him. Even the first session of the Congress which was to have been held in Poona and was ultimately held in Bombay, was attended by Apte and Agarkar as representatives of the Deccan Education Society. Although members of the Society were not able to take up any activity requiring regular attendance and carrying monetary remuneration, no one was prevented from participating in public activities and even Tilak had allowed himself, from the beginning, that relaxation from the rigidity of his own conception of single-minded devotion to the work of the school and the college and it is no wonder that he did not take long to decide to devote himself to public work. The Deccan Education Society may have lost by his withdrawal from the Society, but the country gained immensely — so immensely as to lead one to think that it would have been far better had he not spent ten years of his life in the Society as a mere schoolmaster and a professor.

With the *Kesari* and the *Mahratta*, loaded with a debt of Rs. 7,000/- on the one hand and the necessity of earning his livelihood staring in the face it was not quite smooth sailing for Tilak. He was an erudite lawyer and he could have easily started practice as a lawyer either in Bombay or Poona, but he did not entertain such an idea. He did not succumb also to the temptation of starting a rival educational institution, even though proposals to that effect were made to him. The responsibility of running the *Kesari* and the *Mahratta* which he voluntarily undertook is a clear indication of his resolve to throw himself completely in public life and to devote himself to the task of political education of the masses. But since they did not bring in any money, he decided to fall back on his knowledge as a lawyer. He started a Law Class in which he tutored young men for what were in those days the District Pleader's and the High Court Pleader's examinations. He conducted this class from 1890

to 1897 which on an average brought him about Rs. 200/- a month, and kept his household going. Most of these pleaders who practised in district and taluka towns became his political followers, almost as a matter of course.

From 1891, the *Kesari* and the *Mahratta* became his sole property and for many years afterwards, their working showed a deficit but they greatly influenced the course of his life. Writing about every public grievance and every public cause from week to week inevitably made him a champion of popular causes and a mass-leader. The more he was in it, the greater became his popularity. The devotion and the determination with which he championed the cause of the Mamlatdars on the platform and in the Press marked him out as the coming man in Western India. After this, it is a story of unbroken continuity of public causes being taken up by him. The decade from 1890 to 1900, marks a period of his continuous rise as a leader of the masses, a tribune of the people, increasingly trusted and adored until he came to be recognized as Lokamanya Tilak.

CHAPTER VII

DEFENDER OF THE DUPED

Championship of the cause of the aggrieved Mamlatdars in the Crawford case was the first notable public service which Tilak rendered after he had nearly made up his mind to get out of the cloistered position of Professor of Mathematics and Sanskrit in Fergusson College. When on leave for six months which he regarded as preparatory to withdrawal, he threw himself voluntarily in the agitation for securing justice and fair play to them with such devotion and determination, sincerity and selflessness that he was marked out as an exemplary constitutional yet militant agitator and a defender of forsaken causes.

But even before this remarkable achievement, he was being looked up to as the coming man in Maharashtra next only to Ranade. An indication of this is to be found in the fact that he was selected to plead the case of the citizens of Poona before the leaders of the Indian National Congress in Bombay and induce them to hold the session of the Congress in the year 1889

at Poona. The people of Poona desired that Rao Saheb V. N. Mandlik should preside over the Congress session of that year, but owing to his death on May 9, 1889, among other reasons, the Congress was held in Bombay. Tilak did not succeed in his mission undertaken on behalf of the people of Poona, but he was already introduced to them as a promising leader since he had succeeded in collecting a sum of Rs. 10,000/- from Maharashtra for the expenses of the Congress session in Bombay. Tilak attended this session and spoke on one or two resolutions also. He moved an amendment to a resolution on constitution of Legislative Councils suggesting the indirect method for election of members to be sent to the Imperial Legislative Council as it then was, the members of the Provincial Councils forming an electoral college for the purpose. Gopal Krishna Gokhale seconded this amendment but it was not carried. Tilak and Gokhale had not yet parted company as members of the Deccan Education Society, but this was perhaps the first and last joint effort of theirs in the political field. From this year onwards, Tilak attended Congress sessions and Provincial Conferences practically regularly.

To return to the Crawford case, Arthur Crawford was a British Civilian and a kinsman of one of the founders of the well-known firm of Bombay solicitors, Messrs. Crawford, Bailey and Company. His name has been immortalized in the city of Bombay by the Crawford Market in front of the Police Commissioner's office, which is named after him as one of Bombay's Municipal Commissioners. Crawford served as Revenue Commissioner in Bombay State and was a fairly popular person, particularly among Indians. He spoke Marathi like any typical Marathi-speaking Brahman from Ratnagiri District. He was known to be quite generous to friends and acquaintances, but for long, it was freely talked among Government and popular circles that he had practised graft and illegal gratification on an enormous scale in return for appointment of people as Mamlatdars and Deputy Collectors. Fellow British officers disliked him as one who brought dishonour to their brotherhood but were not very eager to expose him because they considered that it would be a stigma on the fair name of the governing class, if his guilt was openly established, but it was ultimately decided during the Governorship of Lord Reay that the complaints

against him should be inquired into and Mr. Omaney, Inspector-General of Police was entrusted with the task. The immediate cause which led to this inquiry was that certain Government lands at Bhadgaon in Khandesh were sold to one Mr. Khemji Jiva at a very small price, Crawford having taken considerable illegal gratification in the bargain. But as a matter of fact, there were many such cases, in several districts, wherever Crawford had to work. Englishmen and Indians co-operated in the work of exposing him and among them were his subordinate officers and agents who organized the bribe exchange. Quite a number of Mamlatdars were involved, some of whom became his accomplices through pressure, others unwillingly, but out of anxiety to keep their jobs and therefore on his right side and certain others to share the booty with Crawford. If the whole racket was to be exposed it was necessary to grant amnesty to some culprits, so that they might state the truth with immunity. Mr. Omaney was appointed to proceed in the matter on June 24, 1888 and on June 28, he had the necessary order of amnesty. There was an undertaking on the part of Lord Reay that any subordinate officials who gave evidence which might be incriminating to themselves would be immune from any legal penalties to which they might lay themselves open. The evidence given under this guarantee was found to be extremely damaging and revealed widespread corruption.

Crawford's chief agent in this campaign of graft was one Hanamantrao Inamdar, who was arrested on July 16 and Crawford was suspended from service. From August 18 hearing in Hanamantrao's case began and he admitted his guilt on October 21. Tilak's interest seems to have been visibly roused since the hauling of Hanamantrao in court as he has begun his first article on the subject in the *Kesari* published on August 21, 1888, with a reference to it. Between that date and September 24, 1889, he has devoted eight articles to that subject which have brought out all the qualities of his vigorous, militant and brilliant journalism. In an article in the *Kesari* dated October 2, 1888, he appealed to all people, who knew anything about Crawford's doings and not merely the Mamlatdars, to come forward and help proper dispensation of justice. He wrote on similar lines also in the *Mahratta*. Crawford made ingenious efforts to escape inquiry. He left a letter in his own hand saying

he was committing suicide by drowning himself and that his body would be traced near Holkar Bridge in Poona cantonment. I. G. P. Omaney refused to believe this story and he had arranged a strict watch to be kept on all trains leaving Poona. Crawford left Poona in disguise and had arranged to get down at Kalyan, proceed to Bombay by ship and get away by hook or crook. He actually went to Bombay by train, stayed in Victoria Hotel and was trying to leave by S. S. Teheran for Ceylon. But he was arrested in his hotel room, brought back to Poona and was to be proceeded against criminally on August 1, but a special Commission, consisting of three High Court Judges, was appointed to hold the inquiry which was begun on October 23, 1888, in the Council Hall. Crawford wanted that he should be tried by the High Court, because he hoped he would get an European jury and it would find him not guilty. But that request was not granted. Even while the inquiry was going on, many European officers adopted an obstructionist and unhelpful attitude. Some European police officers refused to do special duty. The European Postmaster-General of those days refused to help the police by keeping special watch on the correspondence of Crawford and his accomplices. It appeared as though even the Prosecution Counsel on behalf of Government was sympathetic to Crawford and desired his acquittal.

By the time the Commission was appointed, inquiry in another case of corruption against Crawford was completed. This was even more serious a case than those referred to the Commission. As its character is such that in the event of its having been heard, Crawford's acquittal might not have been secured, it may be briefly narrated here. The facts of the case as disclosed by the Secretary to Government in the Political Department were as follows. One Vithal Tikaji, who was a Bombay Government official on deputation to Akkalkot State, sought and obtained an introduction in Poona to Hanamantrao. In consequence of this visit, Hanamantrao visited Akkalkot at the end of November 1886 and made arrangements with the Raja of Akkalkot in person to meet Crawford at Sholapur on December 16, 1886. After this interview, Crawford visited the Raja Saheb and asked him to give him Rs. 20,000/- as a consideration for helping him to get invested with the powers of Chiefship. The same night at 11 p.m. Crawford arranged with Vithal

Tikaji to obtain payment, *suggesting* that the money should be obtained from Baroda. The next day, at another interview the sum of Rs. 10,000/- was agreed upon and Tikaji was promised promotion in the grade of Mamlatdars which he received early next year, thereby superseding several seniors. On or about January 9, 1887, a sum of Rs. 4,000/- was paid to Crawford. Next year, on January 24, the Political Agent (the Collector of Sholapur) recommended that the Raja should be invested with certain powers. Hanamantrao again paid a visit to Akkalkot and in consequence of it, another sum of Rs. 10,608-2-0 was paid on February 8, 1888. This included journey expenses. The Raja did not have the full amount with him and therefore, on the same day, the Rani delivered her personal jewels to one Ramji Dandekar of Baroda as a security for the advance. On February 12, some of these jewels were pawned by Dandekar with a Poona firm which paid him Rs. 6,000/-. Thus it would be seen that it was a fit case for investigation by the Commission and the Government of Bombay asked the permission of the Government of India which was given. But Justice Wilson, President of the Commission threatened to withdraw from the Commission if more charges were added to the list already supplied and Lord Reay's Government was helpless. Lord Reay was a strong administrator and according to Chimanlal Setalwad's testimony in his *Reflections and Recollections*, " He made officials realize that they were servants of the people and not their masters. Any officer not behaving properly with the Indian people was at once pulled up and in some cases publicly censured."

Under such circumstances, however, the final verdict was not unexpected. Crawford was acquitted of the charge of having received bribes. He was held to have contracted very disproportionate debts and on this account he was only dismissed from service. The Mamlatdars who had come forward to state the truth and to establish not only Crawford's, but their own guilt were originally promised amnesty, but the Commission held them guilty and awarded them varying punishments, because it held that the law had to take its own course. Tilak took up the cause of these Mamlatdars and urged that they must not be punished. Government would not be justified in breaking its plighted word. It would be clear breach of promise and

unfaithful behaviour. Not only Tilak, but Ranade and Gokhale and members of the Deccan Education Society were all of one mind. From May 1889 Tilak had on his hand only this work. On September 1, 1889, a public meeting was held and among its conveners were Ranade, Bhandarkar, Bederkar, Deshmukh, Tulaji Rao Raje and Nawab Ali Mardanakhan. Rao Bahadur Nulkar presided over the meeting. The meeting passed resolutions congratulating Government on their courageously instituting the case against Crawford in the interest of justice and fair play, and calling upon Government to keep the pledges given to the Mamlatdars. A resolution condemned Anglo-Indian papers which attacked Indians for moral depravity and blamed Crawford's accomplices and assistants for all the misdeeds of Crawford. This resolution was to be moved by Gokhale but Gokhale's biographer Shahani says that he went to the meeting ten minutes late and his speech was taken as read, but it received full publicity and its text was very well prepared. Tilak was to second the resolution but he became the principal speaker at this meeting. It was his first public utterance but the cogency with which he made out the case in favour of the Mamlatdars made a tremendous impression. He quoted parallels from British history in support of his argument and pleaded for not discriminating between one Mamlatdar and another because all of them had helped in the task of dispensation of justice. The Bombay Provincial Conference held in Poona at this time also supported the stand of this public meeting and here also the resolution was piloted by Tilak.

Government broke its pledged word and reduced some Mamlatdars, degraded others, stopped increments of some. Eight were dismissed from service right away. Due to the agitation carried on in the Press and on the platform, the Government of India moved a Bill to give some protection to the others. It was provided that there should be no civil or criminal prosecution against them. The question of their dismissal was not touched. In an article written on this move, Tilak expressed the hope that Lord Reay, the Governor of Bombay, should refuse to give his assent to the Bill just as Watson had refused to toe the line of Clive in the Amichand case. Telegrams and petitions from many places knocked at the door of the Government to no purpose. The Bill was passed by the Governor

General's Council and Parliament was the only avenue left for demanding justice. Tilak was no believer in doing anything half-heartedly and he decided to take the cause of the Mamlatdars to the British Parliament. Charles Bradlaugh was to attend the session of the Indian National Congress in 1889 and he decided to contact him for this purpose. With the help of Digby, he kept Bradlaugh informed of the full details of the Mamlatdars' case. He was in constant correspondence with Digby during the year 1890 and met Bradlaugh also. Both of them were convinced of the justness of the cause of the Mamlatdars. Tilak and Candy prepared pamphlets for distribution to members of Parliament. Tilak's pamphlet, which was written under the initials B.G. was preferred by Digby, Bradlaugh and others to Candy's. Bradlaugh did his best to have a supplementary Bill introduced in Parliament for exonerating all Mamlatdars from guilt but such efforts of private members have little chance of getting through and nothing much came out of these efforts in Parliament. Both Bradlaugh and Digby admired his " statesmanlike proposals and the tenacity with which he was working " in this cause.

Although, the Mamlatdars did not get all that they demanded, the agitation with which Tilak and a number of leading personages in Western India were associated, helped their cause to a considerable extent. The " Crawford Mamlatdar " ceased to be a term of reproach. Some of them who were discharged or pensioned off, got jobs in Indian States or local self-governing institutions and one or two became prosperous lawyers. Only a few of them were Crawford's stooges by their free will and others were victims of their environments. Tilak did not defend their moral lapse ; his main point was that Government must keep its pledges and no discrimination must be made between Europeans and Indians, nor must be there a double standard for England and India. Because of the high level to which the agitation in their favour was taken by Tilak, these Mamlatdars began to be looked upon as a set of courageous, public-spirited people who helped the cause of justice — such was the reverse reaction of popular opinion. They therefore naturally felt very grateful to Tilak but for whom they would have been completely ruined. As a token of their gratitude for him, they presented Tilak with a silver watch and a scarf with a golden border. For many years Tilak used this watch linked

with a slender silver thread on his person as a momento of his first great public service after he was free from the bonds of the membership of the Deccan Education Society. Tilak's first experience of fighting for a semi-public grievance by organizing a lawful and constitutional agitation for its redressal was quite encouraging to him.

In the midst of his preoccupation with the Crawford affair, Tilak took keen interest in another movement of public importance though it did not claim so much of his energy. The Duke of Connaught, a son of Queen Victoria, was Chief of the Southern Command and was about to retire. He was known to be a good-natured officer and was in favour of giving commissioned ranks to suitable Indians in the Defence Forces. He had given an assurance to do the needful in this behalf on going back to England. Ranade, Tilak, some Princes and Sardars in the Deccan, and others took counsel together and decided that a Military Training College be established as a memorial to the Duke. It was also decided to wait in deputation on the Duke. Tilak and Namjoshi were selected as Secretaries of the deputation. The deputation waited upon the Duke in Bombay and he gave his assent to his name being associated with the proposed military training institution. In reply to those who considered the proposal as unpractical, Tilak wrote an article in *Kesari* in which he argued that it was British Government's policy to associate Indians with all branches of the administration and it did not consider that this policy would ultimately lead to the overthrow of British rule. This policy was implemented on a large scale in civil administration and no harm would result if it was practised in the military department also. Akbar had followed this policy by befriending the Rajputs and it did not make for the break-up of the Moghul Empire. Concluding this article he said wherever the British had placed trust, they had begotten trust and it would be in the best interests of the country, the British and the Indians, if they satisfied the old Sardars and Princely families by giving their scions officer's ranks and provided for their proper training by helping the establishment of a military training institute. It would appear, however, that the Princes and Sardars, who were enthusiastic in the beginning, backed out later, on receiving secret instructions and the whole project fell through. Indianization of all

services and grant of commissioned ranks to Indians in the army were for a long time the demands made from the platform of the Congress and what Ranade and Tilak were trying to achieve was fully in keeping with this demand.

Tilak's interest in Congress work was increasing day by day. Mention has already been made of his activity in the Bombay session of the Congress in 1889 and the Provincial Conference at Poona where he supported the resolution on the Crawford affair. This resolution gratefully appreciated the conduct of the Government of Bombay and congratulated it on having done its duty by vindicating the purity of the public services and removing the cause of a scandal of long standing. Anglo-Indian papers were manouvring to cast aspertions on the Mamlatdars and only mildly to condemn Crawford. The duty of patriotic Indians, therefore, was to fight this mischief by insisting on Government to take severe measures against Crawford who was a greater culprit than the Mamlatdars. Tilak put forward this point in his speech at the Conference as well as in his writings in the *Kesari* and the *Mahratta* of those days. The next two Provincial Conferences 1890-91 were also held in Poona over one of which Kazi Shahabuddin presided. Tilak moved in the Conference a resolution which criticized the policy of the Excise Department. This resolution demanded the adoption of the principle of local option. Tilak proved by quoting facts and figures that there was a continuous increase in the consumption of foreign and country liquor. He did this to disprove Government's statement about dimunition in the drink habit among the people of India. His argument was that there should be no need at all to start any temperance associations in India because drink was never respectable in this country and both Hinduism and Islam held it as sacrilegious. He pleaded that municipalities, local bodies and village Panchayats must have the right to decide whether they would maintain any liquor shops in their jurisdiction or not. In this Conference Tilak, Gokhale and Namjoshi were elected Secretaries to organize the next year's Conference. In this Conference Tilak moved the resolution regarding the Age of the Consent Bill, reference to which has been made in a previous chapter.

The fifth Provincial Conference was also held in Poona in 1892 over which Sir Pherozeshah Mehta presided. New reformed

Legislative Councils was the main subject of discussion at that time. The resolution on that subject was entrusted to Tilak in which it was suggested that municipalities and local boards should be the electing bodies for returning members to the Legislative Councils. Tilak was elected Secretary again, his colleagues being Dinshaw Wacha and Chimanlal Setalwad. The sixth Provincial Conference was held at Ahmedabad over which Rahimtulla Sayani, a Bombay solicitor presided. Tilak moved a resolution in this Conference regarding people's complaints about revision settlements in various Talukas of Bombay Presidency. He was also elected a member of a committee that was asked to prepare a scheme for the separation of the judicial and executive functions. Pherozeshah Mehta was its Chairman. In this way Tilak was rising in the estimation of the Congress leaders. In 1895, the session of the Indian National Congress was held when the notorious controversy regarding holding the session of the Social Conference in the Congress *pandal* hotly raged. In the midst of all these activities Tilak wrote his first work *Orion*, which was published in 1893.

In 1894 he prepared a representation for being sent to Parliament on the question of holding Civil Service examinations in India and England simultaneously. In 1893, a resolution moved by Herbert Paul demanding this reform was passed in the British Parliament by a snap vote, but its execution was in the hands of the Government of India. It pleaded a number of excuses and never allowed this reform to materialize. India had welcomed this resolution with great enthusiasm because that was one of the demands of the Indian National Congress and Tilak's memorial to Parliament was in protest against the Government of India's moves to circumvent it. In the three articles written in the *Kesari* on this subject, Tilak advised people from all cities and towns to send memorials to Parliament asking for implementation of the resolution it had passed and took the position that while Parliament meant well by India, in keeping with Queen Victoria's declaration, the Government of India, i.e. the bureaucracy on the spot stood in the way of Parliament's noble intentions being implemented.

CHAPTER VIII

HONOURABLE MR. B. G. TILAK

Very few even among the followers of Tilak remembered, even during his lifetime, that for a full term of two years Tilak was a member of the Bombay Legislative Council and that he was elected again also but because of the prosecution for sedition which soon followed his re-election he resigned his membership. Even fewer people now know of this phase of his career. But he sat in the Bombay Council during the years 1895 and 1896 and among his other elected colleagues were such men as Pherozeshah Mehta, Chimanlal Setalwad and Daji Abaji Khare. He believed in using even the floor of the legislative body for airing popular grievances and pressing people's demands but believed very much more in educating public opinion and properly organizing it, for the demands to be really weighty and the grievances to be duly impressive. That is why he relied more on the Platform and the Press as educative media than the Council floor. In any event, he never wanted a divorce of the two and he made use of all these as complementary means of agitation.

By the very nature and the constitutions of the legislative bodies of the Tilak and pre-Tilak period, they were but feeble agencies for any real, effective work, but by the time he was approaching his end, the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms had become a reality and at least in the provinces some authority was given to popular ministers in the transferred departments under diarchy to give recognition to popular will. Seeing this, he had started what was called a Congress Democratic Party on the eve of his death and was preparing to contest elections to the then Provincial and Imperial Legislative bodies. His plan was to capture as much political power as could be lawfully and constitutionally captured and use that itself as an instrument for securing more power, leading to complete Swaraj. He did not stand for election, even though he was pressed by his followers to do so, but he was undoubtedly to be the controlling and guiding power. The programme of the Party was also tentatively formulated and published for public discussion. The

expectation was that his programme and Gandhiji's non-co-operation programme would be considered at the special session of the Congress at Calcutta in September 1920 and with Tilak living and intensely desiring to accommodate Gandhi as much as possible and even to yield to him, if necessary, completely, an amalgam of both might have been placed for the country's acceptance at that special session. What actually happened was that Tilak died on August 1, 1920 and Gandhiji's programme of non-co-operation, including boycott of Councils was adopted. What is relevant to state here is that Tilak had faith in making full use of constitutionally achieved political power for further advance of the country towards complete Swaraj, duly backed by the people's strength and power of resistance and preparedness to suffer.

But to return to the times in which he was a member of the Bombay Legislative Council, it may be stated that the right of electing a representative was given to some local bodies more or less in an arbitrary manner. By the Act of Reformed Councils of 1892, the elective principle was first introduced. Till then Government used to nominate some non-official members and although most of them were and expected to be yes-men, a few exceptions like Dadabhai Naoroji, V. N. Mandlik, M. G. Ranade, K. T. Telang, Pherozeshah Mehta and Badruddin Tyabji were there and they did give expression to the people's demands and aspirations. By the Reforms Act of 1892, eight seats were thrown open to election. Curiously enough, the rules made under this Act, the Central Division which included Poona City and District went without any kind of representation. Poona was the second capital of Bombay Presidency and yet this was the case. There was agitation against this injustice and it was freely stated that Poona, which was a centre of public activities was deliberately deprived of representation. The agitation proved effective inasmuch as the rules under the Act were revised in 1895, when the first term of the Council was over and six districts of the Central Division were given the right to elect a representative through their local boards. Tilak offered himself for election from this constituency. Mr. Jathar and Mr. Garud from Poona and Khandesh respectively were the other candidates. Mr. Jathar was a nominee of Ranade and Gokhale was working for him. Mr. Garud was previously a member and was

popular in Khandesh which commanded the largest number of votes. The ultimate result showed that Tilak got 35 votes, Mr. Garud 26 and Mr. Jathar only two. Tilak received a letter from the Secretary of the Legislative Council on June 12, 1895, informing him that his election was approved by the Governor. An attempt was made by the *Bombay Gazette* by suggesting to the Governor that Tilak's election should not be approved because he was editing " a rabid extremist paper ". The paper took advantage of the election rule that " on election, the elected candidate should be presented to the Governor for nomination as member." Bombay's then Governor, Lord Sandhurst, however, did nothing of the kind.

The first session of the Council was held on August 7, 1895 which he attended. He asked six interpellations and participated in the debate on the budget. His main contention was that the Government of India must carry out the financial arrangements made between it and the Provincial Governments. He also advocated the policy of claiming first a well-defined share of revenues from the Central Government to be spent according to the needs of the various Provincial Governments. He pointed out that since 1870 when the quinquennial financial arrangement was put into operation, the receipts of the Government of Bombay had gone up to five and a half crores of rupees. According to him this increased revenue was derived from taxes which told heavily on the people. The natural expectation was, he argued, that this extra income should be disbursed on works of public utility, but it was all spent in luxuries in which the Provincial Governments indulged and whatever little remained was taken over by the Central Government. Tilak also strongly criticized the working of the Forest and Excise Departments. He collected statistics for about 25 years and worked out that receipts in the Forest Department had increased by 24 lakhs while expenditure had risen by 21 lakhs so that there was a net addition of only three lakhs to Government Treasury. Attacking the Excise Department, he said, the number of liquor shops must decrease every year and not increase, even though that would entail loss of revenue. He thus anticipated the Swaraj Government of 1937 by advocating prohibition in 1895 on the floor of the Council. In 1896, which was a year of acute scarcity

in Maharashtra the question of anti-famine measures and suspension and remission of land revenue assumed special importance. Tilak carried on constant propaganda through his papers and on the platform and proved as it were that such work in his own constituency was but complementary to his taking up the same question in the Legislative Council. During this period, he wrote an essay on "Provincial Finance" in the *Quarterly Journal* of the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha. It was so well prepared that it compared very well with the four previous essays on the subject known to have been written by Justice Ranade.

During the two years that Tilak was a member of the Bombay Legislative Council, it met for only eight days and worked for less than 36 hours. During this period, discussion of the financial statement was a somewhat serious work. Besides that Tilak and his colleagues considered a Bombay Civil Courts Amendment Bill, a Bill further to amend the City of Bombay Municipal Act of 1888 and a Bill to amend Act VIII of 1870 which sought to prevent murder of female infants. All that members could do was to move some verbal amendments to Government business and indulge in some desultory discussion of the budget when in reality it had ceased to be a budget and had already been sanctioned by the Government of India. Even the officials confessed that the examination of the contents of the budget was little better than a post-mortem dissection and Tilak once retorted that "We could as well dissect a living as well as a dead budget." In spite of the limitations imposed upon his usefulness, Tilak worked in the Council with his usual ardour. Conscious though he was that all his criticism would have little effect on the actual working of the administration, he wanted to put the whole bureaucratic machine under his intellectual microscope. He was not content, therefore, with copies of the financial statement and the budget and he called for the Advocate General's budget notes. The officials did not consider it worthwhile to grant his request. They thought that the budget which formed "a printed document of close upon two hundred pages" and the financial statement which made "a pamphlet of fair dimensions and touched on every head, whether of revenue or expenditure" ought to have satisfied Tilak.

The originality of his genius did not fail to show itself in his Council work. Not satisfied like other speakers with merely

comparing the years (1895-96) with the revised estimates of 1894-95 and the actuals of 1893-94, he proceeded to consider it in a truly scientific spirit by examining " how far the revenue had increased during the last 25 years and what portion of it had been devoted to the material development of the Province." This led him to the conclusion that " the revenue of the Presidency had increased by about 5.5 crores of rupees. Land, forests, excise had all been made to yield as much as possible and yet a very small portion out of the revenues so realized had been devoted towards material progress of the Province. Government members found it impossible to dislodge him from the position he took nor could they dismiss him with expressions of indifference, banter or ridicule. Unlike several of his colleagues, he was very sparing in paying compliments to official members. He never gave praise, he never sought it. His speeches were singularly impersonal and unrhetorical, studded with facts and prepared in a masterly manner. What struck his listeners was the breadth and originality of his view-point and the facility with which he handled intricate figures. He used figures without quoting them frequently in his speeches in the same way as in his luminous, perspicacious writings. Although Tilak did not lay much store by Council work, constituted as they were, when he was a member, it is clear that he wanted to make use of that avenue also for awakening the people. He looked upon his membership as " no sop or gag intended to stop honest criticism." He said once, " If it is so I would certainly give it up rather than consent to draw a curtain over gross negligence or palpable errors of officials, however high they may be."

At the time of his second election in 1897, he did not have to make a very serious effort. One of his old rivals Mr. Garud again opposed him but he was easily defeated. In his writings in the *Kesari* and the *Mahratta* he wrote in favour of the election of Mr. Khare from the Southern Division, Mr. Chimanlal Setalwad from the Northern Division and Shrimant Babasaheb Ghorpade on behalf of the Deccan Sardars. Even this time, *The Times of India* suggested that Tilak's election should be set aside by the Governor, in view of his activities during his tenure of the membership, but in vain. He resigned voluntarily when a sedition case was instituted against him. Even after his return from

jail he was thinking of standing for election but Gokhale had declared his intention to stand and many of his previous supporters had committed themselves to support Gokhale and so Tilak dropped the idea of contesting the election against Gokhale. Since then Tilak had no opportunity to enter any legislative body and he did not intend to contest any seat to the Reformed Montagu-Chelmsford Councils which came into being a few months after he breathed his last.

It may also be mentioned, that Tilak was an elected Fellow of the University of Bombay and he sat as a member of the Municipality of Poona for nearly a year and a quarter. He was elected to the Poona Municipality in the year 1895. His friend and colleague, Mr. M. B. Namjoshi was working in the Municipality for a number of years and Tilak helped him in every respect in his work. After having been elected to the Poona Municipality in 1895, he was also elected to the Managing Committee and in spite of his views being anti-Government, he was found to be a helpful colleague by the official and nominated non-officials in the Municipal Board. In 1901 and 1902 he devoted a good deal of attention to the drainage scheme prepared for Poona by Mr. Pottinger and wrote some articles in *Kesari,* on that subject. Even though he was only for a year and a quarter in the Municipality and never sought election again, he believed that the municipality was a suitable field for the exercise of local authority by representative men and it served well as a training ground in administration of the public business in a democratic spirit, because all decisions in municipal bodies are taken by a majority vote. It is on record that he exerted very much to get Nationalists elected to the Municipality and even canvassed on polling booths, whenever there were elections.

CHAPTER IX

FAMINE RELIEF ORGANIZER

In the previous chapter we have reviewed Tilak's work in the Bombay Legislative Council. It is no wonder, therefore, that Tilak should refer to work in the Council as farcical. In the *Kesari* for January 21, 1896 he wrote, " The work of the Bombay Legislative Council is a huge joke. The business of the last meeting lasted for only 45 minutes. Replies were given to some 20 interpellations and a draft Bill was passed. Three of the interpellations were asked by Mr. Tilak." Yet he was in favour of utilizing the platform of the Council for raising questions of popular weal. Even outside agitation by a member of a Legislative Council has a certain official recognition and a measure of influence and responsibility. The agitation for relief to the famine-stricken in the year 1896 when Tilak was a member of the Bombay Council is worth studying from this point of view. In the same year there had taken place a revolution in the Sarvajanik Sabha. It was till then dominated by Ranade but was now captured by Tilak's party. Under the auspices of this Sabha, Tilak organized a well-planned agitation for relief under the Famine Relief Code and continuously supported it by reports and writings in his two papers. This was the beginning of his way of awakening the mass of people for constitutional and lawful, yet militant resistance to unsympathetic and inactive authority for a socio-economic end. He had a clear recollection, in his undergraduate days, how people died like flies in the famine of 1876-77 and he was determined to see that there should be no repetition of the same incidents.

In the famine of 1876, Government had no well-thought-out plans of relief but the experience of those days had led under pressure from Ranade who guided the destinies of the Sabha among other reasons, to the preparation of the Famine Code. Tilak naturally turned to this Code and drew Government's attention to it and asked for practical application of the provisions of the Code to relieve people's distress. Week after week, articles appeared in his two papers and the Sarvajanik Sabha sent out workers to visit afflicted areas and prepare people to

demand what was rightfully theirs. He wanted that this work should be taken up by the National Congress and its Provincial Organizations. While reviewing the proceedings of the Provincial Conference held at Karachi in May 1896, he writes :

"The next Provincial Conference is proposed to be held at Satara. We wish to suggest to the people of Satara to do something distinctive. The distinction should lie in awakening the peasantry of Satara as to what the Provincial Conference and the Indian National Congress have been doing. We must move out of old grooves. It is quite enough that Prof. Gokhale should move a resolution and Mr. D. E. Wacha should second it. We must make the ryots understand what their rights are in regard to land revenue, forests, salt, abkari. The ryots must come to our conference and tell us about their grievances. They should be witness to what we demand in their name. The more we penetrate among them, the better it is for the good of all."

This extract from the *Kesari* is a clear reflection of the working of his mind. The *Kesari* refers to the impending famine for the first time on September 29, 1896 expressing concern at the many forebodings of famine. Newspapers gave reports about the failure of crops but no mention of them was made in Government reports. One of the critical articles in the *Kesari* referred to the Viceroy's tours in the Indian States as extremely inopportune at such a juncture. It was extraordinary, he said, that Lord Elgin should be given dinners and cocktail parties in the midst of illuminations and fireworks and that Indian Princes should spend lakhs of rupees on this. This naturally incensed the bureaucrats. An assurance in the Council was given that if actually scarcity or famine conditions prevailed Government would resort to the customary measures of relief. But there was no longer such hypothetical situation in Bombay Districts and the *Kesari* said in its issue of October 20, 1896 that people must take their stand on their rights given to them by the Famine Code and demand implementation of relief measures. It also preached that people should co-operate with Government in stopping looting of foodgrains and that rich merchants should start cheap grain shops. It also warned unscrupulous tradesmen against profiteering when large masses of people were faced with a life-and-death struggle. The people must self-reliantly do whatever they could and also demand of Government that nothing from its side should be left undone.

The Press and the Platform were the chief vehicles of Tilak's educative campaign. Numerous articles appeared in the *Kesari*

and the *Mahratta* between September 29, 1896 and May 25, 1897, which explained the provisions of the Famine Code, appealed to the educated people in the district and taluka towns to take the lead in forwarding petitions, called upon Collectors, Deputy Collectors, Mamlatdars and Forest officers to do their duty by the people in terms of the Government's own laws and regulations, resolutions and orders and advised the people to keep knocking till the door opened. The writings in the *Kesari* insisted that the reports of the crop conditions should be truthful and nowhere should exaggeration be resorted to. Inquiries by any competent person must bear out popular reports and justify their demands. The proclamation of the Queen and Government's own Famine Code constituted the basis on which the structure of the demands was built. Authoritative petitions were sent by the Sarvajanik Sabha to higher officials from time to time and Tilak himself contributed a comprehensive article to the *Quarterly Journal* of the Sabha in which he suggested suitable amendments to the Famine Code in order that it should become a more useful instrument of giving real relief to the people in times of famine and scarcity. Agents of the Sarvajanik Sabha went from district to district in order to collect information and lecturers of the Sabha held public meetings to explain to the people their rights and duties. They were quite often attended by the Government officials. Tilak prepared a Marathi translation of the Famine Code and had its 6,000 copies freely distributed from place to place. Packets of copies were also sent to Collectors of districts. Complimentary references to petitions made by the Deccan Sabha in this behalf are also noticeable in the writings of the *Kesari*.

Tilak was doing everything in essence that Ranade had done in 1876-77. In addition, he was organizing popular strength behind what was a just and legitimate demand. While Ranade relied mainly on the good intentions of the Government, Tilak wanted translation of good intentions into action and so devised pressure methods to that end. The booklet prepared under the auspices of the Sarvajanik Sabha contained a gist of the Famine Code, a summary of the Government's resolutions regarding relief work and information of such works, rules under the Takavi Act and conditions under which postponement and remission of Government dues could be obtained, under the

Land Revenue Code. Government was requested to distribute through the Mamlatdars, the hundred copies of the booklet that were sent to the Collectors of all Marathi-speaking districts and it was stated that more copies would be supplied on demand at the rate of 100 copies for every Rs. 2-8-0. But Government's reply was that it did not wish to distribute a private publication, even if it related to famine relief. Collectors either destroyed their copies, treated them as waste paper or returned the packets to the sender. On January 4, 1897, another representation of a comprehensive character was dispatched by the Sabha but the only reply that the Sabha received was that all requisite information would be found in the next week's Government Gazette. A few days later, another memorial demanding postponement and remission of the land assessment was sent. This memorial contained a reference to certain secret orders given by the Collector of Poona to his subordinate Revenue officers which asked them to be as cautious and niggardly as possible while granting postponements and remissions.

This shot went home and Mr. Monteath, I.C.S. who was then Secretary to Government, demanded of the Sabha how it got access to the order of the Collector, instead of dealing with the points that the memorial had raised. The Sabha in its turn said, without disclosing its source that it was immaterial how it got information so long as it was correct and innocently entreated Government once again to withdraw those unjust orders and do justice and kindness to the people by removing the distinction made between a genuine agriculturist and an absentee landholder, a tenant and a *khatedar* and so on, when the distress of all was appalling. Government had either to acknowledge that such orders were issued through misunderstanding or stand by them and inquire departmentally how people came to know about them when they were confidential. But by merely asking how the Sabha got scent of them the Government gave a tacit admission of having passed such orders. This exposure of the Government which pretended that it was capable of doing all that was required by the famine-stricken people was a great triumph for Tilak, who did not wholly rely on Government's good intentions, but courageously questioned them by demanding their translation into beneficent measures.

While this exposure of Government was undoubtedly a great tactical victory for Tilak, a discomfiture also awaited him. If Government had behaved tactlessly with Tilak and the Sabha when they were out to help it with all their heart and resources and co-operate with it, by showing its annoyance and exasperation, the Sabha also behaved equally tactlessly, by defending a wrong step taken without authority by one of its agents. One Mr. Anant Joshi Ekasambekar was working for the Sabha in Dharwar District. He issued some leaflets on his own, without the approval of the Sabha. He said therein, "It is the desire of Queen Victoria that none would be allowed to die or starve on account of famine and a telegram to that effect was received by the Viceroy. The Government of Bombay has, in accordance with it, asked all Revenue Commissioners to remit all revenue dues where the crops are not more than six annas in a rupee and declare a year's postponement where they are less than four annas in a rupee." Ekasambekar in his enthusiasm over-did his job. Not only had the Sabha not approved of this leaflet but it was in direct contradiction of Tilak's fundamental that the information and the reports must be truthful in all events. Mr. Monteath demanded of the Sabha whether or not Ekasambekar was an authorized agent of the Sabha and whether or not the Sabha accepted responsibility for his leaflet. The proper course for the Sabha was to disown Ekasambekar and take disciplinary action against him for having brought the Sabha into disrepute. Instead, the Sabha behaved shabbily by not replying to the letter till March 5, when the Government's letter was dated February 2. The Sabha's attitude presumably was that of not letting down an enthusiastic worker even if he had committed an inexcusable mistake. The Sabha asked an explanation from Ekasambekar in which he said that he had relied on hearsay for what he had put in his leaflet and also added that he had been generally conforming with the Sabha's instructions in his propaganda work. The Sabha did not acknowledge freely the lapse of one of its workers and own his mistake as its own, but thanked Government for correcting it and also requested Government to do likewise if a similar occasion arose for it! The *Kesari* even tried some lame defence of the whole affair, by pointing to Government's many lapses!

This only resulted in Government withdrawing its recognition of the Sabha. Since the Sabha was started it was treated with great consideration by the Government. It was well known that Ranade was its guiding spirit. This is not to say that Government agreed with the Sabha's suggestions on all matters of public importance or that its demands were conceded or the grievances it put forward were removed, but courtesy was unfailing and decorum was scrupulously observed. Twenty years ago, in the famine of 1876-77, the Sabha had done similar work and Government had often thanked the Sabha for sending its reports and statements and once when the Sabha presented an address to Sir Richard Temple, the then Governor of Bombay on the subject of famine, he had used very sympathetic language. But these cordial relations between the Sabha and the Government stopped to exist when the Sabha's working passed into Tilak's hands from those of Ranade. While Ranade and his school stood for sweet reasonableness, loyal approach and faith in the good motives of the other party under any circumstances, Tilak and his school stood for popular rights and insistence on them, believed more in the people's power of resistance to wrongs done to them and while motives of the other party were not openly questioned and even a pretension was maintained that they were good, they were really in question. From the side of the Government too, certain formalities were maintained but there was no friendliness and matters came to a head when the Sabha behaved in the manner it did by backing Ekasambekar's indefensible behaviour. In his biography of Tilak, Kelkar says that Tilak was not in Poona when the Sabha dealt with Ekasambekar's case. It may be so, but no mention is also made about his having ever taken any steps to censure Ekasambekar or take disciplinary action against him or to make amends for it to satisfy Government. In other words, he did not mind a small mistake here and there, so long as the main cause he had espoused was just and Government was only waiting for a pretext to break its relations with the Sabha. He was indifferent about pleasing Government and believed more in building the power of the people. He made no secret of this attitude in his writings in the *Kesari*. On March 17, 1897, the Executive Council of the Governor passed a resolution which said : "The Poona Sarvajanik Sabha, as at present constituted, must cease to be

recognized as a body which has any claim to address Government on questions of policy." The *Mahratta* for March 21 retorted as follows : The Government may or may not favourably consider any petition sent to it, but that does not preclude any one from addressing Government on questions of public policy. The Sabha was not created by a Government resolution and it cannot be abolished by it.

During this agitation for relief, Tilak's attention was not concentrated only on the peasantry and the tenantry or even landholders. He made what looks like quite a reasonable proposal to Government through the Sarvajanik Sabha to save the weavers from Ahmednagar and Sholapur. The Famine Code provided for some weaving work being given to them, but it was left to Government officers to organize such work in co-operation with merchants by raising joint capital. It was proposed that yarn should be supplied to weavers by using this capital and the cloth produced by them should be sold and the proceeds again invested as capital. The weavers would have got at least four annas a day instead of seven pice, which was the rate paid to famine metal-breakers. The only reply Government made was that it had under consideration a plan of providing work for skilled weavers but nothing much came out of it. Tilak then got in touch with philanthropic businessmen of Sholapur like Appasaheb Warad and Sheth Deepchand Virchand. After a conference with them a scheme was prepared whereby it was proposed to give work to from 500 to 1,000 weaver families for six months. One thousand families roughly meant 4,000 people. If they were supplied yarn, each family could produce one saree or Khadi of that length in a day. That was valued at two rupees a piece. It was worked out that a sum of rupees six thousand a month or Rs. 36,000 for six months would have to be found. It would have taken about two years for all the cloth to be sold out. Government was asked to supply two lakhs and a half, without interest, and the rest was proposed to be subscribed by the people.

Government was also given to understand that instead of paying famine wages, Government should employ the amount of the wages in this enterprise. Tilak and his friends undertook to supply yarn. They were prepared to share ten per cent loss;

and asked Government to suffer in equal measure if the enterprise resulted in loss. In the event of the loss being more than 20 per cent Morarji Gokuldas, Veerchand Deepchand and others offered to bear it. In case there was profit, it was to be given away for some charitable purpose. So, all that Government was asked to do was to give a loan of 2.5 lakhs and bear ten per cent loss. But Mr. Monteath said in reply that Government could not approve the scheme because Government would not make over their moneys to private persons. The philanthropic businessmen who were prepared to bear ten per cent loss were welcome to make the whole investment and take all the profit therefrom. Tilak was not disappointed. He once again explained to Mr. Monteath that Government was mistaken in supposing that the Sabha wanted the moneys to be kept in its possession. The Collector of Sholapur could keep all the money, both proposed to be contributed by Government and the Sholapur businessmen. The committee that would run this business may also have on it a majority of nominees of Government. The only object of the Sabha was that the work of giving relief to the weavers would be greatly facilitated if Government gave active co-operation as proposed. The example of the Sholapur businessmen might prove infectious and more philanthropic people might come forward to give succour to those afflicted by the famine and Government would earn well-deserved compliments from all for this good work. But Government was not induced to fall in line and Mr. Monteath's reply repeated that it would have nothing to do with the scheme. The weavers' guild, then founded in Sholapur, is still there as a fitting memorial, as it were, to Tilak's efforts of those days.

Tilak fully utilized the platform also. Among those who toured Maharashtra Districts and addressed public meetings were Daji Abaji Khare, Vishwanath Kashinath Rajwade, N. C. Kelkar, Achyut Sitaram Sathe, Shivram Mahadeo Paranjpe and many others. These gentlemen followed the practice of first meeting local officers and acquainting them with the information they had collected unofficially. They were not welcome always and everywhere. Sometimes they were refused interviews, sometimes curtly treated, sometimes even insulted and all these accounts found their way in the newspapers. Tilak held the view that public workers must not mind all this. If they wanted

to teach the people methods of insisting on what was right and just and their due and putting up resistance to Government's indifference or inaction. Public meetings were also addressed by these workers and they were often attended by local Government officers — not as participants but they held watching briefs. Prof. A. S. Sathe addressed a meeting at Khattalwada in Thana District where about 2,000 people were present including Warlis and Kolis. An armed police party was present for *bandobust*. Prof. Sathe told the people not to pay any assessment since the crop there had completely failed. Writing about this meeting in the *Kesari*, the title that Tilak gave to his leading article was " A Monster Meeting of Ryots held within Firing Range of the Police ". Government regarded the whole of this campaign as a perfect nuisance and the annoyance of the officers was clearly noticeable in various places. There was a vague feeling of anxiety in all circles how it was all going to end. The people were demanding relief and Government was adopting studiously a stingy, niggardly, stolid attitude. A clash seemed inevitable.

At the end of December 1896 three workers of the Sarvajanik Sabha were proceeded against. One of the cases was filed in Thana District and the other in Kolaba District. The charges were that the propagandists tried to abet forest and abkari offences. Prof. Sathe and Prof. Paranjpe were tried at Pen by one Mr. Brook, Assistant Collector of Kolaba. Tilak was then in Calcutta for the session of the Indian National Congress of that year. He was informed about this and he at once left Calcutta for Poona. After a continuous rail journey of 35 hours he reached home at midnight when a number of friends kept waiting for his arrival at his house. Even after such an exhausting journey he at once plunged into a discussion with his friends and colleagues about the prosecution of Messrs. Paranjpe and Sathe and formulated the lines of defence. Tilak himself went to Pen and on the eve of the trial as also succeeding days meetings attended by thousands were held in which he made speeches similar to those made previously by his colleagues. The gist of them was : " We are living under a rule of law. We are explaining Government's own laws to the people and asking both the people and the Government to abide by them. I have been doing this work every day as a journalist and a publicist and if Prof. Paranjpe

and Prof. Sathe are to be prosecuted for such offences, I must be prosecuted a hundred times for the same."

Such harangues greatly encouraged timid and hesitating elements among the people. On the opening day of the prosecution of Prof. Sathe, thousands of people gathered round the trying Magistrate Mr. Brook's tent and they kept on shouting "Tilak Maharajki Jay". The Magistrate was amazed at this scene and somewhat taken aback. The police failed to keep the people quiet. The Magistrate requested Tilak to appeal to people to be quiet, and not to interfere with the court's work. People became quiet as soon as he waved his hand and asked them to be peaceful. Mr. Daji Abaji Khare, the renowned High Court Vakil did not have to speak even for a few minutes in defence of Prof. Paranjpe and the Magistrate announced his acquittal. Prof. Sathe's case was postponed, but subsequently he also was acquitted. Mr. Brook then sent for Tilak, had a little discussion with him about his famine relief campaign and congratulated him on the hold he had on the people. Mr. R. N. Mandlik who was for many years a member of the A.I.C.C. and a member of the Bombay Legislative Assembly and Council has given a vivid description of this episode in the second volume of *Tilak's Reminiscences* in Marathi published by Mr. S. V. Bapat, Secretary of the Sarvajanik Sabha which is still functioning in a feeble manner. Only one of the accused, Mr. D. G. Apte was sentenced to fine and one year's simple imprisonment, by the Thana Magistrate. This had more the appearance of Government's prestige having been maintained, somehow or other than Mr. Apte having been found guilty of abetting forest and excise offences.

The famine relief movement lasting for about a year and a half was a fairly systematically organized popular movement which vitally touched the people's daily life and therefore evoked great response. Tilak got a fair idea about his own strength and the people's strength. It developed their power for resistance and resolute action. He saw the possibilities of similar movements for bringing pressure on Government for political advancement. He began a free advocacy of Congress taking up such work. It is noteworthy that all this work was necessarily of a constructive character, intended to promote the weal of the people. As a journalist, Tilak realized what a potent instrument he had in

his weekly papers, the *Kesari* and *Mahratta.* Public workers from all parts of Maharashtra and Karnatak enlisted themselves in his camp and he felt confident about the future of public work in the country. In the *Kesari* for January 12, 1896 he wrote, while referring to the proceedings of the 12th Congress held at Calcutta :

"For the last 12 years, we have been shouting hoarse, desiring that Government should hear us. But our shouting has no more affected Government than the sound of a gnat. Our rulers disbelieve our statements or possible to the ignorant villagers. We must meet them on terms of equality, strong constitutional means. We must give the best political education possible to the ignorant villagers. We must meet them on terms of equality, teach them their rights and show how to fight constitutionally. Then will the Government realize that to despise the Congress is to despise the Indian Nation. Then only the efforts of the Congress leaders will be crowned with success. Such work will require a large body of able and single-minded workers to whom politics would not mean some holiday recreation but an everyday duty to be performed with the strictest regularity and utmost sincerity."

Mahatma Gandhi's campaign in Champaran, soon after his arrival in India from South Africa and later in Kheda and Bardoli would be easily recalled to mind by many in connection with Tilak's famine relief campaign, described in hostile camps as a no-tax campaign.

CHAPTER X

PLAGUE RELIEF WORKER

While people were in the midst of the disastrous famine of 1896-97, the bubonic plague also broke out simultaneously. The visitation of this epidemic, for many more years became an annual scourge in several urban centres of this country, causing terrific bewilderment and consternation to the people, who were at a loss to know how to fight it. Even the medical profession and the Government were at their wit's end in their efforts to control and eradicate it. It was usual to expect heretofore that famine was succeeded by cholera and there was a logical connection between the two, more or less cause and effect. But when plague broke out first, none knew how to define and diagnose it and common people looked upon it as a wrathful act of God.

The plague first made its appearance in certain Bombay slum areas of Mandvi early in October 1896. It was noticed that 400 casualties were registered in that part of Bombay during one month. This led to some serious suspicion of a deadly menace in the minds of the Municipal Health authorities. Medical men of eminence confirmed the fear. Crowded trains began to run to parts of Cutch and Gujarat, from where the trading community of Mandvi hailed. Soon it spread not only to other parts of the city but also to other parts of the country. In Poona the first plague case was reported in October 1896. Soon it assumed the form of an epidemic and took a toll of thousands of lives all over the country. Government began to take preventive and precautionary measures when it was too late. The *Kesari* mentions in its issue of October 6 that some local doctor had informed the paper that some people from Bombay had come to Poona with the " Bombay " fever. In January 1897, schools, offices and courts in Bombay were closed and a big slice of Bombay's population went to Poona. In February the figure of plague cases rose to 125 per day. The *Kesari* and the *Mahratta* published a few articles containing general information about the fell disease. Some of them were written by medical men. Tilak appealed to the people to co-operate with the Municipal and Government authorities in their efforts to fight the disease and give up their slovenliness and indifference. He also criticized the Government for the way in which their belated and questionable measures were being enforced. He made it quite clear that excessive strictness in resorting to preventive measures when the epidemic had already spread were of no avail and they only caused harassment to the people. Government's medical advisers had failed to see that it was highly contagious and when it was so discovered Government wanted to make amends for it at a stage when it was no longer useful or effective. Tilak suggested that Government must delegate authority to local bodies so that they would enforce necessary measures with due regard to popular feelings.

On February 4, an anti-plague legislative measure of a sweeping character was passed by the Government of India under pressure from the Secretary of State, chiefly because he was frightened by the steps that the nations of Europe, meeting in a conference at Venice, decided to take for not allowing ships

from India to dock in European harbours. This would affect Indo-European trade and therefore strict sanitary measures to counteract plague were considered necessary. This legislation invested District Magistrates with powers such as are usually there under martial law. Severe punishments were laid down against the offenders. Special officers were soon appointed to carry out with ruthless severity the anti-plague measures. Segregation was enforced with such inconsiderateness and haste that it only caused torture and misery to the people, instead of giving relief. Untold inconvenience in all possible ways to the people, was so pronounced that people preferred to die rather than live and be tortured. Tilak explained the grievances of the people against the unsatisfactory hospital and quarantine arrangements in his writings. The anti-plague measures created greater terror in the popular mind than the epidemic itself, and hospitals began to be looked upon as slaughter-houses. Tilak scathingly attacked people also for their stupid notions and conceded that Government was actuated by an earnest desire to stamp out the disease as quickly as possible, but he insisted that executive officers must enlist popular sympathy and seek popular co-operation and support in the execution of their measures which were obviously benevolent and intended to get rid of the epidemic as soon as possible.

From October 1896 to April-May 1897, Tilak's papers were continuously and constantly devoted mainly to the discussion about plague matters. His editorials were full of suggestions, appeals and counsel to the people and constructive proposals to the Government in the task of rooting out the terrific disease from their midst. Seeing that even sincerely and spontaneously offered co-operation was not appreciated, he thought of a self-reliant measure, viz. starting a private plague hospital for the people of modest means or those who were poor. While many left the post of duty and service for their safety Tilak refused to leave Poona. He carried on all his work as usual and stood by the suffering people, shared their misfortunes and did his best to interpret their difficulties to the plague relief authorities and to the Government. Likewise, he kept on explaining to the people the benevolent intentions of Government and such of their measures as were calculated to do good to the

people. Unhesitatingly and candidly, he criticized only the manner in which Government machinery operated. For this he blamed the lower officials, but more than once he commended the goodwill speeches made by Lord Sandhurst who was then the Governor of Bombay. This attitude of Tilak was misrepresented by some of his opponents as tame and it was even insinuated that an additional membership of the Bombay Legislative Council had mellowed him. It did not take long to show whether Government had won him over or not for only a few months later he was hauled up for a trial on the charge of disseminating disaffection and hatred against the Government. In one word, Tilak's attitude towards plague relief measures may be described as reasonable, sensible and practical. The temperate tone of his writings in the *Kesari* and the outbursts of emotion in the *Sudharak* of Agarkar provide an interesting contrast when both of them were moved by the same feeling of helping their fellowmen and espousing their cause. The *Sudharak* was then edited by Prof. W. B. Patwardhan in the founder-editor's spirit, Agarkar having passed away in 1895. His first article in the *Kesari* published on the 6th of October 1896 is full of historical information about plague. He points out that it resembles a disease described as *Agnirohini* by Vagbhata and Sushruta describes it as incurable, suggesting only evacuation, *Sthalaparivartana*, as the only effective measure against its spread. He also mentions how many times the epidemic had broken out in various parts of India between 1611 and 1836 and also in Europe.

To arrest the spread of plague in Bombay and Poona a committee of an engineer, a doctor, the Municipal Commissioner and a military officer was appointed in Bombay to enforce anti-plague measures. A special Assistant Collector, one Mr. Rand, with two military men, a Col. Phillips and a Capt. Beveridge was appointed to help them. A party of armed soldiers was left at their disposal for inspection of houses and carrying out searches. Their ways of enforcing anti-plague measures only struck terror and exasperated people. Any one was caught hold of and taken to hospital at the point of the bayonet. Before their onslaughts nothing was sacred, not even the images of gods in Hindu households. Women, children and old people were all treated in the same rough and ready way. As soon as a patient

was removed to hospital, his relations were taken to the segregation camp, disinfected property was destroyed and his house left unlocked without anybody to take care of it. Tilak also blamed the people for not accompanying the inspection and search parties to tell the soldiers how their work should be done, but no volunteers were forthcoming and educated people made a poor show of themselves in those miserable days. Tilak pointed out to Mr. Rand and his colleagues that people were more ready to send patients to the hospital started by him on the P.Y.C. grounds and pay for it than allow them to be taken to the Government Hospital which was a charitable institution because of their rough and un-understanding ways. The question really was that of making Government's essentially good work popular. Howsoever a British soldier may be useful on the battle-field, he was not suited for the sanitary work entrusted to him and it could very well be carried out through Indians and civil officers who would know how to respect feelings and susceptibilities of Indians. A number of eminent citizens headed by Tilak sent a letter to Mr. Rand offering full co-operation in his work and a memorandum was also sent to the Governor but no notice was taken of this offer of help.

The Times of India was more horrified by the critical articles appearing in the *Kesari* and the *Mahratta* than the Government itself whose plague measures were subjected to constructive and seasoned criticism. It plainly suggested in its editorial and correspondence columns that Tilak's two papers were inciting the people to break the peace and to have recourse to force. Tilak addressed a letter to the editor of *The Times of India* and challenged the veracity of the allegation saying :

"Take any issue of the *Kesari* and you will find therein appeals to the leading gentlemen in the city to stand by their posts and assist the Government by doing everything in their power to render the plague measures acceptable to the people. 'Do not complain, but work' was the advice given and if this is sedition, the Anglo-Indian vocabulary must be more comprehensive than the common English that we understand. I know of a number of cases where persons were wrongly sent to the segregation camp or plague hospital or their property was wantonly destroyed; and if the papers which I publish along with others loudly complained about these grievances, it was because the Plague Committee could not or would not redress them. Anglo-Indian journalists like yourself can, I know, be hardly induced to take the right view of the question. But still I must state what I honestly believe to be the case, viz. that unnecessary stringency of

the plague measures and not the writings of the native Press are responsible for the feelings of dissatisfaction referred to by you."

From April 1896, the epidemic began gradually to subside and on May 16, anti-plague measures were declared to have been withdrawn. Mr. Rand wanted to continue disinfective measures for some time more, but it was suggested to him that they should be taken only in those houses in which there were casualties and which were medically certified to that effect. He agreed with this suggestion. He had ordered the closure of Tilak's hospital also after May 28, but he withdrew that order for fear that plague may erupt again in the rainy season. It was, however, closed very soon afterwards. Plague became a hardy annual for many years thereafter and medical opinion and Government were unable to prevent its eruption. It appeared as though the poison lay buried during a certain period and erupted when time for its growth was suitable. Killing rats and mice which spread the infection and inoculation appeared to be the only remedies against it. In later years, Tilak had to return to this subject from time to time and before inoculation was found as an effective remedy just like vaccination, he opposed its compulsion on unwilling people. While in jail in 1898, he was persuaded to get himself inoculated and other prisoners followed his example. Yet he was not convinced about inoculation being a safe and wholly dependable remedy when it was first introduced in India and he stuck to his view that people should be left free to get inoculated as they liked and no compulsion should be resorted to. The Government of India also justified the position he had taken up by the resolution of February 22, 1900 in the light of the report and the recommendations of the Plague Commission of which Gokhale was one of the members. The resolution said, " His Excellency-in-Council adheres strictly to the principle which he has continuously enjoined that the choice whether or not they should be inoculated must be left entirely to the people and compulsion on no account should be resorted to."

In 1899, the plague in Poona had not only not subsided but also it was raging fiercely. Anti-plague measures by Government had undergone great transformation by this time. Besides the sufferings of the people, Rand's murder had probably influenced the plague authorities in revising their

methods. They now cared for popular co-operation and support for enforcement of their measures. Government had revealed its intention to appoint a Plague Commission but its investigation and report would have taken long and so a deputation of the citizens of Poona led by Tilak waited on Major Reed and Col. Creigh who were in charge of anti-plague measures. They realized that quarantine was a futile process. They only asked for plague cases to be reported and houses where plague cases had occurred to be disinfected. Inoculation was being strongly recommended, but in practice people were being forced to get inoculated. Tilak had returned from jail and from a country-wide tour thereafter but had not yet taken charge of the *Kesari.* When he did so on July 4, 1899 this inoculation controversy awaited his active attention. At the outset, he made it clear that his opposition to compulsory inoculation was not based on any religious consideration but on the questionable character of its utility. It was not yet considered an effective remedy even by experts. If it was so found and certified by medical opinion, he had no objection whatever to inoculation as he had none to vaccination. All he said was that there should be no compulsion until it was found to be a really effective preventive remedy against plague. He still considered quitting affected areas as the best remedy against infection. In the issue of the *Kesari* of August 15, 1899, he devoted a lengthy editorial on the pros and cons of inoculation and expressed the opinion that Dr. Yarsin's serum should be injected into the body of a person who is already attacked by plague to test its efficacy. Government had by this time decided to introduce compulsory inoculation.

Tilak's article in the *Kesari* created a furore. Dr. Sir Bhalchandra Krishna Bhatavdekar supported the Government and *The Times of India* took up Government's side vigorously. Dr. Bhalchandra would not say that inoculation should be optional even if its use was still in an experimental stage. Newspapers had published several cases of harmful or fatal inoculation and instead of taking counsel with eminent Indian medical men and expressing a collective view, he kept on writing in *The Times of India* in favour of compulsory inoculation and he laid himself open to the charge that he had gone to the rescue of the Government, even when his aid was not particularly solicited. Complaints were made in the newspapers and even on the

floor of the Bombay Legislative Council that the people who had camped outside the affected areas of Belgaum and other places were being forcibly inoculated. In Poona military officers would not allow any vehicles to enter Poona after dusk for fear of infection being spread but they did not object to pedestrians coming in and going out. Vehicles were not allowed to leave Poona also even when there was no longer a single plague case in Poona. Eventually, Tilak addressed a letter to Dr. Bhalchandra in which he asked him ten straight questions. The gravamen was : Did inoculation lead to any adverse effects or not and how much immunity it offered, if any ? Dr. Bhalchandra then convened a meeting of the Grant Medical College Association and it decided to ask sub-assistant surgeons from everywhere to collect and send accurate information. Tilak wanted Dr. Bhalchandra to state whatever opinion he had formed in the light of his own experience. He also published the information by Mr. Krishnaji Abaji Guruji of Dharwar in the issue of the *Kesari* of October 24 which described some adverse effects of inoculation. A Homoeopathy practitioner of Poona, Mr. Rajam Iyengar, a friend of Gokhale, was sent to Dharwar to investigate into the correctness of Mr. Guruji's information. He confirmed all that Guruji had said after a thorough investigation. It was seen that overdoses were administered and syringes were inexpertly used and Dr. Rajam Iyengar characterized inoculation of 300 persons a day as perfectly scandalous. Dr. Bhalchandra sent a detailed reply to Tilak which was published in the *Kesari* in the issue of November 21, 1899 and Tilak summed up the whole controversy by saying that the long and short of it all was that inoculation was still in an experimental stage. He earnestly wished it success because that would be so serviceable to humanity, but until its efficacy was unquestionably established its compulsory use amounted only to oppression. Tilak was vindicated by the stand that the Plague Commission and the Government of India took in this behalf a few weeks afterwards. Inoculation has now been accepted as a useful remedy against plague giving immunity for a specified period and at this distance of time, it appears rather strange that it should have led to so much controversy at the beginning of this century.

In January 1908, the Governor of Bombay convened a conference of journalists. They were given a demonstration of how the anti-plague serum was prepared. The object was to remove a number of misunderstandings which were created in the public mind regarding inoculation, because some inoculation cases at Mulkaval in the Punjab had shown harmful effects or had become fatal. Tilak made a speech at this conference in which he congratulated the authorities in charge of the Plague Laboratory on the immense care they were bestowing on preparing the anti-plague serum, but maintained that since inoculation had not reached the fool-proof stage of vaccination, it should be left to one's free and willing choice, whether or not to get inoculated.

A reminiscence, related by Mr. G. K Gadgil, a political follower of Gokhale and recorded by Mr. S. V. Bapat in the first volume of *Tilak's Reminiscences* is worth reproducing here. It throws a flood of light on Tilak's attitude towards his political opponents, when public good was in question. There are numerous such incidents in his career and this is only one of them. Plague broke out in September-October 1896 in Bombay and all university examinations were scheduled to be held thereabouts. Undergraduates in the different colleges of the Bombay Presidency were frightened of going to Bombay and they desired that either the examination should be postponed or held in some safe centre. Students of the Deccan, Fergusson and Engineering colleges in Poona took the lead. The University of Bombay was in no mood to listen to their demand. The students approached Tilak, who was then a Fellow of the University Senate. Tilak agreed to help them by bringing the matter before the Senate and got five other Fellows to support him. He did not feel confident of securing a majority and therefore advised the students to approach Ranade who was then a member of the University Syndicate. Some of the students knew Gokhale well and they asked Tilak with some hesitation and trepidation if he would approve of their taking Gokhale's help to approach the Syndicate. Tilak promptly replied that he had not the slightest objection to their taking Gokhale's help and wished them all success. He assured them that there was no question of forfeiting his sympathy and support if Gokhale took the lead in doing their work. Gokhale took the students' leaders to Ranade and

he was requested to move the University to change the venue of examinations from Bombay to somewhere else. Ranade said, " Life is such a precarious chance that it is a wonder that we are living today." He appeared to have turned down their request and they were disappointed. But ultimately he promised to do whatever he could do in the matter. Tilak was duly informed about this interview with Ranade. Tilak said he did not want to rely wholly on Ranade and he gave notice of his resolution in favour of changing the venue of the examinations to the Senate. Poona students informed the students from Sind colleges not to leave for Bombay. But before the resolution could come up for discussion, the examination *pandal* erected by the University was set on fire by some unknown person and the University authorities were naturally enraged. They suspected mischief among the students' ranks. Tilak was blamed for having taken up the cause of the " turbulent " students. It was later revealed, however, in the statement of Damodar Chaphekar who had assassinated Rand as to who had set the *pandal* afire and the Poona Committee of students and Tilak were exonerated from all blame. All insinuations against them were proved baseless, but this indicates how some people viewed Tilak's activities and how suspect he was in the eyes of some.

CHAPTER XI

ANTI-MUSLIM ?

For a long time, particularly before he emerged as an all-India leader and the most trusted representative of the political aspirations of India after his release from Mandalay Jail in the middle of 1914, Tilak was regarded in certain circles, as much anti-Muslim as anti-British. His triumph, at Lucknow, where the Indian National Congress and the All India Muslim League came together and entered into a pact jointly to demand complete self-government for India, mainly under his influence, brought him before all his countrymen and others in a correct perspective. Acceptance of Tilak by the Ali Brothers as their political *guru* and leader and Mr. Jinnah's complete confidence in him constituted a demonstration, as it were, for all to realize that he was as much the leader and spokesman of the Hindus as

the Muslims. He did not obviously change overnight, but the bureaucracy, the Anglo-Indian newspapers and some of his short-sighted and jealous political opponents had succeeded in depicting him not only as an anti-Muslim and as an anti-British leader, but also as a reactionary leader opposed to social reform, opposed to non-Brahmans, an advocate of violent revolution and a revivalist. By the last epithet, what was attempted to be conveyed was that he was dreaming of reviving theocratic Brahman rule. Sir Valentine Chirol's *Unrest in India* constitutes the best study of all these misrepresentations and misunderstandings in a nutshell. But all Sir Valentine's facile generalizations and statements were without basis in fact; they were merely distortions and fabrications founded on incorrect and ill-gathered data, presented through a vitiated angle of vision, Tilak's incessant and intrepid work among his people for their political awakening and his two convictions for sedition forming the background for it all. That book has interpreted every possible activity of Tilak in a wrong way, crediting him with only destructive work. Whether it was his writings on the Hindu-Muslim relations or Shivaji festival, or Ganesh festival or his speeches in favour of the anti-drink campaign or promotion of Swadeshi, it was all conceived as directly or indirectly related to his intention of subverting British rule in India and therefore interpreted as revolutionary and seditious and as calculated and intended to promote and organize a violent overthrow of British rule. In reality, all that Tilak endeavoured to do was to awaken his people to a sense of self-respect, self-discipline and self-dependence, in order to bring political pressure on the powers that be for granting increased political rights till they attained democratic Swaraj within the British Empire as an equal partner with England herself and her self-governing dominions. Of this, he made no secret whatever and his effort constantly was to build up the power and self-confidence of the people. If the Muslims obstructed that effort he surely criticized them, blamed them for their short-sightedness and sought to teach them what the correct way to the common good of Hindus and Muslims was. His language was always forthright and even strong, but one who has to achieve results and one who is in dead earnest and in a hurry to do so, cannot possibly avoid this. Tilak had to

do the same and he was always prepared to take the consequences thereof.

Why was Tilak considered anti-Muslim ? What occasions supplied the material for this misunderstanding to grow and when was it completely removed ? In his career of nearly forty years as a publicist, the first opportunity for him to discuss the Hindu-Muslim question arose in 1893. In that year, there were very serious Hindu-Muslim riots in Bombay. From there they spread to Poona and Yeola and Belgaum and other places and it seemed as though there was some organization behind them and they were deliberately instigated. This was not, however, the first time that there were communal riots in Bombay. In 1850, there were riots between Parsees and Muslims. One Parsee journalist, Mr. Byranji Gandhi published a picture of the Prophet Mahomed. It was quite imaginary but this incensed the Muslims, not because it was bad, but because Muslims consider it an affront to draw any pictures or make any images of their God or Prophet. Quite a number of Parsees were thrashed by the Muslims and Government had a tough job in repressing this rowdiness among the Bombay Mussalmans. Another similar incident took place in Bombay in 1874. One Rustomji Jalbhai published a translation of some writings of Washington Irving in which there was some reference to Prophet Mahomed which the Mussalmans found insulting and calculated to wound their religious susceptibilities. Even on this occasion bands of Muslims emerged out of the Jumma Masjid and went over the whole city beating any Parsee that they came across. This went on for four days and Government had to summon military aid to put down this riot. Both these occasions easily show what flimsy material is enough to inflame Muslim religious feelings.

But in 1893, the Hindus of Bombay became the victims of Muslim wrath. The origin of this riot has to be traced back to Prabhaspatan in Junagadh State of Saurashtra as it then was. For some unknown or unreported reason, there was an imbroglio between Hindus and Muslims on account of *tazias* in the Muharram festival. As a result there were arrests and court trials and people who were convicted of this offence or that were sent to jail. Things did not end there. A number of Hindu temples were profaned, idols broken and burnt and the priests of

the temples soaked in oil and burnt alive. For two years trouble was brewing and the *tazia* processions were banned, but the year in which they were allowed, these incidents followed. The British Government was in charge of the administration on this occasion, since the Nabab of Junagadh was a minor. Both Hindus and Muslims had no faith in the Government and both parties were anxious to get justice. Organizations to collect funds and engage counsel were started by both Hindus and Mussalmans. Propaganda for this purpose was not confined necessarily to Junagadh. The Gujarati Hindus were very greatly grieved, because Prabhaspatan was their sacred place. Bombay Gujaratis went to their rescue. They held a public meeting in Bombay in which a generous merchant known as Lakhmidas Khimji took the lead. A demand for open inquiry was made and a fund was started in aid of the distressed and helpless Hindus. Mr. Jhaverilal Yajnik who was well known for his sobriety and thoughtfulness was present at this meeting. As a counter to this meeting, the Muslims also held a meeting which was organized by Mr. Amiruddin Tyabji. Anglo-Indian newspapers condemned both these meetings as unnecessary and ascribed the subsequent riots in Bombay to these meetings. The meetings may have created a certain amount of commotion but their obvious object was philanthropic and humanitarian. It was revealed later that the success of the Muslims at Prabhaspatan had elated them and their religious heads were actively instigating poor and exploited Muslim masses to attempt similar outbreaks from place to place. They made Bombay their base of operations. An emissary went, for instance, to Ahmednagar and attempted to rouse people there. Similar concentrated efforts in Bombay really led to the riots.

All of a sudden, without the city having any premonition or warning of any kind, there broke out a big riot in Bombay on August 11, 1893. Some people came out of the Jumma Masjid near Crawford Market and began to march in the direction of a temple of Shiva near the Hanuman Lane, because a number of Hindu worshippers had played music all the day in celebration of a certain observance called *divsar* and thus provoked the Muslims to anger by interfering with their quiet prayers. More such bands of people armed with lathis emerged from the Masjid and proceeded in the direction of Bhendi Bazar, Grant

Road, Kamathipura and other localities and broke open the doors of several temples and smashed the idols. The next day, workers in the textile mills who were mostly Mahratta Hindus retaliated and two more days witnessed many skirmishes between Hindus and Muslims. Police were unable to cope with the task of quelling the riots and the military had to be called in. For four or five days life and property was not safe. About 1,200 people were arrested. A special magistrate was appointed to try them. Civil volunteers started picketing. Even Government offices were closed and after the military was kept in attendance at various centres for a few days, the situation was brought under control. On August 15, Municipal Commissioner Ackworth called a meeting of leading Hindu and Muslim citizens and they paraded through main thoroughfares to demonstrate that amity was established between the two communities. Once there was peace, newspapers began to discuss the possible causes of these riots and various suggestions began to be made to prevent repetition of a similar occurrence. Some blamed the meetings held for organizing relief measures, others objected to the work of the cow-protection societies, while certain others found fault with the ignorance of Muslim masses, whose passions were awakened at the least provocation. But none would say that such ignorant and inflammable people must be sternly dealt with. Tilak's *Kesari* came forward to do this. It emphatically declared that the Mussalmans, for a variety of reasons were uncontrollable and that the cause of their intractability, in the main, was the softness of Government's policy towards them. It was said that Hindus were supposed to be protected from Muslim aggression by the presence of the British in India, but their presentation in this manner only encouraged them to feel stronger and attack the mild Hindus. What was wanted was stern action against unruly behaviour. Instead, Lord Harris, the then Governor addressed the Legislative Council — among whose members there was not a single Muslim — some words of wisdom and conciliation where they were least required. While dealing with the uneducated and rowdy people, strict rule of law without any partiality and strict enforcement of punishment were the only remedies and if Government could not do this it was incompetent to govern, said the *Kesari*. If Government was unable or not disposed to do this,

sections of people concerned were bound to take up their protection in their own hands as the Mahratta workers in the textile mills had to do.

It may be noted here that even moderate opinion was similar to *Kesari's*. The *Dnanaprakash* of August 28, 1893 wrote:

"Some of the Government officials may think it to be an agreeable pastime to put one race against another and to make political capital out of the whole affair. But how dangerous this procedure is can very well be realized when we have experienced this year a frightful succession of disturbances. From the time of the great Salem riots in Madras up to the present moment, the outcry of undue encouragement to one class against another and dealing leniently with the one and harshly with the other, has been often raised. Had our Government taken note of this ere long, we would have undoubtedly been spared much trouble and recriminations."

Tilak wrote a number of articles on the various aspects of this subject. The first article appeared in the *Kesari* on August 15, 1893 in which he blamed Lord Harris for not granting an interview to Mr. Lakhmidas Khimji and observed that it was such conduct that encouraged the belief among Muslims that Government feared them or was soft towards them. He also denied Police Commissioner Vincent's theory that cow-protection work inflamed Muslims. Why should it have? And if it did why could not Government make them understand that it was quite legitimate and lawful so long as it did not interfere with the slaughter-houses? Government must hold the balance even between the Hindus and the Muslims, respect the religious feelings and traditions of both the communities and uphold customs and usages as they were, without allowing either to encroach upon the rights of the other. " If a fanatic Hindu enters a Muslim *mohulla* and tries to rescue a cow from a butcher's shop, his excessive religious zeal must be considered punishable. Similarly, if a Muslim says that his prayer is disturbed, if a procession of Hindu devotees passes by a mosque on Krishnashtami or Ganesh Chaturthi to the accompaniment of music, he must be made to see that he is wrong. While preaching amity to Hindus and Muslims, Lord Harris must address his officers also to hold the scales even between the subjects of Her Majesty and not to try to play one against the other." This plain writing was interpreted as anti-Muslim writing. This was the tone of his writing in several succeeding articles also. He openly applauded the self-respect of Mahratta mill-hands who led a counter-attack on the Muslims who went from place to

place to defile temples or molest women, because Government was unable to control the situation. He quoted instances from Burma, Azamgarh and North-West Frontier to show that Government's officers were clearly partial to Muslims and in view of that, he pleaded that what was expected of Government was that it should maintain law and order without taking sides. In the third article in the series published on September 12, Tilak said. " If Government shows partiality to Hindus, Muslims will be enraged and vice versa and those enraged will tend to cause riots." It may be noted here that Agarkar wrote on the same lines in his *Sudharak* in these days.

But when it came to holding public meetings and informing Government of what people thought about the outbreak of riots and Government's responsibility in that connection the so-called Moderates began to develop cold feet. Ranade was not originally against holding a meeting of Poona Hindus, but he asked for a week's postponement. In the meanwhile Pherozeshah Mehta expressed the view that a meeting of Hindus only should not be held and most other Hindu leading men of Bombay including Sir Bhalchandra Krishna, Jhaverilal Yajnik, Mahadeo Chimnaji Apte and Dr. M. G. Deshmukh also sent a letter to the Sarvajanik Sabha advising it not to hold any such meeting. But a meeting of invitees from among Hindus numbering 75 was already held in Poona, and a decision had been taken there to hold a mass meeting to express Hindu feeling. Some one raised the point there also that it should be a joint meeting of Hindus and Muslims. But it was argued by others that if the object was to tell the Government that it was because Government showed favouritism and partiality towards the Mussalmans that the rowdy and rabid elements among them were emboldened to cause lawless activity and disturbances, what was the use of asking Muslims to join it ? Were they or even the righteous among them likely to fall in with such a view ? At last a meeting of Hindus only was decided upon and it was held on September 10, at which only written speeches were made by all speakers and Shri Balasaheb Natu presided. It was in this connection that he wrote against Ranade and his followers charging them with weakness and timidity and unpreparedness to act up to what they believed. So far as the view of Government's policy towards Muslims was concerned, it was held by both Ranade

and his followers as well as Tilak and his followers that Government must be told to give up partiality towards Muslims but difference arose over whether that should be said openly in a public meeting of Hindus only. Newspapers of both sides were freely discussing it, but Ranade and the Bombay leaders were against a public meeting being held. Attempts began to be made by the followers of Ranade to credit him with peaceful intentions and discredit Tilak with pugnacity and quarrelsomeness against which Tilak strongly retaliated, saying that Ranade alone did not hold a God-given charter of unquestionable motives. Very soon, one party came to be known as the communal amity party and the other as wishing to foment communal strife.

About this time a Moulavi addressed a meeting at Hirabaug over which Kazi Shahabuddin presided. Both the Moulavi and the President complained that Hindu papers were writing disparagingly about the Muslims and did not recognize what good Muslim culture had done to India. The President said, "The time has come when leading men among Hindus and Muslims must tell one another quite frankly in a reasoned way what actions of one pain the other and by common agreement remove the causes that lead to ill-feeling. Mere copy-book maxims about unity, goodwill and brotherhood will not help. A lasting unity could be achieved by a deed of settlement of points that lead to quarrels and not by temporary suppression of them whether by the high and long hand of the law or the leaders' influence." Tilak was present at this meeting and although he did not agree with all that the Kazi Saheb said, he welcomed the frank and forthright manner of his speech. Tilak was doing the same and he pleaded once more that if the Kazi Saheb was entitled to say openly that the behaviour of Hindus and the writings in Hindu newspapers led to riots, Hindu leaders were certainly entitled to say that it was the Muslim aggressiveness on the slightest provocation or no provocation at all that led to the riots.

In the first week of October, the riot cases were decided. The number of arrests was 1,454. From among them 669 were Hindus and 785 Mussalmans. Twenty-five Hindus and 29 Muslims were acquitted. The rest were sentenced to varying terms of imprisonment and fines, but it appeared as though the idea was to divide even the punishments equally among Hindus

and Muslims. Tilak raised his voice against this and said that it was the Muslims, who instigated by the Prabhaspatan religious heads took the initiative in starting the riots in a premeditated way by collecting arms in the Jumma Masjid and the Hindus had retaliated only in self-protection. Discrimination was, therefore, necessary while awarding sentences. On the occasion of the three riots in Bombay, the first two being against the Parsees, it was the Jumma Masjid that was their centre and if any punitive police was to be imposed, it must be there and the Masjid revenues must be charged for its expenses if deterrent action was seriously meant. This was, in essence, only pleading for strong action, but it was attributed to his alleged anti-Muslim attitude. Again, Tilak took up the cause of the Hindu workers who were molested in various ways by Muslims when they passed through their localities and the police would not provide protection against this. The workers went on strike and that led to loss of production in mills and factories. It was only then that the police suppressed the turbulent elements among the Muslims. It was the voluntary strike of the Hindu workers that brought about this result and Tilak justified this action. He also demanded the appointment of a commission to inquire into the cause or causes of communal riots and all this was being done from week to week in his newspapers, the *Kesari* and the *Mahratta*. In all this advocacy Tilak used clear and bold language as he hated equivocation and euphemisms. The sentiments of Ranade and others were the same but they either lacked Tilak's courage or considered that it was wisdom to acquiesce in whatever happened and appease the wrongdoers even when they had showed no signs of repentance. *The Times of India* found no fault with the Muslims and left the Government entirely alone and made the suggestion that a Kazi appointed by the Government should be maintained at the Jumma Masjid and all would be well. In Bombay both the Municipal Commissioner Ackworth and the Police Commissioner Vincent spoke against the cow-protection activity among the Hindus which according to them incited Muslims and caused riots. The Poona Hindus under Tilak's lead adopted the attitude of not giving any unnecessary provocation to the Muslims, but they were equally determined to protect and preserve their traditional customs and rights as

regards festivals in temples and processions etc., in connection with them. As if to counter the ill-balanced views of Ackworth and Vincent, a public meeting under the auspices of the Gorakshana Sabha passed resolutions in favour of stoppage of cow-slaughter and improvement of milch-cattle and sent them to the Agriculture Commission that was then sitting in Simla. Within about five or six weeks of these riots came Ganesh Chaturthi and Tilak decided to utilize this occasion to make a concerted and organized effort to build up Hindu unity and solidarity. The first public Ganesh festival was celebrated this year and a programme of ten days was drawn up which made for a great deal of popular awakening and education. The immersion of private and public Ganpati images in a big procession in the city of Poona was a unique sight and it aroused so great an enthusiasm that since then the public Ganesh festival has become the order all over Maharashtra in rural areas, urban areas and metropolitan towns like Poona, Bombay, Nagpur, Hyderabad, Bangalore and others. But, more about this would be said in a separate chapter.

Tilak's diagnosis of the Hindu-Muslim problem made on the occasion of the Bombay riots was proved to the hilt by the happenings at Yeola in Nasik District within less than a month. The high-water mark of Government's partiality for Mussalmans was reached. The bone of contention there was whether the procession of Balaji (Shiva) should pass by the Patil Masjid to the accompaniment of music as usual or not. The District Magistrate of Nasik had issued a notification to the effect that on that day Muslims should not congregate at the mosque for prayers or anything else and Hindus should not play music for fifteen steps before it reached the mosque and fifteen steps after it left the mosque. Muslims appealed for a cancellation of this order to the High Court through their Kazi. On the eve of the proposed procession, news was received that the High Court had disallowed the appeal and confirmed the Magistrate's order. Even when Hindus had conformed to the terms of the order, Muslims threw brickbats at the palanquin in procession from inside the mosque and this led to a riot. In years gone by similar incidents had occurred in places like Belgaum, Rajapur, Malegaon, etc., the District Magistrate's order was unsatisfactory to both parties. Mussalmans claimed that the old custom should

be set aside and Hindus prohibited from playing any music before mosques. Hindus asked : What right the Magistrate had to interfere with a custom that prevailed for centuries ? The *Kesari* pleaded for an inquiry into what the old custom really was and that it should be enforced within his right and authority by the Magistrate, and breach of it by any party should be punishable according to law. In the month of November, the then Viceroy, Lord Lansdowne made a speech at Agra in which he blamed the cow-protection propagandists and scribes in newspapers as instigators of riots but he declared that law would be strictly enforced and no threats about riots would be tolerated. But this clarity in thinking and fearlessness in behaviour was not noticeable among the lower officials. For instance, at Yeola itself, the Assistant Collector of Nasik set at naught the District Magistrate's notification and the Hindus of Yeola had to abandon the procession altogether because Government would not enforce its own order and the Muslims would not relent.

In January 1894, Government passed a resolution in regard to the Bombay riots. The hypothesis of Messrs. Ackworth and Vincent about the cow-protection movement being behind the Bombay riots as a cause was not accepted by the Government. The resolution itself showed that while the Police Commissioner knew three weeks ahead about the contemplated riot, no precautionary measures were taken by him. All this was the subject of discussion in the Chirol Libel Case when Tilak went to England in 1919 and it could not be established there that Tilak had anything to do with the cow-protection movement or that this movement led to riots. Just when this resolution was passed by Government, there was a riot at Raver in Khandesh, but there also haughty and unruly behaviour of the Muslims and Government officials' softness towards them were the causes of the riot. At Yeola, the Hindus held in abeyance their processions for three years but the Muslims were as intransigent and turbulent as before. This was discovered by Mr. Fleat, Commissioner of the Central Division at Yeola, but the officials as a rule took the view that the Muslims were religious bigots and intractable and therefore the Hindus should yield, surrender their time-honoured rights and tolerate their fanaticism. Even Lord Harris joined this chorus of unilateral advice to Hindus only. No one would say it to the Muslims, neither their leaders

nor Government officers. The citizens of Nasik sent telegram after telegram to the Collector of Nasik who was one Mr. Winter. He returned these telegrams to the sender, because they were not supported by the necessary court fee stamps and wrote this remark on the reverse side of the telegram folio in his own hand. Tilak had an opportunity to see this remark and he exposed this absurdity in the *Kesari* by requesting the officer to disclose his magical method of dispatching such stamps through telegraphic wires, so that he could be given equal rank with Edison, the scientist who invented the radio and the phonograph! For four months there was constant tension in Yeola. Ganesh Chaturthi, Vijaya Dashmi and Vithoba festival passed without the people being allowed to take out processions to the accompaniment of music and every time the Collector, the Deputy Collector, the Mamlatdar and the police officers suppressed Hindus' rights and yielded to Muslim clamour. Muslim elation at this success became limitless. Acts of vandalism like burning the festival *mandap* of the Hanuman Jayanti, defilement of Raghoji's shrine and breaking of idols continued unabated. Yet the Hindus did not become violent nor did they indulge in any unlawful activity. They continued to knock at Government's door but they resolved upon social boycott of Muslims by stopping all dealings with them. Even *The Times of India* found fault with the Nasik officials, but Lord Harris or his Councillors were undisturbed. Muslims were itching for a fight and one day a rumour became current to the effect that a pig was killed and thrown in the local mosque. Cows were killed on an unusual scale and bands of Muslims armed with lathis attacked the Hindus. Only then, the Hindus also retaliated. In the inquiry that followed there was no trace of any killing of a pig but it was revealed that an image of Hanuman was broken, a *mandap* was set on fire and the Muslims were undoubtedly aggressive. Yet after the riot was quelled with the aid of the military requisitioned from Ahmednagar, punitive police was imposed on the Hindus. Government effected transfers of certain officers including a Muslim police officer and the Collector tried to induce the Hindus to lift the social boycott of Muslims. None of the Hindu demands was conceded.

The Government of Bombay issued a resolution on the Yeola episode as it previously did on the Bombay riots. Tilak

personally went to Yeola and made close inquiries and critically examining these two resolutions, he showed that Government was positively showing favouritism to wrongdoers and criminals. A number of people were arrested by the police at the instance of the Muslims as rioters but no evidence was forthcoming that could be considered valid against them and they were acquitted in the Sessions. The police had powers to arrest and molest people with impunity and for a long time, persecution of the Hindus of Yeola continued. Tilak's trenchant writings in the *Kesari* against the administration of Lord Harris were being closely investigated and it was rumoured that he would be proceeded against. Apparently Government was advised that it would have to meet with failure in case Tilak was prosecuted. In one of these Yeola cases, the Sessions Judge made the remark that on the evidence put up by the police on behalf of Government, even a dog could not be hanged.

Even Poona soon became a centre of attention, because trouble was being planned there also by local Muslims who were apparently playing in the hands of some *agent provocateurs*. On April 20, 1894, a riot seemed imminent but was eventually averted. A Hanuman procession of *bhajan* parties always used to march past Chandubhai's *Akhada* (Gymnasium) but a notification was issued prohibiting this in that year. Accordingly the managers of the Hanuman *utsav* decided to obey the order, but certain others did not approve of this assault on their traditional custom. Police and the City Magistrate were present when the procession would have ordinarily started at about 10 p.m. But although the managers took the order lying down certain others defied the order, without the police or the Muslims interfering with it. In the month of May, an incident calculated to provoke the Hindus to violent action took place, but it was properly dealt with by Government and so no trouble followed. Mr. Mirza Abbas Ali Baig, who was Oriental Translator to Government went to Mahabaleshwar on May 5. He desired to enter the temple of River Krishna but the priest who tended the temple objected to it as it was not customary to allow non-Hindus to do so. Mr. Baig pleaded with him that he was a Kanoj Brahman from North India and had he been a Muslim, he would have had a flowing beard. But two Brahmans from Poona were bathing nearby who recognized Mr. Baig and feeling

embarrassed he went away. A suit was filed against Mr. Baig for attempting to cheat and impersonate, but through the efforts of some influential people and probably also because Mr. Baig meant nothing ill, he apologized to the priest and paid a fine of Rs. 50 voluntarily for purification of the temple which was defiled by the touch of a Mussalman ! Government also privately warned Mr. Baig not to play with the religious susceptibilities of the people, however irrational they might be and reprimanded him for making the light-hearted remark that Shiva's mount Nandi, the bull, looked like the pony he was riding.

These two incidents passed off, but there was some trouble when the Alandi palanquin procession passed by a burial-ground of the Muslims near the Ganesh Peth Gate. Muslims objected to drums being beaten near it and threw stones and brickbats at the procession. A solitary Brahman who was left behind was severely thrashed but the police did not proceed against the Muslim miscreants who did it. Government's policy of yielding to the Muslims on every occasion and allowing them to feel that they were a favoured party had become quite clear and the Hindus had to take recourse to self-dependence for protection of their rights and interests. So leading Hindus began to tell their brethren that they should no longer join the *tazia* processions of Mussalmans during the Muharram festival which they were doing in a fraternal spirit. If they wanted festive occasions, the Ganesh festival was there. That would be showing self-respect and a spirit of resistance. Accordingly, Hindus stopped making *tazias* or participating in the *tazias* that Muslims made in a number of localities in Poona. Hindu bandsmen and drumsmen in Poona declined to give service to the *tazia* processions. The number of *tazias* made by the Hindus came down from 100 to 25 and made by the Muslims increased from 40 to 60. This demonstration certainly made a deep impression on all the parties concerned. The *Kesarí* pleaded that there could be an alliance and friendly relations between equals only and not between the strong and the weak or the superior and the inferior.

In Bombay, the Police Commissioner himself had decided not to allow any Hindu to instal a *tazia*, but applications which were nominally made by Muslims but were really meant for Hindus ceased to be made because of the counsel given by the *Kesari*.

No fisherwomen's dances and Marwari *sadhus* appeared in the *tazia* processions in Bombay. At Pen, social boycott of Muslims brought them round and a settlement was reached. It is necessary for both Hindus and Muslims to realize that they could not do without each other and that genuine realization alone leads to lasting settlements — that was the point of *Kesari*'s teaching and that was gradually succeeding, in spite of Government's partiality for Mussalmans.

In order to avoid any possible trouble in Poona, the District Magistrate called leading Hindus and Muslims in his office and it was agreed that previous customs as traditionally observed should be respected mutually and he even took personal sureties of a few as a guarantee against riots. But, all of a sudden, D. S. P. Macpherson issued a notification prohibiting playing of music within 40 steps of mosques. Hindus would not agree to it. Even when the Mussalmans were agreeable, why should the police object ? Seven Hindus were arrested in this connection and fined Rs. 25 each. The strong resistance put up by the Hindus was ascribed by some to the Hindu desire to persecute the Muslims because they were not joining the Indian National Congress and that the Poona Brahman leaders were behind this. About this time the D.S.P. published rules for regulating, for all time, this question of music before mosques and there was clear injustice in it. While all playing of music was banned in the vicinity of all mosques, in the case of Hindu temples it was to be stopped only when there were prayers or discourses. On the eve of the Ganesh festival, the Collector Mr. O'maney explained that the rules did not apply to private processions of marriage and funeral, but to public ones only. The Ganesh festival of 1894 was organized in various localities with enthusiasm and its first eight days passed off quite peacefully and without any incident. But some people in Poona who were opposed to Tilak found fault with the festival and predicted that it would meet with undesirable consequences. They thought Tilak was promoting unreason and pandering to orthodox and antiquated sentiments by promoting the Ganesh festival. These people, then referred to as social reformers, were quite loud and vehement in their attacks on the Ganesh festival but they were altogether meek and dumb before the haughtiness and unreason and irreconcilable attitude of the Mussalmans. Yet even they admitted that the

attitude of Government towards the Muslims was deliberately partial and indicative of undue favouritism. But they contented themselves merely with expression of this view in newspaper writings, representations and were opposed to any self-respecting action that involved suffering, self-sacrifice and some kind of risk. That was why they found fault with the Ganesh festival. It meant coming together by thousands of people, taking counsel together, discussing matters of common interest, in a word consolidation of Hindus for concerted and organized action if and when necessary. The enthusiastic observance of the festival for ten days by people not only in Poona but also in several centres of Maharashtra in the very first two years in keeping with the teaching of Tilak served as a crushing reply to his opponents and critics.

For the first eight days of the festival in 1894, there was no incident of any kind, when it was rumoured that a storm was brewing in Muslim quarters. On the eve of the last day a party of boys singing songs and trained by Sardar Natu was going past a mosque adjoining the Daruwala Bridge when all of a sudden a few Muslims armed with lathis emerged out of the mosque and attacked the singing party, broke to pieces their harmonium and gave such severe beating to Sardar Natu that he had to be removed in an unconscious state to a temple nearby and medically treated. The news spread like wild fire and some Hindus rushed to the scene near the mosque and administered severe blows to all Muslims that were there. It was a Wednesday, that is, not even a prayer day of the mosque and the singing party had stopped playing on the drums and had kept only the harmonium playing in a low tune. A few thousand sightseers gathered together and it was a sea of men between Moti Chowk and Daruwala Bridge. Major Macpherson, the D. S. P. who came on the scene on horseback and rode roughshod over the crowd was also subjected to a thrashing by some unknown people. The Collector, the City Magistrate and other officials came on the scene, when calm was restored. Only an hour before this Tilak, Mr. Namjoshi and Baba Maharaj had gone past the mosque in a horse carriage, when people had cried " Tilak Maharajki Jai ". Some petty disturbance was there but Mr. Namjoshi did not allow Tilak to get down and mix in the crowd. The carriage went away and an hour later when Tilak was at Mr. Namjoshi's

house discussing certain matters, the news of the riot reached him. Till next morning the three friends remained there. Had Tilak been there at the mosque it would have been easy for the police to involve him in the riot. Next day some 15 people were arrested, but they were not the ones who had taken part in the riot. One Mussalman who was removed to hospital, died there but no Hindu was reported dead. A number of people were injured. There was an attempt to stop the next day's immersion procession but the District Magistrate stood by his previous order and it passed off quietly. Two Ganpati images were broken by some Mussalmans near Chandubhai's Gymnasium and another place. The same evening Mussalmans wanted to take out the funeral procession of the Muslim who died in hospital but District Magistrate did not allow it. No Muslim was arrested for breaking Ganpati idols or rioting but among the 15 arrested was Sardar Natu himself.

The police knew very well that the people who were arrested by them were not the rioters yet proceedings in the court began and charge-sheets were made. Some quite respectable people were about to be made accused. Five cases were committed to the Sessions. In one of them there were 13 accused. On their behalf Mr. G. V. Gadgil, Mr. N.G. Chandavarkar, Mr. Chimanlal Setalwad and Mr. Branson appeared as Counsel while Government was represented by Mr. Lowndes. On October 29, Sessions Judge Jacob acquitted all the 13 accused. Among the assessors to help him were two Christians, two Parsees and one Hindu. Some Anglo-Indian newspapers published a report to the effect that the Judge and assessors differed in their verdicts, but that was incorrect and the Judge himself made it explicit from his seat in the court. The other case in the sessions was only against Sardar Natu. But he was also acquitted and the people of Poona felt very greatly relieved and very grateful to Judge Jacob. Expression to this feeling was given in an article in the *Kesari* also. In the course of the trial evidence came to light in the cross-examination which revealed the real nature of the promiscuous arrests made by the police. The moral effect of the total acquittal of all accused was that Tilak was now in a stronger position to challenge Lord Harris, the Governor and demand of him that he do apologize to the Brahmans of Poona whom he had wantonly traduced as instigators of trouble and charged

them for having put up non-Brahmans to counteract Muslim aggression. The challenge was not taken up but it did have a restraining effect on the future policy of Government.

In the Ganesh festival of 1895 at Dhulia, the Hindus had taken the necessary permit for leading the immersion procession on the last day of the festival. Yet the Muslims insisted on not allowing the procession. The Collector and the District Magistrate, Mr. Cumin would not allow it. He received information that there was likelihood of a riot when the procession would march past the Mulla mosque. He himself stood in attendance there with a party of 400 policemen. About 400 Muslims were already entrenched in the mosque and as the procession approached the mosque, they emerged out of the mosque, making cries of " Deen Deen ". Mr. Cumin tried to reason with them, but he did not succeed. Some brickbats were thrown even at him. In the scuffle, one Mussalman tried to pull him in the mosque and another flourished his lathi at him. A police officer nearby ordered fire, without the Collector's permission, even though he was near, with the result that four Muslims died and 28 were injured. Since the Collector himself was witness to all this, there was no room for any misunderstanding or misrepresentation. In the inquiry that followed, it was established beyond doubt, that stones and brickbats, and bundles of lathis were kept ready in the mosque and one Makhanshah had collected subscriptions and pledges from a number of Muslims which proved that the assault on the procession was premeditated. The Collector, who was a British officer, was forced to the conclusion which Tilak had been reiterating for two years that the initiative for violence was always with the Muslims.

There is one more incident which happened at Wai and is worth noting. It sheds a lurid light on how panicky Government officials had become and how stupidly they took action so soon as they heard anything concerning Hindu-Muslim relations. It was a custom in Wai that in the month of October, young boys went out of the town for a pilgrimage and when they returned people used to offer them a reception and march them in a procession. It used to pass to the accompaniment of music by a mosque, year after year, but in 1895 it was prohibited according to the new rules. All music was stopped, but one over-enthusiastic person only played on the cymbals. So if

strict observance was the official idea, he alone could have been proceeded against. Instead, eleven persons, who were respectable gentlemen of social standing and quite law-abiding were placed under arrest by Inspector Dullekhan and made to walk 20 miles to Satara as accomplices of one of the accused who was really guilty of breach of the order. Mr. Rand, the Assistant Collector, who became notorious in the anti-plague campaign and was later murdered in 1897 at Poona, supported Inspector Dullekhan. Mr. Kennedy, another Assistant Collector who tried these cases dismissed all Hindu witnesses as untruthful and sent all the accused to various terms of imprisonment. It is on record that this Mr. Kennedy became a great judge later, but used to hang down his head in shame whenever he remembered this Wai case or was reminded of it. The appeal court did not release those people on bail and a precautionary prohibition against their probable public reception after release from jail was also issued by the District officer.

During the period covering the years 1893, 1894 and 1895, Tilak dealt with matters concerning the Hindu-Muslim relations on numerous occasions in the *Kesari* and the *Mahratta* and also in his speeches. The riots that broke out from time to time, official action in the form of resolutions on the Bombay and Yeola riots, discussion in books or articles by men like Prof. Morrison and Sir William Hunter supplied him constantly sufficient material to formulate and prove his hypothesis that as between Hindus and Muslims, Government or its officials were usually partial to the Mussalmans, that this encouraged the Mussalmans to become aggressive and make unreasonable demands in defiance of time-honoured customs and rights, that there was an organized movement to molest and persecute Hindus. What he wrote in 1895 on September 10 on this subject looks like summing up the whole position. He said :

" The position taken by the Mussalmans does not stand to reason. To say that the Hindus should stop all kind of music at all times of the day before each and every mosque is an extraordinary demand and no reasonable person can give his consent to it. The right of stopping music before mosques has its origin in local customs to a great extent. It is not possible that the local Hindus and Muslims should not know the existence or otherwise of these customs. We, therefore, appeal to our Muslim brethren to give up their too sweeping demand of stopping even soft music. If Mussalmans cannot bear the music at the time of prayers in the mosques how do they offer

their prayers in trains, ships and shops ? Apart from that, their scripture prescribes that a Muslim should offer prayers at sunrise, noon and sunset, wherever they may happen to be. It follows, therefore, that it is wrong to say that music interferes with prayers or that music before mosques is blasphemous or irreligious. These wrong ideas must have been impressed on them by some self-seeking and mischievous agencies. It is easy to settle this question of music before mosques for all time if Muslims adopt a reasonable attitude. It is no use feeling puffed up by Government's partiality or preferential attitude. When the time for a real trial comes, both Hindus and Muslims would be considered equally insignificant and relentlessly put down."

Tilak and his opponents in the Social Reform Party as it was then called, did not really differ on the point that Government showed favouritism towards Muslims even if they found fault with Tilak for starting or reorganizing on new lines the Ganesh festival with a view to consolidating the Hindus. The difference was in regard to action that was to be taken to counteract the evil. Tilak did not choose to lie low either before the Government or the Muslims when it came to defending the legitimate rights of Hindus as equal citizens of Her Majesty. He was for organized resistance to injustice and favoured constant popular education for developing self-respect and self-dependence. He carried on intensive agitation to preserve their rights and honour and believed in taking risks. In this way, he invited the hatred of the Mussalmans and the ire of the Government. It cannot be denied that he prepared public opinion effectively and placed the Hindu-Muslim relations in the correct perspective in his speeches and writings. It was easy to call him unbalanced, indiscriminate, strong, intractable, implacable and so on, but even his moderate opponents were unable to secure even a single Mussalman to consider the question in the serene and cold light of reason, when men like Ranade and Gokhale were ever ready to adopt a policy of harmony and conciliation and never used strong or blunt language. Tilak had rightly assessed the general Muslim character and yet he did not seek to be unfair or unkind to them. But he refused to pay the price of meek surrender to buy their goodwill or friendship that was no friendship at all in his view. Surrendering to the bully never satisfied him — that was his maxim. To resist him to show him his right place was the correct course of conduct in his opinion. He never took any initiative in picking up a quarrel with the Muslims. He was always ready for mutual adjustment and

compromise. In all his writings and speeches he was always on his defence, refuting charges levelled against the Hindus. No wonder that people came to regard him as their tribune and saviour and he was dubbed anti-Muslim by the Anglo-Indians and the mischief-mongers among Indians. In reality, it was not the comparatively small question of music before mosques or slaughter or protection of cows that was involved. There was a well-laid political policy behind the way in which Government used the Muslims to all appearances and the popular belief in the preferential treatment of the Muslims by the Government was quite justified. It was a well-planned manoeuvre to use the Muslims as a counter against the Hindus. The relations between the British and the Mussalmans from 1857 to 1885 were not at all cordial. In fact there were causes like the Afghan War which had enraged the British against the Muslims. But since the establishment of the Indian National Congress in 1885, things took a different turn. The Congress was dominated by educated Hindus. When that organization began to criticize the administration and to put forth political demands and urge concession of political rights, the Government saw in it potential danger. The Muslims were there as a community for manipulation against Hindus. Through Sir Syed Ahmed, the founder of the Aligarh University, they got the Mussalmans to dissociate with the Congress and when the prospect of Hindus alone being able to take advantage of the reformed Legislative Councils in 1892 in which the principle of elected additional members was introduced for the first time was held up, the mass of uneducated Mussalmans took the cue, presumably at the instance of some third party. Pan-Islamism began to be zealously preached and that necessarily involved extra-territorial loyalty and a dimunition of Indian patriotism. The policy that exploded in the partition of Bengal in 1905 was steadily, systematically and sedulously pursued since 1892-93. The Government and the Muslim League which came later into existence co-operated in hampering the progress of the Congress. Tilak in 1916 and Gandhiji after his death fought this *concordat* and unified Hindus and Muslims for the single demand of Swaraj. But that is anticipating too much at this stage. The quarrels in regard to music before mosques and processions and cow-slaughter were mere offshoots of the poison which was vitiating the soil

of India. With his unerring political vision, Tilak saw through the whole game, uttered the necessary warnings in time and laid down the lines of his policy accordingly. For all this, he was dubbed anti-Muslim in the Anglo-Indian Press and some of his own countrymen played second fiddle to it.

From 1896 onwards, other matters claimed Tilak's attention and we do not notice many references to the Hindu-Muslim problem. But in 1899, after his release from jail and after he actively took up the editorship of the *Kesari*, he had occasion to comment on Prof. Morrison's views on the situation in India at that time in two or three issues of that paper. This professor was in the service of the Aligarh College. His main complaint was that relations between Hindus and Muslims were growing more and more bitter and said it was because Mussalmans were not getting opportunities of work in the services, the municipalities and the local boards. He argued that Mussalmans were subjected to many disabilities and oppression. Tilak objected to the statement that the Mussalmans who were rulers of India but yesterday felt insulted at having to submit to the Hindus and said that they must learn to regard themselves as equals and common citizens like all others. Once again he pointed out that "the National Congress, the Indian Press or English-educated Indians did not desire at all that relations between Hindus and Muslims should be strained. The Congress and its followers really desired that they should work for their common good. But the ignorant among the Muslims, some of them at the instigation of their short-sighted leaders and because of the policy followed by English officers deliberately or otherwise, do not see through their game. But our Mussalman brethren must recognize their duty far-sightedly and with a broad vision. It was the view of men like Charles Bradlaugh that all races in India should work together and forge the Indian nation and many high-minded Englishmen entertain that sentiment even today but the British bureaucrats in Simla and the provinces do not seem to work in that direction. That is the common misfortune of Hindus and Muslims and they must realize that in order to carry the searchlight inwards and work out their destiny unitedly."

This passage clearly shows what Tilak thought about the Hindu-Muslim problem in August 1899. A reference here must

be made to a representation that Gokhale made to Government in his capacity as Secretary of the Sarvajanik Sabha which practically supported Tilak's line of interpretation of the riots, their causes and remedies to avert them and Tilak expressed satisfaction that the Sabha awoke to its duty after a big slumber and after the citizens of Poona had expressed their views in a public meeting against the new rules in regard to processions passing by mosques. In his representation Gokhale did not blame the Government as such for partiality towards Muslims but blamed individual officers in Poona, Sholapur, Belgaum, Ahmednagar, Satara, Wai, Yeola, Ratnagiri, Chiplun, Pen and Kalyan. When the same policy is noticed everywhere, what is wrong in saying that it was Government's policy to show favouritism towards Muslims ? But Gokhale, under Ranade's guidance, thought it was wise, discreet and diplomatic to be euphemistic. The Sabha tried to explain away the conduct of the officials, as it were, by saying that they were unable to distinguish between playing on drums in religious functions and temporal functions. Mr. Macpherson, the D. S. P. of Poona, for instance, betrayed that ignorance. The Sabha finally opined that the rights of regulating processions should not be left in police hands. But apparently this moderate representation was treated with the same contempt or discourtesy by Government as Tilak's pleadings. At the beginning of the representation Gokhale had stated that what the Sabha represented was the view of the Hindu, Muslim and Parsee communities. Mr. Claude Hill. who was then Under-Secretary to Government wrote back to say that several statements made in the representation were unfounded and would be dealt with separately and asked what authority did the Sabha have to speak in the name of other communities than the Hindu and wanted to know which members of the other communities were present when the representation was approved. Gokhale had to admit that there were 152 Hindus, four Parsees and only two Muslims on the Sabha's membership register and when the representation was approved there were only 16 persons present. Government, thereupon, inquired who of these sixteen voted for and against and to which community they belonged. Gokhale replied to say that there was no difference of opinion and the representation was unanimously approved and that the representation must

be considered on its merits. Government had never called for such information before and the Sabha did not desire to give it on that occasion also, said Gokhale. It appeared as though another controversy would now rage. The reason behind this persistent inquiry about details by Government which amounted to heckling was that the two Muslims who were members of the Sabha had informed Government that the Sarvajanik Sabha was a Hindu body and although they were members, they should not be presumed to be in agreement with all that the Sabha did. Ranade and Gokhale were the most conciliatory and considerate of men and ready more to give than take and yet they could not catch hold of a single reasonable Muslim to adopt their line of mutual agreement by conciliation, compromise, reasonableness, preparedness to yield to the utmost and what not.

Tilak apparently knew this well and had decided not to be dragged into dishonourable positions, derogatory to the self-respect of the Hindus as a community. He thought it was much better to take a firm stand on what was really reasonable and rational and defy all bullying. There is no limit to unilateral surrendering in day-to-day, practical affairs of men, unless the other party was of a fair and equitable frame of mind. That was Tilak's policy and he adhered to it through thick and thin. He did not care if he was dubbed anti-Muslim for adopting it where the Muslims were concerned. But in essence, he was only anti-unreason and refused to be gullible. How far Anglo-Indian propaganda had succeeded against him could be judged best from the remarks the late Mr. Jinnah made about him somewhere in 1927. Mr. Jinnah said, " After his return from Mandalay, I came in closer contact with Mr. Tilak who was known in his earlier days to be communalistic and stood for Maharashtra, had shown broader and greater national outlook as he gained experience. Since 1916, Tilak's party came back in the Congress and rendered yeoman's services to the country and played a very important part in bringing about Hindu-Muslim unity which ultimately resulted in the Lucknow Pact." Poor Mr. Jinnah did not know that he had only national outlook from the beginning and he would have surely seen it, had he taken the trouble to study his earlier career carefully. Mr. Mazharul Haq's estimate shows how Muslim leaders looked

upon Tilak at that time. He said, " On one occasion, I sought Lokamanya Tilak's advice and help on a purely Muslim question which was at the time greatly exercising the minds of the followers of Islam in India. His reply was that as the question concerned the Muslims only, it was for them to decide the line of action to be taken and whatever line of action they decided to take, he with his party would support wholeheartedly. This was thoroughly sound advice. It was a call to the Muslims for self-respect and self-reliance. This promise of help to Muslims showed the real love and affection that he bore towards them."

The question referred to was the Khilafat question. Dr. M. A. Ansari, Mr. Asaf Ali and Mr. Shaukat Ali paid him similar tributes and recalled similar conversations with him during 1919, a few days before his death. A careful and sympathetic study of Tilak's activities, including his writings would yield but one conclusion that he was never anti-Muslim and that it was an incorrect characterization of that great Indian patriot.

CHAPTER XII

FOUNDER OF GANESH FESTIVAL

As has already been noted in the previous chapter, public celebration of the Ganpati festival did come in the wake of the Hindu-Muslim riots and as an attempt to wean away the Hindus from participation in the celebration of the Muharram festival of the Muslims. The reaction to withdraw from the festivity and merriment that accompanied and even now accompanies the making of *tazias*, taking them in processions for immersion while Hindus and Muslims danced before them, became necessary by reason of the fact that the Muslims wounded the self-respect of the Hindus not in one place but several by indulging in riots on flimsy or no excuses. Tilak openly and directly told Hindus that their fraternizing with the Muslims was of no avail and they must not indulge in it at the cost of self-respect. It was, however, necessary to find an outlet for the love and enthusiasm for festivity and merrymaking among Hindus and the celebration of the Ganpati festival, in some respects, on the lines of the Muharram festival, was a very apt adaptation.

The idea first found expression at an informal conference of Tilak and his friends like Mr. M. B. Namjoshi, Baba Maharaj Pandit and others when they were discussing measures against the riots to express the real Hindu opinion about them. It was decided that individual celebration of the festival, which was and is a feature of Hindu households in Maharashtra should be expanded so as to embrace a larger number of people and last over a longer duration. Practice in the matter of duration differs from house to house. Some keep it for a day and a half, others for five days, some others for seven and a few for ten days. The ten-day idea was approved and it was decided to arrange lectures, *kirtans*, singing parties, plays, etc. over these ten days in order to provide intellectual, cultural, artistic and socio-religious instruction and amusement to the people on a wide scale. Indeed it was a form of extension lectures or adult education for the young and old, men and women, if a current expression were to be used. It was essentially a constructive and educative activity, though to all appearances it was planned by way of a counterblast to wean away masses of Hindus from participating in the Muharram festival and looked like anti-Muslim activity.

It was certainly an ingenious and an adroit exercise of imagination on the part of Tilak and his associates to have hit upon a revised plan for a festival which was already there. The Central India Mahratta Princes like the Scindias, Holkars, Gaikwads, Pawars and Bhonsales, the Deccan chiefs, and Sardars and Inamdars scattered all over Maharashtra have been celebrating the Ganesh festival with great pomp and pageantry. Most of the features of the Durbari festivals were copied in the democratic festivals initiated by Tilak, though it was not possible to reproduce princely and aristocratic splendour and grandeur. That was more than made up by programmes which promoted people's intellectual, moral and cultural growth. The Ganesh festival became a kind of a series of extension lectures on a variety of topics and an opportunity for the study or revision of their study of the Hindu religious books like the Vedas, the Brahmanas, the Upanishads, the Ramayana, the Mahabharata and the works of the saints and saviours of people. The ingenuity and organizing ability of Tilak and his associates lay in the fact that they made it into a national, democratic movement for the intellectual, cultural and artistic uplift of the

people. People seemed to be hungry and thirsty for some such movement ; for it caught on and immensely appealed to popular imagination. There was no distinction of superiority or inferiority. Brahmans, Marathas, Mahars all took to it and freely mixed with one another.

From year to year, the extent and grandeur of the ceremony increased with the result that today there is no big or small city or town or village in Maharashtra which does not celebrate this festival with the co-operation of all Hindu castes and communities. Indeed, people of even other communities like Parsees and Jews and Muslims have also seen their way to help its celebration as years rolled on. Even in the year 1896, that is to say only two or three years after it was started, it had become a national festival. It spread to the States of Hindu rulers where the rulers themselves and the British Residents or Political Agents did not keep away from it. Moderates and social reformers kept away from it simply because Tilak was its promotor. They accused Tilak of reactionary and irrational activity and misrepresented its aims and objects and its potency in the work of national uplift. Their opposition, however, no more affected the popularity of the festival than the howlings of the Anglo-Indian Press. Even the apparently anti-Muslim appearance of the festival in the initial stage soon disappeared. It is 38 years since Tilak is dead, but the Ganpati festival has outlived him and several public Ganesh festival committees have now celebrated their golden and diamond jubilees. The lead that Tilak gave in the *Kesari* by stressing the need of national festivals and the duty of educated Indians in that behalf in the articles dated September 1 and 8, 1896 was implicitly followed. Those articles make educative and entertaining reading even today. They constitute a summing-up of the new features of the Ganesh festival and an introduction of another festival, viz. the Shivaji festival.

In the first of these articles he emphasized the wisdom of the policy of carrying forward those institutions and practices which had been honoured by time and tradition, so long as they did not do positive harm. That was, in his opinion, healthy conservatism. He remarked that those reformers who wanted to build all anew and write on a clean slate were wholly mistaken and

they were not practical men, granting that they were inspired by noble motives. They could not, for instance, level down all the mountains and make a plane surface of the earth and then rear up new mountains and rivers and seas in spots they thought were convenient. They would only create new and insoluble problems if they tried any such thing. Even the human mind, particularly mass mind, was a delicate mechanism and it had to be delicately and skilfully handled. It was no use despising their uneducated and ignorant brethren and accusing them of being superstitious. He appealed to the educated and thinking sections of the people to help in the resurrection of such occasions as Ganesh festival and their exploitation for high national purposes, by guiding steadily the masses along right lines of patriotic endeavour for collective and common good. He affirmed convincingly the necessity of national festivals like the Ganesh and Shivaji, by pointing out that there were similar institutions in Greece and Rome. The unifying and rousing effect of the Olympian and Pythian festivals and also of the Circus in Rome was worth noting by our patriots and social reformers, he said drawing their attention to the fact that poets, scholars, warriors, statesmen and saints gathered at the Olympic games and that was an occasion for learned debates and sports. The fine arts were cultivated and promoted at the Pythian fair. Even the anniversary of Jesus Christ was an occasion for rewarding vigorous and philanthropic deeds before the Crusades began. The Tara fairs and congregations in Ireland were very useful for disseminating the national sentiment and no less important from the same point of view were the Yajnas and Satras and similar congregations in ancient, pre-epic India as also the gatherings of large masses of *Warkaris* at places like Alandi and Pandharpur.

Tilak remarked that no propagandist of any cult whatever could minimize the importance of mixing among these readily provided concourses of people if he was keen about propagating it and also observed that even the newspapers could not be so effective as contacts with such mass gatherings. In the second article he even went to the extent of suggesting that a Ranade, a Bhandarkar or a Chandavarkar would be far more effective in the *pandal* of a Ganesh festival, in the presence of the God of learning or in a place like Chaphal in the celebration of the

anniversary of a saint like Ramdas, rather than in the prayer-halls of the Prarthana Samaj where discourses are addressed, more or less, to the already converted or inconvertible. There was a tinge of sarcasm in this but the sincerity of the writing was transparent. These two articles have been regarded as Tilak's and published by the Kesari-Mahratta Trust as such but later it was revealed that their real author was Mr. K. P. Khadilkar who had just then joined Tilak as his assistant. The collection of Khadilkar's writings from the *Kesari*, the *Lokamanya* and the *Nawa Kal* by his son contains about a dozen articles on Ganesh festival written from time to time since 1896 to 1919 and they make profitable reading even today in order to understand the range of vision of both Tilak and Khadilkar with regard to the immense utility of the festival for national awakening.

Tilak was not unaware of some of the excesses that were committed by organizers of some festivals and as such noticed by critics and even by himself. For instance, in the singing parties, men like Gokhale were attacked most provocatively and it was said that Tilak overlooked such things if he did not actually encourage them. It is inconceivable that Tilak liked such things and if he tolerated them, it must have been in the belief that the good that the festival was doing was incalculably greater than the occasional evil it might have done. He had a tough skin so far as sharp or strong criticism was concerned and probably his expectation was that others should have a tough skin too. But it must be acknowledged that like Gandhiji he did not believe in the wisdom of exposing his followers even if they were mistaken ; he rather gave them protection unless it was inevitable to act otherwise. From Gandhian standards of public behaviour Tilak surely was much behind as in the case of propagandist Ekasambekar during the famine relief agitation, but he had to deal with people who had not grown in a Gandhian atmosphere and most of them had the same standards with the possible exception of Ranade and Gokhale among his peers. Yet even he held that purely personal vilification was quite improper, but hard, sharp, strong criticism of an individual's doing was quite in order in his opinion once there was a controversy. He did not expect any quarter to be given, nor did he give any to his opponents. He welcomed criticism of the way in which

the Ganesh festival was celebrated, but he wanted the critics to join it, discuss freely and frankly its defects and bring about improvements, but an attitude of aloofness was not to his taste. As evidence of this, attention may be drawn to the fact that he published a contributed article in the *Mahratta* in September 1904, invited his readers' attention to it and also replied to some of the criticism which may be extracted here in extenso. Tilak said in the editorial as follows :

"It was to be expected that the opponents of Mr. Tilak would leave the Ganpati festival alone now that it has established itself beyond redemption. It would be now wise for them only to try to make the most of it and avenge themselves upon him, for stealing a march on them, by annexing it as a permanent factor in the conditions of the religious life of Hindu society and directing their criticism upon its patent defects in the hope of turning it, in course of time, into a useful agency of social progress. As a local speaker pointed out on a recent occasion, art always rests on a kind of a religious sense, that is to say, a deep and steadfast earnestness of mind and a religious festival in every country and every age, serves as an occasion for the display of the best output of the knowledge and the intuition of the people in the matter of the fine and the aesthetic arts. It will be well, if the opponents of the festival, or rather the opponents of Mr. Tilak, remember this and while thanking him for the creation of a popular institution, which they themselves could not possibly create, owing to their want of influence upon and touch with the people, they step in to add so many redeeming features of art to it that it may prove a distinct dynamic factor of social advancement.

"A writer in the *Sudharak* of the 19th instant has once more taken the field against Mr. Tilak in his capacity as one of the organizers of the Ganpati festival. While attacking the *Melawalas* as dishonest, he has tried to expose the defects of the festival. Taking him as a representative critic, we may point out that the foremost objection alleged is that the *Melawalas* are uneducated and uncultured. But we think it hazardous for any one to say that they lack faith. They are not covered all over with the veneer of religiousness which a man at the Prarthana Samaj for instance can show. But for faith, pure and simple, we do not think that they will yield to the best man that ever conducted a service in any Prarthana Mandir. What perhaps may be attacked with any real force is that the *Melawalas* do exhibit certain other habits or traits which must be checked or corrected. Their faith is their own and nobody could supply or take it away. Their culture and habits are likewise their own, but these can very easily be improved and what is more, will not be improved if the *Melawalas* were left to themselves. Looking at the question from this point of view, we think that certain defects pointed out by the writer in the *Sudharak*, do deserve an unbiased attention.

"It is said that the Ganpati festival is an imitation of the Muharram of the Mahomedans. It is a good point for a critic of the festival to be able

to taunt with the remark that though the festival was inspired by a spirit of disagreement with and retaliation against the Mahomedans, still, after all what was substituted for the Muharram was nothing better than a Hindu edition of it. But a little reflection will show that when the organizers of the festival proposed to divert the mind of the Hindus from the Muharram they did not step in as reformers of the fashion in which the Muharram was carried on; they did not create a parting of the ways, because the Mahomedans were hopelessly inattentive to counsels of reform but because they wanted to give their Hindu followers a religious festival of their own and it was but natural that the Hindus entered upon that diversion with their latest tastes and habits. It might, therefore, be plausibly said that the Ganpati festival being in certain of its features an exact imitation of the Muharram is a fact on which its organizers may well congratulate themselves for the singular adaptibility that they could command and that stood them in good stead in their spirited object of weaning away the Hindus from the Muharram. Retaliation may no doubt be effectively done by creating in the mind a total blank about the object to which the retaliation refers. but it may also effectively be done by having it constantly before the mind by shrouding it with associations which only accentuate the feelings that originally prompted the departure. If it comes to that, we may as well ask, whether the conduct of service in the Prarthana and Brahma Samajas unhappily is or is not a poor and wretched imitation of the Christian worship in churches. The two instances, however, when put side by side only show whether a departure be undertaken in a spirit of antagonism or otherwise. imitation is more or less inevitable as the party departing always carries with it its latest tastes, impressions and habits.

"Another defect pointed out by the writer in the *Sudharak* is that the *Melawalas* sing songs referring to social and political matters. In this matter we are at one with him, though we cannot be so unreasonable as to blame Mr. Tilak personally for this as the writer in question does. It is doing him an unfairness to suppose that he either instigates or actively encourages the singing of songs objected to by the writer and those that think with him. Perhaps Mr. Tilak has not yet established a strict and regular censorship over the political literature that floods Poona in the festival. But the question is whether he can and may do so. Mr. Tilak will, we think, soon decide the question for himself. When reformers who have not learnt even ABC of Sanskrit literature can consider themselves competent to sit in judgment on and bestow rank abuse on our Rishis, surely the *Melawalas* who ridicule egg-eating and brandy-drinking reformers ought not to look presumptuous. Then again, when we know that even ecclesiasts can make references to controversial political matters from the pulpit, we do not see why *Melawalas* are to be debarred from saying a thing or two about the political condition that they see all around them. It will be seen, therefore, that there is not much wrong in principle, if occasionally, we find songs treating a subject, not strictly religious. It is disingenuous to attack this essentially religious festival as a cloak for political education. Saying so much, we must admit, nevertheless, that there are limits to the mixture of religion and politics in a festival of this kind and the organizers

will have to exert themselves to cut down all that may appear like licence in this matter."

Sir Valentine Chirol took a perverse view of everything associated with Tilak and it is interesting to see how he has turned and twisted certain acknowledged facts. Says he in *Indian Unrest* on page 44:

"Tilak's propaganda had at the same time, steadily assumed a more and more anti-British character and it was always as the allies and the tools of Government, in its machinations against Hinduism that the Hindu reformers and the Mahomedans had in turn been denounced. In order to invest it with a more definitely religious sanction, Tilak placed it under the special patronage of the most popular deity in India. Though Ganesh, the elephant-headed God, is the God of learning whom Hindu writers delight to invoke on the title page of their books, there is scarcely a village or a frequented roadside in India that does not show some crude presentment of his familiar features, usually smeared over with ochre. (This is usually Hanuman and not Ganpati as Sir Valentine would have us believe.) Tilak could not have devised a more popular move than when he set himself to organize annual festivals in honour of Ganesh, known as Ganpati celebrations and to found in all chief centres of the Deccan Ganpati societies each with its *mela* or choir recruited from among his youthful bands of gymnasts. These festivals gave occasion for theatrical performances and religious songs in which the legends of Hindu mythology were skilfully exploited to stir up hatred of the "foreigner"—and *mlenchha*, the term employed for foreigner applied equally to Europeans and to Mahomedans—as well as for tumultuous processions only too well calculated to provoke affrays with the Mahomedans and with the police which in turn led to judicial proceedings that served as a fresh excuse for noisy protests and inflammatory pleadings. With the Ganpati celebrations the area of Tilak's propaganda was widely increased."

Strangely enough, Sir Valentine who, in his next book on India published in 1921, *India, Old and New*, has said a number of things about Tilak, not very different from what he said in *Indian Unrest*, has not referred to the Ganpati festival and the status the institution occupied in the social life of Maharashtra when Sir Valentine was doing that book.

If imitation is the best way of paying tribute, the Ganpati festival was adopted as a model for the Durga festival in Bengal and even in Maharashtra and other places the Saraswati *mahotsava*, lasting from the first day of Ashvin to the tenth day, the *Dusserah*, copied almost the same pattern of the Ganpati festival. Lately, a suggestion is being much canvassed that the festival should be celebrated in the month of Magha instead of in Bhadrapada as at present because, rains often interfere with

the programmes and so organizers have to incur expenses beyond their budgets, but no one says that the festival should be stopped. On the other hand, suggestions are now being made to utilize the ten days for intensive countrywide campaigns for educating the people on the various aspects of the problem of turning self-government into good government, Swaraj into *Suraj*. Lately, a book reviewing the 60 years of the festival in its various aspects has been published in Marathi in which the history of the progress that the festival has made has been told and its contribution to the advancement of the people in the intellectual, cultural, religious and artistic fields has been assessed. It enumerates the diversity of topics discussed and the variety of men and women who have co-operated to make it a live institution for constructive, nation-building endeavour. It has lately become a fashion to decry the emphasis that is nowadays prominently noticeable rather on entertainment than on instruction. Nobody will deny the need of maintaining a proper balance between the two, but no one will think of scrapping a living memorial to Tilak's astuteness as a public leader and his organizing capacity and prudent circumspection that were so elegantly demonstrated during the early days of the Ganesh festival movement.

CHAPTER XIII

PROMOTER OF SHIVAJI FESTIVAL

Two slogans which were greatly popularized by Mrs. Annie Besant during the Home Rule movement were : " A nation that has a past must have a future " and " A nation without vision must perish." The latter was either an adaptation or a wholesale borrowing from Mazzini. Mrs. Besant often made most eloquent appeals while expounding these texts with a richness of learning and a wealth of variety which came from illustrations cited from the histories of several nations. On one occasion she spoke in very complimentary terms about Tilak for having hit upon the selection of Shivaji as the hero, not only of Maharashtra, not only of India, but the whole of humanity, because it was such an appropriate character for being held up for admiration, reverence and emulation. The memory of our great forbears and their achievements was a sign of vitality betokening

future advancement. It was also a duty according to the old Aryan teaching which enjoined the performance of ***Brahma-yajna*** every day on the twice-born. Shivaji had a place among such, said Mrs. Besant, because his achievements were so unique. Similar views were previously expressed by men like Lala Lajpatrai, Surendra Nath Banerji and Bipin Chandra Pal. The concensus of feeling among the national leaders was that Shivaji could well become a national hero and there should be a national festival in his honour confined not merely to Maharashtra. Recent activity in Bombay, under the leadership of Shri Hare Krishna Mehtab, former Governor of Bombay to carry out repairs at Pratapgarh and Raigarh and to erect an equestrian statue at Pratapgarh sponsored by the Raja Saheb of Phaltan and other leaders of Maharashtra may be regarded as indicative of the fulfilment of Tilak's desire and intentions.

What Tilak thought on this subject is succinctly contained in his own article in the *Mahratta* dated June 24, 1906. Tilak says :

"Hero-worship is a thing deeply implanted in human nature and our political aspirations need all the strength which the worship of a Swadeshi hero is likely to inspire into our minds. For this purpose, Shivaji is the only hero to be found in Indian history of modern times. He was born at a time when the whole nation required relief from misrule. By his self-sacrifice and courage, he proved to the world that India was not a country forsaken by Providence. It is true that the Mahomedans and the Hindus were then divided and Shivaji who respected the religious scruples of the Mahomedans had to fight against the Moghul rule that had become unbearable to the people. But, it does not follow from this that now that the Mahomedans and the Hindus are equally shorn of the power they once possessed and governed by the same laws and rules, they should not agree to accept as a hero one who in his own days took a bold stand against the tyranny of his own time. It is not preached, nor is it to be at all expected that the methods adopted by Shivaji should be adopted by the present generation. The charge brought by the Anglo-Indian writers in this connection is a figment of their imagination and is put forward simply to frighten away the timid amongst us. No one ever dreams that every incident in Shivaji's life is to be copied by any one at present. It is the spirit which actuated Shivaji in his doings that is held forth as the proper ideal to be kept constantly in view by the rising generation. No amount of misrepresentation can succeed in shutting out this view of the question from our vision and we hope and trust that our Mahomedan friends will not be misled by such wily methods. We do not think that the Anglo-Indian writers will object to England worshipping Nelson or France worshipping the great Napolean on the ground that such national festivals would alienate the sympathies of either nation from the other or would make the existence of amicable relations between the two nations an impossibility in future.

And yet the same advice is administered to us in a patronizing tone by these Anglo-Indian critics, being unmindful of the fact that we have now become sufficiently acquainted with their tactics to take their word for gospel truth. The Shivaji festival is not celebrated to alienate or even to irritate the Mahomedans. Times are changed and as observed above, the Mahomedans and the Hindus are in the same boat or stand on the same platform, so far as the political condition of the people is concerned. Can we not both of us derive inspiration from the life of Shivaji under these circumstances? That is the real question at issue and if this can be answered in the affirmative, it matters little that Shivaji was born in Maharashtra. This aspect of the question has been clearly perceived by the leading Indian papers in Bengal such as the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* (edited by Babu Motilal Ghose) and the *Bengalee* (edited by Babu Surendra Nath Banerji) and there is little chance of the serpentine wisdom of the Anglo-Indian writers being blindly accepted by the parties for whom it is meant. We are not against a festival being started in honour of Akbar or any other hero from Indian history. Such festivals will have their own value but that of Shivaji has a peculiar value of its own for the whole country and it is the duty of every one to see that this characteristic of the festival is not ignored or misrepresented. Every hero, be he Indian or European, acts according to the spirit of his times. If this principle is accepted, we can find nothing in Shivaji's life to which one can take exception. But, as stated above, we need not go so far. What makes Shivaji a national hero for the present is the spirit which actuated him throughout and not his deeds as such. His life clearly shows that Indian races do not so soon lose the vitality which gives them able leaders at critical times. That is the lesson which the Mahomedans and the Hindus have to learn from the history of the great Mahratta chief and the Shivaji festival is intended to emphasize the same lesson. It is sheer misrepresentation to suppose that the worship of Shivaji includes invocations to fight either with the Mahomedans or with the (British) Government. *It was only in conformity with the political circumstances of the country at the time that Shivaji was born in Maharashtra, but a future leader may be born anywhere in India and who knows may even be a Mahomedan. That is the right view of the question and we do not think that the Anglo-Indian writers can succeed in diverting our attention from it.*"

The italicized sentences are indeed prophetic when we think of the role Gandhiji and Jinnah played in achieving self-government for India and Pakistan and when we see that the builders of post-freedom India primarily hailed from Gujarat and Uttar Pradesh.

Tilak was writing in the month of June in 1906, a few months before the Calcutta Congress over which Dadabhai Naoroji presided and full four years before Sir Valentine Chirol set out to collect material for his *Indian Unrest*. Did he not come across this article in the *Mahratta* when he had industriously and diligently studied all the files of the *Kesari* and the *Mahratta* with

the help of capable interpreters like the late Mr. B. V. Jadhav and Prof. V. R. Dongre and the late Mr. A. B. Latthe ? He must have come across this and several other writings and speeches of Tilak, but his purpose was set. He had decided to damn him as an anti-British agitator with sympathies for violent revolutionary activity and make out a case, somehow or other, directly or indirectly, distantly or otherwise for establishing that Tilak was anti-British, anti-Muslim and bent on subverting British rule, whatever that might mean. Only such a motive could lead him to write in the way he has done about the Shivaji festival in particular and Tilak in general. " It was a Hindu gentleman and a Brahman who told me that if I wanted to study the psychology of Indian unrest, I should begin by studying Tilak's career " says Sir Valentine Chirol on page 40 of his book and begins by studying him as an opponent of Ranade to start with. He did not stop to study the points of agreement between Ranade and Tilak which excelled by far the differences and adds " Tilak's onslaught in Poona upon Ranade, his alliance with the bigots of orthodoxy, his appeals to popular superstition in the new Ganpati celebrations, the racial fanaticism in the anti-cow killing movement, to the Mahratta sentiment in the cult which he introduced of Shivaji, his active propaganda amongst schoolboys and students, his gymnastic societies, his preaching in favour of physical training and last but not least his control of the press and the note of personal violence which he imparted to newspaper polemics, represent the progressive stages of a highly organized campaign which has served as a model to apostles of unrest all over India." Sir Valentine regarded this as " a valuable piece of advice, for if any one can claim to be truly the Father of Indian Unrest it is Bal Gangadhar Tilak."

Explaining why Tilak chose the Shivaji festival movement for special emphasis, Sir Valentine says that it made a direct appeal to the fighting instincts of the Mahrattas and stimulated active disaffection by reviving memories of olden times when under Shivaji's leadership they had rolled back the tide of Mussalman conquest and created a Mahratta Empire of their own. The legends of Shivaji's prowess still lingered in Maharashtra where the battlemented strongholds which he built crown many a precipitous crag of the Deccan highlands. In a valley below Pratapgarh, the spot is still shown where Shivaji induced the

Mahomedan general, Afzal Khan to meet him in a peaceful conference half-way between the contending armies and as he bent down to greet his guest, plunged into his bowels the famous "tiger's claw", a hooked gauntlet of steel, while the Mahratta forces sprang out of ambush and cut the Mahomedan army to pieces. But if Shivaji's memory still lived, it belonged to a past which was practically dead and gone. Only a few years before an Englishman who had visited Shivaji's tomb had written to a local newspaper calling attention to the ruinous condition into which the people of Maharashtra had allowed the last resting place of their national hero to fall. Some say it was this letter which first inspired Tilak with the idea of reviving Shivaji's memory and converting it into a living force. Originally it was upon the great days of the Poona Peshwas that Tilak had laid the chief stress and he may possibly have discovered that theirs were not after all names to conjure with amongst non-Brahman Mahrattas who had suffered heavily enough at their hands. At any rate, Tilak brought Shivaji to the forefront and set in motion a great "national" propaganda which culminated in 1895 in the celebration at all the chief centres of Brahman activity in the Deccan of Shivaji's reputed birthday, the principal commemoration being held at Raigarh under Tilak's own presidency, where the Mahratta chieftain had himself been crowned. What was the purpose and significance of this movement may be gathered from a *shloka* or sacred poem improvised on this occasion by one of Tilak's disciples who was soon to acquire sinister notoriety: "Let us be prompt like Shivaji to engage in desperate enterprises. Take up your swords and shields and we shall cut off countless heads of enemies. Though we shall have to risk our lives in a national war, we shall assuredly shed the lifeblood of our enemies."

Sir Valentine continues his interpretation: "It was on the occasion of the Shivaji coronation festivities that the right—nay, the duty—to commit murder for political purposes was first publicly expounded. With Tilak in the Chair, a Brahman professor (Prof. C. G. Bhanu) got up to vindicate Shivaji's bloody deed. The professor said, 'Who dares to call that man a murderer, who, when only nine years old had received divine inspiration not to bow down before a Mahomedan Emperor? Who dares

to condemn Shivaji for disregarding a minor duty in the performance of a major one? Had Shivaji committed five or fifty crimes more terrible I would have been equally ready to prostrate myself, not once, but one hundred times before the image of our Lord Shivaji....Every Hindu, every Mahratta must rejoice at this spectacle, for we too are all striving to regain our lost independence and it is only by combination that we can throw off the yoke.' " According to Sir Valentine, Tilak was even more outspoken for he said :

"It is needless to make further researches as to the killing of Afzal Khan. Let us even assume that Shivaji deliberately planned and executed the murder, was the act good or evil? The question cannot be answered from the standpoint of the Penal Code or of the laws of Manu or according to the principles of morality laid down in the systems of the West or of the East. The laws which bind society are for common folk like you or me. No one seeks to trace the genealogy of a Rishi or to fasten guilt upon a Maharaja. Great men are above the principles of morality. Such principles do not reach the pedestal of a great man. Did Shivaji commit a sin in killing Afzal Khan? The answer to the question can be found in the Mahabharata itself. The Divine Krishna, teaching in the Geeta, tells us we may kill even our teachers and our kinsmen and no blame attaches, if we are not actuated by selfish desires. Shivaji did nothing from a desire to fill his own belly. It was in a praiseworthy object that he murdered Afzal Khan for the good of others. If thieves enter our house and we have not the strength to drive them out, should we not without hesitation shut them in and burn them alive? God has conferred on the *mlenchhas* (foreigners) no grant (copper plate) of Hindustan inscribed on imperishable brass. Shivaji strove to drive them forth out of the land of his birth, but he was guiltless of the sin of covetousness. Do not circumscribe your vision like frogs in the well. Rise above the Penal Code into the rarefied atmosphere of the sacred Bhagawadgeeta and consider the actions of great men."

Sir Valentine concludes this presentation of Shivaji by Tilak with the significant remark : In the reflected blaze of this apotheosis of Shivaji, Tilak stood forth as the appointed leader of the " nation ".

Who this precious jewel of a Brahman who advised Sir Valentine to study Tilak's career was, Sir Valentine does not say and presumably he must remain nameless for ever and nothing is lost by even imagining that such an individual did not exist in fact, because he was merely instrumental in giving the necessary inspiration to Sir Valentine in his self-imposed task of calumny and misrepresentation. It is more than clear that it was the police reports and Government officials' bias against Tilak that was Sir Valentine's stock-in-trade as was amply

demonstrated in the proceedings of the libel suit that Tilak filed against him in England in 1919. The officials, retired and in service, were hand in glove with him and he had closed his mind's shutters against any favourable breeze about Tilak entering into it. He never bothered to study Tilak's writings or those of his colleagues, Messrs. Kelkar and Khadilkar, to understand what Tilak was really out to do. They could have helped him as much as Tilak's own writings and speeches to understand the true import of what he calls the Shivaji cult, but he persisted only in turning and twisting everything that these men said, to ascribe to them seditious, subversive and revolutionary intentions. His was a thoroughly jaundiced vision but he has carefully noted that a certain Englishman's writing about the dilapidated condition of Raigarh supplied the necessary inspiration to Tilak to conceive the potentiality of Shivaji's name for rousing discontent against the Mussalmans and the British according to him, but in fact to rouse respect for our national hero and pride in our past.

Sir Valentine has, however, rightly pointed out the origin of the Shivaji festival by referring to the condition of Raigarh as noticed by a certain British Forest officer in Kolaba District in 1885. It was in 1818 that the British flag began to flutter on Raigarh fort. Till then there were Mahratta troops, civil and military officers, even though it had ceased to be the seat of Government either of the Peshwas or the Mahratta kings, i.e. the descendants of Shivaji. Since then only forest growth abundantly flourished there and occasionally people, both Indians and Europeans, took the trouble of ascending the steep path to Raigarh, out of curiosity. Sir Richard Temple, one of the Governors of Bombay had gone there, accompanied by Mr. Arthur Crawford, Dr. Waters and Captain Pitt, had a number of pencil-sketches drawn and asked the Collector of Kolaba to maintain the fort in proper upkeep. Taking advantage of Sir Richard's interest in it, the Kolaba Forest officer applied for some grant for proper maintenance of old buildings or their remnants and monuments. One Mr. Joshi of Baroda paid a visit to Raigarh and wrote a book about it. A couple of more Englishmen also wrote on the subject as a result of which Lord Reay, another Governor of Bombay recommended that the work of repairs and restoration should be undertaken. An annual grant

of Rs. 5 was made for the upkeep of Shivaji's tomb! In 1894, the well-known Parsee writer, Mr. R. P. Karkaria read a paper before the Bombay branch of the Royal Asiatic Society in which he dealt with the hill forts in the Deccan with special reference to Pratapgarh and refuted all charges against Shivaji regarding his alleged treacherous behaviour with Afzal Khan, quoting among other authorities, the British historian Scott Waring.

In 1895, Tilak took up the question in the *Kesari.* Tilak reprimanded the descendants of Shivaji and other Mahratta Sardars for doing nothing to reinstate a memorial to Shivaji. Tilak called upon the princes and people to express their gratitude to Shivaji by organizing meetings to collect public subscriptions, which soon began to pour in, though in meagre sums. On May 30, 1895, a meeting was held at Hira Baug, under the presidency of the Pratinidhi of Aundh. It was attended by a large number of Mahratta Princes in addition to hundreds of common people. Some Sardars spoke at the meeting also. Among the conveners along with Tilak was Sardar Dabhade of Talegaon. The Chief of Kurundwad moved the first resolution requesting people to contribute generously for this patriotic work. An executive committee was elected to carry on the work of the Shivaji memorial, Tilak being one of them. Tilak in his speech at this meeting said that it was possible for a single prince like the Maharajah of Kolhapur to erect a suitable memorial but as many people as possible should co-operate in this work of creating a symbol of gratitude and respect to their national hero. The Maharajah of Kolhapur had sent a telegram of sympathy and support to the cause of the meeting. Ranade also indicated his support to the movement by sending a letter.

Once the ball was set rolling, a number of suggestions as to the form which the memorial to Shivaji should take began to be made and discussed in the Bombay and Poona newspapers. In an article in the *Kesari,* Tilak discussed the various suggestions. The memorial committee found that it was not possible to accommodate all the proposals in one plan. The committee, therefore, decided to erect a *chhatri* over Shivaji's grave. The cost was estimated at Rs. 40,000. The question of a statue had to be dropped for lack of funds to cover its high cost which was estimated in terms of lakhs. The Shivaji memorial movement received wide support and attention from all quarters. Even

Mussalmans from various places in Maharashtra approved of the idea. The Gaikwad of Baroda sent a sum of Rs. 1,000/-. Sardar Ghorpade replied to *The Times of India* saying that it had misquoted Ranade who was alleged to have said that the restoration of Shivaji's tomb at Raigarh which was in Government's possession had been completed with the grant of Rs. 5/- a year. Apparently the paper did not like the movement. It not only mentioned Ranade but also Telang as having been satisfied with what Government had done and further observed that the attempt made in 1885 to collect subscriptions was given up because there was satisfaction with Government's arrangement and added that some people who were more enamoured of the Peshwas than Shivaji had started the new movement which was quite unnecessary. These statements were also contradicted by other correspondents. For some time attributing of ulterior motives and their repudiation went on. The result was that even Bombay rose to the occasion. A public meeting was held and a memorial committee was appointed with Dr. M. G. Deshmukh, Mr. D. A. Khare and Mr. Chimanlal Setalwad as Secretaries. A sum of Rs. 5,600/- was subscribed on the spot, on August 6. On August 20, the figure rose to Rs. 6,500/-. A Gujarati theatrical company gave Rs. 700/- as a donation from one of its performances. A meeting was held at the Fergusson College over which Prof. C. G. Bhanu presided, in support of the memorial schemes. The deputation appointed at the Poona meeting waited upon the Maharajah of Kolhapur. Tilak was Secretary of this deputation. The Maharajah received the deputation and replying to its memorial promised all support to the *chhatri* proposal and an annual grant. By October 1, the collections went up to Rs. 9,000/- and by November 5 to Rs. 11,000/-.

Tilak was in the midst of another controversy at this time in connection with the session of the Indian National Congress and the National Social Conference at Poona and he had just then given up the secretaryship of the Congress. The President of the session of the Congress, Surendra Nath Banerji and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya were requested to address a Shivaji festival meeting on December 29 at the Reay Market, which they did. Some people objected to this as useless, because how could a mass meeting help any collections for a memorial? But an effort to create enthusiasm among the people by getting

men like Surendra Nath and Malaviya to support the cause was surely quite sensible and adroit. A few days later, the subject was discussed from another angle. Some people suggested that it should be Shivaji's birthday, others, his death anniversary and still others his coronation day as the most suitable for a festival. The well-known Satara historian, Mr. D. B. Parasnis suggested that publication of a history of the Mahrattas would be a more suitable memorial than any *chhatri* or monument and the people of Mahad which is at the foot of Raigarh proclaimed their intention to celebrate the birthday anniversary on April 15. They were in correspondence with Tilak in this behalf for a few weeks. The programme of the celebration ceremony was published in the *Kesari* for March 3 and it was made clear that this celebration had nothing to do with the memorial fund which had increased to Rs. 16,000/- by now and Tilak insisted that it must reach the target of Rs. 50,000/-. In the *Kesari* for March 3, it was declared also that all who would attend the ceremony on Raigarh fort would be fed free, all material used for the celebration would be Swadeshi and *kirtans*, dramas, ballads specially composed for the occasion would be rewarded and an appeal was made to volunteers to come forward to look after the arrangements as a temporary camp was to be organized there on the fort which was no better than a jungle. About this time a controversy about the Shivaji-Afzal Khan tussle between Mr. Karkaria and his opponent M. J. went on in *The Times of India*. The *Kesari* advised those who wanted to join in the controversy to come forward with accurate and reliable documentary data and in two issues, Tilak wrote where and how many such documents were available. Prof. Bhanu delivered a lecture on this controversy at the Deccan College History Club over which Principal Bain presided. He expressed the view that it was no use blaming Shivaji for whatever he may or may not have done. Great men like him were above ordinary ethics. He was out to establish a kingdom of the Mahrattas for national good and everything was justified in fulfilment of it.

In this way the Shivaji idea caught on and became quite popular. As the Raigarh fort was in the reserve forest area, permission of the District Forest officer was sought and obtained. But the Revenue officer, Mr. Charles Lamb, Collector of

the District said that the festival was in the nature of a fair and as permission was not asked for in time, no festival could be held. Tilak went to Mahabaleshwar to get the permission from the Executive Councillor concerned but he was not sympathetic. Tilak was an additional member of the Legislative Council and yet this was the state of things. Tilak appealed to Lord Sandhurst, the Governor himself and secured the necessary permission to the great relief of the people of Mahad who had made all preparations and collected about Rs. 5,000/- for that purpose. Being fully aware that attempts would be made to misrepresent the proceedings, he gave a stern warning to all in the *Kesari* not to play in the hands of mischief-makers by indulging in any wild talk about Shivaji and his achievements, keeping in mind that they were already busy fighting prejudice against them in Anglo-Indian quarters. From Mahabaleshwar Tilak directly went to Mahad and people's enthusiasm was boundless. In spite of the perilous steepness of the ascent and numerous other inconveniences, hundreds of people went up the fort. Every one who was there for three days remembered that occasion for ever in his life as if inscribed on stone. Messrs. N. B. Kanitkar and S. M. Paranjpe delivered speeches, Vinayak Shastri Abhyankar performed a *kirtan*, *melas* sang songs, ballads were recited, several old sites were inspected and a procession of Shivaji's portrait was taken round. Descendants of Tanaji Malusare and Yesaji Kank, who collaborated with Shivaji to found the Mahratta kingdom, were honoured and the celebrations came to a close after three days amidst the cries of Jai to Shivaji, Ramdas and Queen Victoria. Tilak delivered the concluding address in which he said that just as there was nothing wrong in the English people raising a memorial to Oliver Cromwell or the French to Napolean Bonaparte, there was nothing wrong in the Mahrattas or Indians raising a memorial to Shivaji and drawing inspiration from him for their political progress. A few Government officials and newspaper correspondents were present at this festival.

It must remain a secret what reports were made by them to Government, but later developments indicated that invoking the name of Shivaji for inspiration was regarded seditious by itself and a few months later Tilak's seditious intentions were regarded as founded on the fact that he was an organizer of the

Shivaji festival during his trial on the charge of sedition made against him in 1897. His opponents in public life who called themselves rationalists found fault with him for describing Shivaji as an incarnation of God and promoting superstition. Tilak could easily defend himself against them but when sedition was sought to be read in promoting the Shivaji cult, to borrow Sir Valentine's expression, he was helpless. What more did Tilak mean than that Shivaji was an uncommonly great man, who delivered his people from bondage and ruled as a righteous ruler when he called him an incarnation of God ? That expression at once appealed to popular imagination, but the rationalists who were described as *sudharaks* or social reformers in those days were unable to see this point of view from their ivory tower. After this festival at Raigarh, efforts for collection of the memorial fund slackened. Tilak wanted to proceed with the construction work after a sum of Rs. 50,000/- was in hand. He was indeed expecting that the princes and chiefs would make it up. It was never out of his mind and it is remarkable that in the sedition case against him one of the articles objected to was about the Shivaji festival. This mixing up of Shivaji with sedition on the part of Government never daunted him or even his people. The Shivaji festival was celebrated at Raigarh every year during his life time and is celebrated even now. Indeed the festival travelled far afield to Calcutta and even Japan. In Poona, it has been an annual feature, but it must be acknowledged that this festival never assumed the proportions of the Ganpati festival. In 1906, the celebration at Raigarh was on the scale of 1896. Tilak's friend, Mr. Daji Abaji Khare was the president on this occasion and he was accompanied by Tilak, Paranjpe and several other leading persons from various districts.

Lord Curzon, who was then Viceroy had a special soft corner for archaeological finds and old monuments. He had ordered a museum of Shivaji at Calcutta and his pictures and arms and other belongings were collected there. Mr. Khare who was then member of the Bombay Council drew the attention of Lord Lamington, the then Governor of Bombay to the condition of Raigarh. He went to Raigarh from Mahabaleshwar on June 12. He started on a bicycle on June 10 and reached Mahad on the 11th. The Mahad Municipality presented him a welcome

address. It had started raining, but the Governor did not mind it. He went up and round the fort while it was raining hard and was surprised to learn that Tilak, Mr. Khare, Mrs. Khare and others were able to scale Raigarh at a stretch, without making any halts. His Government passed a resolution making a grant of Rs. 5,000/- and supply of certain other materials for repair work. The agitation against the partition of Bengal had reached its zenith about this time and of all provinces, Maharashtra under Tilak's leadership, had extended fullest support to the Bengalis by taking up the Swadeshi and boycott movements with exemplary enthusiasm. Mr. S. G. Deooskar, a Mahratta Brahman from Satara had made Calcutta his home for years and had become a perfect Bengali, steeped in Bengal's literature and way of life. He suggested to the Bengali leaders to take up the idea of the Shivaji festival. They readily agreed and decided to have Tilak as the high priest for the occasion. Motilal Ghose was Chairman of the Festival Committee and Bepin Chandra Pal its Secretary. Tilak was accompanied by Mr. G. S. Khaparde and Dr. B. S. Moonje. Tilak was taken in a procession to the meeting place in a carriage drawn by volunteers on June 5, 1906 and the meeting was presided over by Babu Ashwini Kumar Dutt. Mr. Shyamsunder Chakravarti recited Rabindra Nath Tagore's poem on Shivaji in Bengali. Tilak spoke in English. Several other receptions were given in his honour. The speech he made on this occasion is to be found in an old collection of his speeches and the following are extracts from it :

"Human nature is so constituted that we cannot do without festivals. It is the nature of man to love festivals. We must have festivals. If you want to keep up your spirit you should assemble once a year at least and you should concentrate your intellectual and spiritual force for a particular idea. The festivals are celebrated simply to keep the memories of days gone by. Unfortunately we had no political festival to keep up the memory of our heroes except the Indian National Congress. This is the reason why the Shivaji festival was started in Maharashtra with the hope that it will spread all over India without distinction of caste and creed. There is no reason to object to the festival because Shivaji was a Mahratta or because the life of Shivaji was not up to the standards of the 20th century. These are minor points. If Shivaji was a Mahratta it was because he was born at Poona. If you look at his ethnology you will find that Shivaji belonged to the same stock as the Rajputs. You may call him a Rajput or even a Bengali if you like, but continue the celebration from year to year. It is such an inspiring festival that in these days we cannot afford to do without

it. The central idea is that you must take the spirit from the life of Shivaji. There had been various objections started against it, not here but in my province. Some objected to it, because they were Mahomedans. That objection no longer exists. Shivaji did not fight against the Mahomedans because they were Mahomedans but against the tyrannical power that existed in India at the time. I shall give you an illustration to show to you what noble stuff Shivaji was made of. A lieutenant of Shivaji once defeated a Mussalman chief, took his family captive and presented them all to Shivaji. The wife of the Muslim chief was at once restored to her husband. That was the spirit in which he conducted himself. He was a *Rajarshi* and you have to study his life and career in a reciprocal spirit. I am sure, that if you do so, you will be inspired by a sentiment in life which will serve you in these days and which you cannot draw from the history of any other country. The Goddess Kali is the presiding deity in Bengal. The same Goddess was the protectress of Shivaji. I am told some persons objected to the worship of Kali here today. I see no reason, no logical reason why such objections should be raised. We are all Hindus and idolaters and I am not ashamed of it. We cannot conceive Shivaji without Bhavani. His whole life was associated with the blessings of that Goddess which he cherished above everything else. There was a grand festival at Raigarh a month and a half ago at Shivaji's shrine at Raigarh where we took in a palanquin a portrait of Shivaji. This and other shrines were given grants-in-aid and kept up by the British Government. When I say that even Bengali Mussalmans should join in the Shivaji festival, I do not suggest that they should join the worship of Kali. That would be against their code of religious conduct and I would certainly respect it but Shivaji could well be their hero also as a patron-saint of national deliverance. History tells us that in the worst days of Mahomedan rule, they worshipped Shivaji as a revered master and he freely employed them in his service. The Shivaji festival was in no sense anti-Muslim and it was only interested parties, interested in doing us harm who interpreted it as such."

Enough has been said so far to establish what Tilak's object in establishing the cult of Shivaji was. In essence it was a praiseworthy object and therefore, though there were ups and downs, the name of Shivaji has remained a name to conjure with even to this day. During the war, even the British Government effectively used his name and his pictures to recruit men for the Army, Navy and Air Force. The princes and potentates who backed out of their commitments after Tilak's first conviction in 1897, made those commitments — the descendants of some of them made them — good under the leadership of the Maharajah of Gwalior. The foundation-stone of Shri Shivaji Military Preparatory School at Poona and the equestrian statue of Shivaji in front of it was laid by the Prince of Wales,

now Duke of Windsor, in the midst of the non-co-operation movement. Men like Justice Kinckaid and Prof. Rawlinson wrote about Shivaji and the Mahrattas in a spirit which clearly indicated a change in the angle of vision, even though they continued to commit same errors due to imperfect study of all available material. The *chhatri* at Raigarh was erected by the Raigarh memorial committee in 1926 with Government encouragement and the co-operation of the Kolaba District Local Board and the annual celebration of Shivaji's birthday there is a feature of Maharashtra's social life. There is also a *dharmashala* there which can house two or three scores of people at a time, if they intend to camp there. Tilak's plans were thus posthumously carried out by his lieutenants, leading among them being N. C. Kelkar. Shivaji seems to be well on his way to recognition as a national patron-hero and a precious heritage in that a few lakhs are now to be spent for erecting a statue and laying out a park at Pratapgarh. It now only remains to prepare an authentic and authoritative biography of Shivaji in English and all the Indian languages recognized by the Constitution of the Indian Union and to declare a national holiday in order to pay the debt of gratitude that India owes to Shivaji the Great. The Government of Bombay has already declared Shivaji's birthday anniversary as a public holiday. The National Defence Academy at Khadakwasla can also associate with itself Shivaji's name in a suitable manner.

Tilak was so much enamoured of the subject of Shivaji that he contemplated to write a life of Shivaji. It is a pity that he was unable to accomplish this desire and the Indian public was denied what would certainly have been a most suitable sequel to Ranade's *Rise of the Mahratta Power*. Raigarh, where Shivaji was coronated deserves to be specially taken care of as an old monument. It can be developed into a fine hill station and a holiday resort. If the Government of Bombay build some suitable quarters for holidayers and maintain a well-equipped library of books on Mahratta history and politics there, it would become an ideal place for those interested in research and study of current politics too. Similar arrangements can and may suitably and fittingly be made at Sindhudurga, Malvan, which was Shivaji's principal naval seat. The chapter may well end with

an appreciation of Shivaji by Dennis Kinckaid in his *The Grand Rebel* in which he has emphasized the secular character of Shivaji. Says he :

> "In spite of the character of a crusade which Ramdas' blessings gave to Shivaji's long struggle, it is remarkable how little religious animosity or intolerance Shivaji displayed. His kindness to Catholic priests is an agreeable contrast to the persecutions of the Hindu priesthood in the (largely Marathi-speaking) Indian territories of the Portuguese. Even his enemies remarked on his extreme respect for Mussalman priests, for mosques and for the Koran. The Muslim historian, Khan Khana, who cannot mention Shivaji in his chronicle without adding epithets of vulgar abuse, nevertheless acknowledges that Shivaji never entered a conquered town without taking measures to safeguard the mosques from damage; whenever a Koran came into his possession, he treated it with the same respect as if it had been one of the sacred works of his own faith; and that whenever his men captured Mussalman ladies, they were brought to Shivaji, who looked after them as if they were his wards till he could return them to their relations."

CHAPTER XIV

STAUNCH ADHERENT OF CONGRESS

The history of the Indian National Congress is really the history of India's struggle for freedom, the various phases of which could be studied from some well-known works like Annie Besant's *How India Wrought for Freedom* and Ambika Charan Muzumdar's *India's Political Evolution* with reference to the pre-Gandhi era and Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya's *History of the Indian National Congress* with reference to the post-Gandhi era. Poona, in the words of Gokhale, was once the political capital of India and the first session of the Congress was to have been held there. But owing to the outbreak of cholera in Poona, it was not considered proper to gather the pick of India there and the venue was changed to Bombay almost at the eleventh hour. It has been noted that among those who could not attend the first session were Ranade and Bhandarkar although the former was one of its prime inspirers. It was Mr. Vaman Shivram Apte, the first Principal of the Fergusson College and Mr. Gopal Ganesh Agarkar, the second Principal who represented Poona and also the Deccan Education Society

at the first Congress held in Bombay in the Christmas holidays of 1885. Prof. Bal Gangadhar Tilak was not with them. He joined the Congress in 1889 when he had made up his mind to resign from the Deccan Education Society and since then he was a steadfast adherent of it till he died.

Yet, it is somewhat curious that during his career of forty years of quite a stormy public life, he was never President of the Indian National Congress. It was at least four times, however, that his name was considered. He was actually elected in 1919, but he was abroad and so declined the honour. On other occasions, he was sounded about his willingness or otherwise but every time he begged to be excused, because he thought he was more suitable for other roles in the Congress sessions at which he was proposed President. That is the reason why he figures nowhere in the list of Congress Presidents. He was first seriously thought of as President by Motilal Ghose and Bepin Chandra Pal for the 1906 session of the Congress at Calcutta. But Sir Pherozeshah Mehta did not want him and he proposed Dadabhai Naoroji and everyone fell in line, because no one liked to contest the honour against the Grand Old Man of India. The next year, the Congress was proposed to be held at Nagpur, when Dr. Rash Behari Ghose was Pherozeshah's choice and he was almost a dictator in these matters in those days but the Nagpur people wanted Tilak. Tilak himself proposed Lala Lajpatrai and declined to enter the contest chiefly because he wanted to remain free to strain every nerve in order to preserve what was gained at Calcutta. He had come to the conclusion that Pherozeshah was intent upon whittling down the Calcutta resolutions on Swadeshi, boycott, Swaraj and national education. Even though the Congress venue was moved to Surat, Tilak adhered to his proposal of having Lala Lajpatrai as President. The third time, he was actually elected to preside over the Delhi session in 1919, but he declined the honour from Aden while on his way to England. He was more keen on fighting the Chirol case and propaganda for Swaraj in England at that time. The fourth and last offer was made to him by Deshabandhu Chittaranjan Das. That was on the eve of the inauguration of the non-co-operation movement. A special session of the Congress was contemplated at

Calcutta in September 1920. Gandhiji was canvassing support for non-co-operation in order to right the Punjab and Khilafat wrongs and achieve self-government. As will be found stated subsequently, Tilak wanted to keep himself free to maintain the Congress as a united front, because he feared that the Congress stood in an imminent danger of being split up into two or three groups in the wake of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms. He regretted that the Moderates were already away and had formed their separate organization, the Indian Liberal Federation. The late Mr. K. P. Khadilkar has authoritatively and accurately described the working of Tilak's mind and his future plans as explained to him by Tilak himself only a fortnight before his death in a two-hour, heart-to-heart talk. All this is recorded in an article in the *Lokamanya* dated July 20, 1921, about a year after Tilak's death by Khadilkar. It will be found reproduced in its entirety at the end of this chapter.

From 1889 onwards, Tilak attended most of the sessions of the Congress. He missed just two or three when he was very greatly preoccupied with other business. Once, it was the Bapat case in Baroda and on another occasion the Tai Maharaj case complications in the law courts. At the Delhi session of 1919 it was physically impossible for him to attend, because he was in England. He was selected as a speaker to move or second or support resolutions on some subject or other whenever he was present, although he was not much of an orator like many of his compatriots from Bengal and Madras. Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya in his *History of the Indian National Congress* has enumerated 36 Indians as Patriarchs of the Congress and given brief appreciations of them with reference to their achievements. It may be a coincidence, but he has devoted the biggest space to Tilak. Discussing the split in the Congress at Surat in that connection he refers to various versions of the occurrence then published and says that Tilak was described as the arch-offender who had brought about the ruin of the Congress which had been built up in more than 25 years. Giving his own summary on the basis of those versions he winds up the discussion by saying, "It would be imprudent on our part to attempt any apportionment of blame between two such men as Lokamanya Tilak and Gokhale and we pass over the unfortunate incident without allowing our reverence for them to be dimmed in the

least." It is evident that he has deliberately shirked expression of opinion which he could have done in the light of all the accounts he had before him. He would probably have done the same, had he been required to pronounce an opinion on the controversy in Poona in 1895 in which year the tenth session of the Congress was held over the question of holding that year's Social Conference in the *pandal* of the Congress which ultimately led to the resignation of secretaryship of the Reception Committee of the Congress by Tilak. While discussing Tilak's association with Congress for forty years, such shirking would not be proper for one who undertakes to write his biography, but more about this in due course.

As stated before, Tilak joined the Congress in 1889 at the fourth session held in Bombay. Sir William Wedderburn presided over it. Sir Charles Bradlaugh attended this session. A curious coincidence was that there were 1889 delegates present at this session held in 1889 ! In order to report well the proceedings of this Congress the *Kesari* was published for a week in Bombay as a daily. One of the resolutions passed by this Congress was moved by Mr. Eardley Norton, a Madras barrister, regarding the expansion and reform of the Legislative Councils. After Pandit Ajodhya Nath, Babu Bishan Narain Dhar, Rev. Ram Chander Bose, Mr. G. Subramanya Iyer, Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal, Lala Lajpatrai, Pandit Malaviya and Mr. Surendra Nath Banerji had spoken on it, Tilak moved an amendment to clause 5 of the resolution suggesting a modification in the system of electorates proposed in the resolution. His point was that members to the Imperial Legislative Council should not be directly elected but that the Provincial Legislative Council in each province should act as an electoral college for returning representatives of that province. That is to say the election should be indirect as far as the Imperial Council was concerned. Gokhale seconded this amendment, expressing full agreement with Tilak. This was perhaps the first and last item in the Congress programme on which Gokhale and Tilak were in entire agreement. The amendment was not passed by the Congress, but it may be pointed out that this very system was in existence from 1892 to 1919 and Pherozeshah Mehta and Gokhale were elected to the Supreme Legislative Council under this system. This was Tilak's debut in the Congress and he made

his mark by his decisive and forthright manner of speech. At the Nagpur Congress in 1891, he moved a resolution demanding modification of rules under the Arms Act so as to allow Indian citizens to bear arms under licence, establishment of military colleges and grant of commissions in the army to Indians. In 1893 at Lahore, Dadabhai Naoroji presiding, he moved a resolution demanding permanent settlement of land revenue in all provinces as in Bengal. At the Poona session in 1895, he seconded a resolution praying for fixity in land tenures. At the 12th session at Calcutta in 1896 he moved a resolution for a more equitable adjustment between Local and Central Governments of the finances of the country. He was then an additional member of the Legislative Council and had also given evidence before the Decentralization Commission. He was therefore appropriately chosen to move this resolution.

At the Lahore Congress in 1900 over which Sir Narayan Chandavarkar presided, Tilak supported a resolution moved by Mr. G. Subramanya Iyer and seconded by Mr. R. N. Mudholkar demanding an independent inquiry into the economic condition of the people. At the 17th session at Calcutta in 1901 presided over by Dinshaw Wacha, Tilak seconded a resolution moved by Mr. V. R. Pandit of Nagpur on education in India. Lord Curzon was contemplating the appointment of an Education Commission and Tilak pleaded that just as on the Hunter Commission on Education in 1882, Justice K. T. Telang was appointed a member, suitable Indians should find place on the Commission then contemplated. In 1904, the session of the Congress was held in Bombay over which Sir Henry Cotton presided. Sir William Wedderburn moved a resolution proposing appointment of a delegation to be sent to England to educate British public opinion to India's right to self-government. Tilak seconded the resolution. The resolution was passed and as a result, Gokhale and Lajpatrai went as India's representatives to England in 1905. At the Banaras session held in 1905 over which Gokhale presided, Tilak moved a resolution on famine, poverty and land revenue. At the 1906 Calcutta Congress session over which Dadabhai Naoroji presided, Tilak supported a resolution on Swadeshi moved by Rao Bahadur P. Ananda Charlu and seconded by Pandit Malaviya. It was this resolution to which Tilak had to move an amendment calling upon citizens to use

Swadeshi goods, even at a sacrifice. In 1907 came the session at Surat which needs special treatment. From 1908 September Tilak was in jail till the middle of 1914. In 1916 he was again in the Congress at the Lucknow session presided over by Mr. Ambika Charan Muzumdar at which he supported the resolution on self-government moved by Surendra Nath Banerji and seconded by Annie Besant. In 1917 at the Calcutta Congress over which Mrs. Besant presided, Surendra Nath Banerji moved, Jinnah seconded, Bepin Chandra Pal supported and Tilak further supported the resolution on self-government welcoming in it His Majesty's declaration of policy in favour of granting responsible government to India. At this session he also moved a resolution demanding release of the Ali Brothers who were interned without trial in Chhindwara Jail. The last Congress that Tilak attended was the Amritsar Congress in 1919 where he helped to a great extent to co-ordinate the differing attitudes of Deshbandhu Das and himself, Gandhiji and Malaviyaji and Mrs. Besant. He may have done much more at all these sessions than enumerated here but this is enough to show that he was a staunch adherent of the Congress.

During all these years, he was anxious to turn the Congress into a body working all the year round, in India and abroad, from a Christmas holiday gathering into an unofficial Parliament of India containing all shades of political opinion, but presenting a united front to the bureaucracy on a minimum common agreement. He also wanted to turn it from a petitioning body into a militant one trying to exert pressure on the powers that be for conceding more and more political power to Indians till they achieved full self-government. To this end, Tilak actively encouraged the holding of Provincial and District Conferences, which dealt with people's grievances and demands of a local or provincial or divisional character besides extending support to the demands made by the Congress which embraced wide national questions. He made numerous speeches on a variety of topics. But the best and reliable record of all his activity for forty years is to be found in the articles that he wrote in the *Kesari* and the *Mahratta*. Indeed, it is interesting to trace what he wrote from time to time during his lifetime about the affairs of the Congress in those papers. The *Kesari* was started on January 4, 1881 and the Congress was started in 1885. But its

establishment was under discussion for a couple of years. What was proposed to be the function of the Congress was already being performed by the Bombay Presidency Association in Bombay, the Sarvajanik Sabha in Poona, the Mahajan Sabha in Madras, the British Indian Association and the National League in Calcutta. The *Kesari* highly commended the work of these public bodies.

In 1882. Sir Allan Octavian Hume retired from the Civil Service and in 1883, he addressed an open letter to educated Indians, whom he called the natural leaders of the masses. He said, "If only 50 men, good and true, could be found to join as founders, the thing (a national gathering of Indians) can be established and the further development would be comparatively easy." The plan placed before them was a democratic constitution, freedom from personal ambition and the dictum that "he that is greatest among you, let him be your servant." Hume frankly said, "If they cannot renounce personal ease and pleasure, then, at present, at any rate all hopes of progress are at an end and India truly neither desires nor deserves any better government than she enjoys." The *Kesari* and the *Mahratta* wholly approved and hailed this appeal to educated Indians because their founders were fully in agreement, with those sentiments and they were Hume's supporters and admirers all through. In March 1885, the *Kesari* greeted the Sarvajanik Sabha's decision to form a reception committee for holding the first Congress session in Poona, which had to be held in Bombay owing to sudden outbreak of cholera in Poona. These papers were of the view that Congress should concentrate only on political reforms and political demands and welcomed similar views expressed by Telang in its 9th and 10th issues of 1886. In its issue dated 4-1-1887, the *Kesari* deprecated the proposal of Congress taking up social reforms also and suggested that for reforms in other fields like social reforms, economic uplift, industrial progress and education, there should be separate organizations. It condemned the Anglo-Indian papers for supporting the view of mixing politics and social reforms as originating from a desire to weaken efforts for political progress. In July-August of 1888, the *Kesari* devoted four articles to the discussion of this question and summing it up said that the delegates to the Congress themselves may meet

separately and discuss whatever matters they may be interested in after the session of the Congress, whose political character should be exclusively maintained for all time. That will minimize differences, though even on matters of political policy they could not be wholly avoided. The *Kesari* was delighted to find that at the third session of the Congress held at Madras, a large proportion of the delegates was composed of the Muslims as also a number of peasant delegates. It also was glad that its suggestion of adopting a constitution for the Congress was discussed and a pamphlet explaining the aims and objects of the Congress and the people's duty towards it was published and sold at a nominal price. The *Kesari* in its issue of 2-9-1888 expressed satisfaction that the Anjuman-i-Islam adopted Congress aims as its aims. When Sir Syed Ahmed and Principal Bake of Aligarh College instigated Mussalmans of India not to attend the Allahabad session of 1888, calling the Congress a seditious organization aiming at turning the British out of India and the Bombay Muslims played in their hands, the *Kesari* regretted it and tried to reason with them. It dubbed Principal Bake as " the new saviour of Muslims " in an ironical vein.

The first three sessions were held in Bombay, Calcutta and Madras and high Government officials like the Viceroy and the Governors encouraged organizers of the sessions, but from here onwards, the liberal policy underwent a change and that was possibly behind the Muslim change of front. Sir Auckland Colvin who was Governor of U. P. took Hume to task. Some Indians were frightened by this gesture from Government. Hume stuck to his guns even though Lord Dufferin who originally supported him, had now fallen out. The *Kesari* gave a stern reply to Colvin and warned people not to get browbeaten. The *Kesari* also pleaded for education of public opinion for political reform not only in India, but also in England and urged strongly that Hume must be helped in England where he had started the British Congress Committee, the Indian Parliamentary Committee and the bulletin, *India*. In its issue dated 27-12-1887 the *Kesari* suggested starting of a fund and despatch of political missionaries all over the country and to England. During these years Tilak was not editor of the *Kesari* but he was one of the contributors to its columns and all members of the

Deccan Education Society were joint proprietors of the *Kesari* and the *Mahratta*. It would appear, however, that either Tilak or Agarkar was the author of all these writings since they continued to write on same or similar lines when Tilak completely took over the *Kesari* and the *Mahratta* and Agarkar started the *Sudharak*. From 1890 Tilak was wholly responsible for the conduct of the *Kesari* and the *Mahratta*. In that year he once remarked, "Our people have begun to regard the Congress session as a festive occasion like Dusserah, Diwali or Muharram." On 18-11-1890 he said, "The Indian National Congress has embarked upon a serious and responsible task and it is necessary that we should show as early as possible, that we can fulfil it in a self-dependent spirit." On 16-2-1892, Hume in a circular letter to all Congress Committees remarked that Congressmen must not wait with folded hands for Government to act. They must move and agitate strongly for what they want. The *Kesari* completely justified his stand and pleaded for moral and monetary support to him. It reprimanded Congress Committees for having found fault with that circular and said that Hume deserved all backing when he was attacked by his own countrymen for espousing the cause of India. It even expressed anxiety as to what would happen to the Congress when Hume was no more. This was in April-May of 1892.

In 1890, Government prohibited Government officials from attending the Congress at Calcutta. Since then men like Ranade who were the real founders of the Congress were greatly inconvenienced. Yet he attended the Social Conference which was always held at the same place where the Congress session was held. This Congress protested against this ban and selected a deputation for proceeding to England. A resolution in favour of holding the next session in England itself was also carried. Hume had placed this idea before the people on the eve of the Nagpur session in 1891. Writing about this suggestion, both Tilak and Agarkar in their respective papers said that it was out of disappointment with the capacity, courage, patriotism and public spirit of educated Indians that Hume had made that suggestion. His circulars were being flouted by Provincial Congress Committees out of timidity because Government officials regarded them as a dangerous and seditious activity. Both of them wrote furiously against educated Indians calling them

chicken-hearted. Hume was being shown up by them as an eccentric and a madman and it appeared as though a split in the Congress became imminent before the Congress was ten years of age. There were differences over the circular even in the British Congress Committee, though Digby and Wedderburn were on Hume's side. But soon all the clouds melted and the Allahabad session passed off without any untoward development but Hume's ideas about widespread and organized movement among the masses was not taken up. Hume went to England and the National Congress continued to meet like a holiday gathering every Christmas. Tilak and Agarkar wrote in support of Hume all through 1892 and 1893 in their respective papers.

Describing these developments in his *History of the Indian National Congress*, Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya says:

"Also though it was gratifying to Hume in 1886 that the Congress should have been duly received by Lord Dufferin, the Viceroy in Calcutta and in 1887 by Lord Counemara, the Governor of Madras, yet in later years, it evoked the hostility of Provincial satraps like Sir Auckland Colvin of U. P. This gentleman advised that the Congress had better turn its attention to social reform, not knowing that that was the original line of action chalked out by Hume for the Congress and that it was later altered into a political organization at the instance of Lord Dufferin. Sir Auckland thought that the movement was premature and in its aggressive phases, assumed since the third session in 1887 at Madras, was even dangerous. The denunciatory method would, in his opinion, excite hatred and create a split between the Loyalists and the Nationalists. He added that the Congress 'unfairly claimed to represent the Indian population'. Hume replied that 'the hatred was already there and required to be assuaged, that any counter-agitation would be taken up only by Anglo-Indians, uncultured men and time-servers.' He said, 'The Muslims were as intelligent as, and more democratic than any one else and in their antipathy to Congress were only being used by a few ill-advised officials who clung to the pestilential doctrine of *Divide et Impera*. The wretched plea that they are inferior to Hindus is monstrous.' As for Congress confining its attention to social reform, Hume pointed out how the Congress sought the regeneration of India on all lines—spiritual, moral, social and political. Meeting the charge of Congress propaganda being premature and mischievous, he warned officials as to how they were surrounded by self-seekers and flatterers and kept out of touch with real public opinion. 'Indians of high character and public spirit,' he said, 'do not willingly present themselves in official quarters where they may be met with suspicion from the authorities and insult from underlings. He concluded by saying that the real question to be asked was not 'Is it premature?' but 'Is it too late?'"

But official attitude had changed and the fourth Congress at Allahabad had to face many difficulties. It could not get the grounds whereupon to put up the tents. Mrs. Besant in her book, *How India Wrought for Freedom* quotes the instance of a gentleman who had attended the Madras session in defiance of the Collector of his district, was called on to give a security of Rs. 20,000/ to keep the peace. Matters rapidly became worse and Government's hostility took the shape of a circular in 1890, already referred to, issued by the Bengal Government to all Secretaries and Heads of Departments, subordinate to it, "pointing out that under the orders of the Government of India, the presence of Government officials even as visitors, at such meetings is not advisable and that their taking part in proceedings of any such meetings is also prohibited." The seven cards of admission sent to the Private Secretary of the Governor were returned. The bogey of Muslim opposition to Congress was set up quite in the early years of the Congress and it is curious that Sheikh Raza Hussein Khan produced at this Allahabad session a *fatwa* supporting the Congress from the Shams-ul-Ulema, the leader of the Sunni community of Lucknow and declared that, "It is not the Muslims but their official masters who are opposed to the Congress." About this time there arose a wave of Hindu-Muslim riots and it continued for two years. Tilak organized a resistance movement against it by starting the Ganesh festival. Tilak was decided upon developing people's power of organization and resistance and to that end he started another festival, the Shivaji festival. Agarkar was no more by this time; he died prematurely in June 1895. They held different and even conflicting views as regards timing and spacing of social reforms, but Agarkar was as keen on development of people's power of resistance to secure political reforms as he was on social reforms. That could not be said of the other social reformers headed by Ranade. Agarkar had the stamina of marching alongside of Tilak but not the others and although there was not a split in the Congress, there arose two camps in Poona when Tilak captured the Sarvajanik Sabha and Ranade started the Deccan Sabha as its rival, to carry on political work on moderate and loyalist lines. The Congress under the leadership of Pherozeshah Mehta and Dinshaw Wacha decided to accept the Councils Act of 1893 even though under it

elected representatives were but too few, seven in Madras, six in Bombay (including two for the Sardars) and seven in Bengal. Even they became vocal and Government thought it necessary to cut down certain privileges enjoyed by Indians in the public services. At first, in the Educational Department, Indians and Europeans were equally eligible for all offices ; then while the equality of eligibility was there, the grades were made unequal. Next, Indians were excluded from certain posts and their status was lowered while their pay suffered a still further cut. In the meantime European officers began to receive what was called Exchange Compensation Allowance which was described by Tilak as " the crime of 26th June 1893 ".

It was when the posture of affairs was like this that the tenth session of the Congress was to be held in Poona in December, 1895. Dadabhai Naoroji was elected as M. P. for Finsbury at the age of 68 and that created some hope in Tilak's mind as regards the Britishers in England. In the *Kesari* dated December 19, 1893. he wrote, " We will get nothing by appealing to or by shouting hoarse in the ears of the British bureaucracy in India. It is like breaking our heads against a stone wall. But history encourages the belief in us that an appeal to the Britisher in England made in the appropriate way, may be of some avail. Dadabhai has blazed a new trail of political agitation and he must be regarded as a trustworthy guide to India's liberation from her political predicament." Tilak was looking forward at this stage to political agitation being taken up seriously as a whole-time business by a few both in England and in India. Twice before Poona had attempted to have the Congress held in that city but the attempts failed. Between 1885 and 1895 Poona had become known to all India by the controversy over the Age of Consent Bill and other events because its leading supporters as well as opponents hailed from Poona. When the question of reform of the Legislative Councils was under discussion Gokhale and Tilak had joined hands by presenting their view-point, though it was not adopted by others. Ranade's residence and activities in Poona had invested it with an attraction, all its own. Tilak's rise as the coming man had become unmistakable by his capture of the Sarvajanik Sabha and his election to the Bombay Legislative Council. His movement for the preservation of the historic monument of Shivaji at Raigarh

had added additional weight to his name. The Ranade-Gokhale party was feeling discomfited. Yet both the parties had to make a success of the Congress session that was to be held in December, even if party feeling was running high.

The controversy over holding the session of the Social Conference in the Congress *mandap* began to cast its shadows in the month of July. It was said that as Tilak was preoccupied with the work in connection with his candidature for election to the Bombay Legislative Council and the Shivaji memorial, he was unable to devote sufficient time and energy to Congress work. They pretended to be shocked to find that the pavilion was not ready even in September. Tilak replied by saying that it was not advisable to begin *pandal* work till the rainy season was over. Some of them asked: " How could sufficient chairs be procured without making advance arrangements ? " Tilak replied that though the chairs bore the brand Australian chairs, they could always be had in Bombay in sufficient numbers at short notice. What about volunteers ? They were not required before the middle of December. Yet written complaints were sent to the executive of the Congress about Tilak's inactivity, as if he was the one person responsible for all this. As a matter of fact, Tilak, Gokhale and others were to organize this session of the Congress in Poona under the direction and guidance of Pherozeshah Mehta and D. E. Wacha according to the resolution of the previous Congress session at Madras. Yet, Tilak had secured the site, prepared plans and estimates, sent round men and letters in the districts to collect subscriptions and had actually collected a few thousand rupees. For all this and other work Mr. C. Vijayaraghavachariar had expressed his surprise that Poona should have started work so early in right earnest. And yet the Social Reform Party in the Executive Committee wanted to sit in judgment upon Tilak for not starting work in time. He showed how they themselves had shirked work and had thrown all the burden upon him. He produced the report of the Executive Committee for 1894 and challenged his opponents to compare that year's work in Madras with his. As a consequence the Committee had to pass a resolution expressing satisfaction with Tilak's work. Yet, it is true that the work of collecting subscriptions had not made much progress and that was chiefly due to a number of people in Poona being opposed

to the Social Reform Party and their intention to hold the Social Conference in the Congress *pandal* which they kept on repeating as if to provoke the orthodox section. As far as Tilak's own view was concerned, he did not attach much importance to holding the Social Conference itself. He had formulated that view with some definiteness in the light of his experience of the persons who pretended to espouse the cause of social reforms. But he was, doubtless, anxious that the session of the Congress should successfully pass off and that the Congress movement should make rapid strides in its progress. His writings in the *Kesari* from July to December clearly indicate this anxiety. He has bluntly condemned as fools the men who advised people not to subscribe to the Congress fund, if the Social Conference was to be held in the Congress *pandal* and these men included his friend Sardar Natu and the *Poona Vaibhav* group. He felt that it would be a standing disgrace to Poona if the Congress session was marred by unseemly scenes and happenings. After all, it was a practice for the previous eight years to hold the Social Conference in the Congress *pandal* and what did it matter if it was likewise held in 1895 also? There is no doubt that feeling was strong on either side and although Tilak was indifferent, he had to choose between one side and the other. He did not do this for long and people out of Poona formed the impression that he was secretly in league with the Orthodox Section. There was an exchange of many polemics between the Social Reform Party and Tilak, a good deal of mischievous activity on the part of the orthodox section and as a consequence the whole dispute went to Pherozeshah Mehta and Dinshaw Wacha. A good deal of dirty linen was washed and the conclusion was reached that two men of the Tilak party, two of the Gokhale party and Wacha, Setalwad and Khare from Bombay should form a Committee to look after the holding of the Poona session. This happened on October 26. Tilak had to agree to this arrangement in the hope that the session of the Congress would securely go through, whatever happened to the *mandap* controversy.

Next week Messrs. Wacha, Setalwad and Khare went to Poona and discovered that the Extremists of the Orthodox Party did not really matter much, that the Social Reform Party were unduly nervous and that there was overwhelming support to the Congress session. Tilak pointed out to them that it should be

fully availed of. Tilak held fast to the principle that persons of all professions should be brought within the Congress fold by getting them to help it. The Social Reform Party or Moderates wanted to confine themselves to their assured supporters who would allow the holding of the Social Conference in the Congress *pandal.* They feared that Tilak's plan would bring in unreliable elements. The Bombay emissaries supported the Moderates and Tilak found that he had to withdraw from all executive functioning with regard to the holding of the Congress. This decision was taken by him with the idea that all friction would stop and the Congress would have a peaceful session. Even after tendering his resignation, he kept on appealing to the people to help the Congress in every way. In a letter sent to *The Times of India* and reproduced in the *Mahratta,* dated November 3, 1895, he said :

> "Every one whether orthodox or heterodox, reformer or reactionary, should join and support the Congress movement. A Congress in Poona cannot be regarded a success unless the majority of the people in Poona join it enthusiastically. We must approach the trader, the artisan and the working-man as well as the educated classes and make all of them subscribe to the Congress fund and in order to do this, we must appeal to each of them in a manner, so as not to offend their susceptibilities unnecessarily. The Congress, eventually aims at being the Congress of the people and the object cannot be achieved, unless, every year, an effort is made to approach more and more, the classes that have not taken hitherto much interest in the movement. If the masses are drawn to the Congress, it is possible that they may not lend their support directly or indirectly to the cause of the Social Conference. It is this apprehension that makes the friends of social reform restrict the scope of their work for the Congress within a safe narrow circle. One party wishes to draw to the Congress as large a portion of the public as it possibly can, irrespective of the question of social reform ; the other does not wish to go beyond the circle of the friends of social reform. The real point at issue is whether the Congress in Poona is to be a Congress of the people or of a particular section of it. If the friends of social reform are not willing to respect public opinion, which I regret to say, some of them are prepared to characterize as 'brute force' — I, for one, am not prepared to effect a split in the Congress camp by persisting in claiming a recognition of the views of the majority of the public."

Yet, with Tilak's resignation, the anxiety and responsibility of the Moderate-Reformer Party only increased instead of diminishing. Because, with Tilak's exit, less responsible and mischievous elements from the Orthodox Section became even more

determined not to allow the Congress *pandal* to be used for the Social Conference. Tilak also, subsequently, became their ally to help them carry out their objective. Mr. Shridhar Vithal Date who became the spokesman and leader of the Orthodox Party met Ranade and secured an assurance from him that he would not insist on having the Social Conference in the Congress *pandal* but when the Committee of seven took upon itself the responsibility of holding the Congress, Ranade went back on his word. The Orthodox Party held a big mass meeting over which Dr. Garde, a friend of Tilak presided and Date was the main speaker. He spoke for an hour and a half. A resolution demanding separation of the Social Conference and the Congress was carried. Tilak did not participate in this meeting. The language used by Date was violent and intemperate. Tilak disapproved of this although he obviously sympathized with the object of the meeting. As soon as he resigned from the committee of seven, he published a report of the work done by him and handed over a statement of accounts and the funds he had collected. He wrote a number of letters to people in the districts and asked them to hold meetings and pass resolutions supporting the Poona mass meeting's resolution. This instruction was carried out on a large scale. Even Ranade's friends and sympathizers in the districts and provinces other than Bombay advised him to give up his plan. *The Times* (London), *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, *Indian Nation*, *Hindu Patriot*, *Hope*, *Power*, *National Guardian* and others had offered similar advice and Date read extracts from some of these papers at the meeting. Even Surendra Nath Banerji, the President-elect of the Congress warned Ranade that unless the controversy in Poona was over, he might not be able to preside over the Congress session. Ranade yielded to all this pressure and declared that the Social Conference would not be held in the Congress *pandal*. While the controversy was raging it was openly said by Date and others that if Ranade persisted in his plan, the Congress *pandal* would be set afire and taking fright at such threats, fire-extinguishers were even kept near the *pandal*.

All through this controversy and even after it ceased to rage, Tilak was quite clear that support to the Congress must be maintained and nothing should be done that would cause any harm to it. He wrote to this effect in the *Kesari*, collected

Rs. 2,500/- and sent the sum to the Congress Reception Committee. In spite of all these dissensions, the Congress session was a remarkable success. Tilak and his supporters were not represented in the management, yet Tilak took all care to demonstrate that they were staunch adherents of the Congress. Indeed, he showed distinct powers of organization and artful ingenuity on this occasion. Surendra Nath Banerji was to be received officially at the Poona railway station with the usual ceremony. It was so arranged that he should come to Poona by the Dhond-Manmad line. Gokhale, Secretary of the Congress had gone to Dhond to receive him. Seeing that the President was sleeping, Gokhale was quietly waiting at the station for him to rise. Tilak had deputed his nephew Mr. D. V. Vidwans, with a letter and flowers for the same purpose. While Gokhale was waiting, Mr. Vidwans caught sight of Surendra Nath exactly when he was opening the door of his bogey and handed him flowers from Tilak and his letter. When Gokhale approached the compartment, he found Surendra Nath reading Tilak's letter and Mr. Vidwans standing at a respectful distance. Similarly, before the official reception and garlanding took place at the Poona station, Tilak's party garlanded Surendra Nath at the Hadapsar station. Tilak utilized the services of the President of the Congress and Pandit Malaviya as speakers at a Shivaji memorial meeting. The Social Reform Party had kept aloof from this movement, probably to avoid contact with Tilak. A garden party was given to the President by Baba Maharaj Pandit, a friend of Tilak, at which Tilak officiated as chief host.

All this made a great impression on all who came to the Congress and the Social Conference from out of Poona and convinced them that Tilak could not be trifled with, that he was a force to be reckoned with, even though he was not officially among the organizers of the Congress for the moment. Whatever people might have thought about Tilak's line of action in the *mandap* controversy, no one could accuse him of harmful intention or action towards the Congress of which he was a steadfast adherent throughout life. Dr. R. P. Paranjpye, writing in 1915, after Gokhale's death, rather carelessly accused Tilak of starting the *mandap* controversy describing it as ridiculous and remarking that while it was a trifling thing it assumed disproportionate dimensions. That was quite true. But it did not

take one party but at least two to bloat the trifle into a baloon. If it was a trifle why did not a man like Ranade gracefully give in at the beginning and save a good deal of heart-burning ? That would have been more in conformity with his saintly ways but he did not rise to his full height and played, perhaps, in the hands of his supporters who could not be accused of as much discretion and prudence and moderation and liberalism as he had. Ranade is known to have felt it sorely when he felt compelled to telegraph to Surendra Nath that he had decided to give in, because a practice which had continued for eight long years had to be given up by surrendering to unreason and clamour. It was but human and natural but far more natural and human is the disinclination on the part of the masses to give up their traditional beliefs, customs and even superstitions and no hustling helps.

A little interesting incident in connection with this *mandap* controversy may be related here. In one of the circulars issued by Gokhale he referred to public opinion as expressed in mass meetings as " brute force ". What Gokhale meant was, it was the ignorant, dumb and meek majority which Tilak commanded and implied that there were no persons of leading and light among those who supported him. Tilak at once raised a storm against it, saying that it was an affront to the people, an insult to democracy, because Gokhale had called them brutes by implication. This allegation against Gokhale hurt his sensitive soul, because he could not have intended to call every one who agreed with Tilak a brute. It was only an idiomatic use of the term brute. He consulted Principal Selby of the Deccan College about the meaning of " brute force ". He said, " To say that in attributing to certain people a design to carry their measures by brute force you intended to call them brutes, is nonsense." Tilak insisted on attributing to Gokhale the intention to insult people and argued that it exposed the inherent contempt for democracy in his mind. He plainly asked : How a tradesman carrying on transactions in lakhs could be called ignorant or devoid of commonsense and how could a raw undergraduate with a short sight and weak constitution be called enlightened because he had studied one or two books by Bacon and Milton ? Making a pun on the word *Kesari*, he added, since the lion was the king of the animal world, it had no qualm of conscience to

mix freely among other brutes. He implied that he did not consider it reproachful that he was a leader of "the oilmen and the petty shopkeepers", a spokesman of the masses. He ridiculed Gokhale's reference to Principal Selby in the following words:

> "Principal Selby is not required to explain the meaning of two simple English words, brute and force. Any dictionary would be found helpful. No one could say that the word brute indicated any figure from one to ten and therefore Principal Selby's interpretation that brute force only derivatively or secondarily meant the force of numbers. If one was called 'a bull among men' (as Krishna called Arjuna in the Bhagawadgeeta) it was not meant that he had horns on his forehead and a tail behind. But such explanation does not affect the implication that the opinion of numbers was intended to be referred to as ignorant or uninformed opinion and that did constitute insult to the people. What after all mere force of numbers means? It means force of the ignorant and unpolished men. The people who gathered at the Reay Market meeting had only heads on their shoulders in the physical sense, but brains remained with the social reform junta — if this is what Principal Selby says in effect how does it help Gokhale? He only got confirmed the allegation that was made against him."

Such cases of scoring points in debate and giving no quarter and asking for none, once there was a fight, wordy though it may be, are numerous in Tilak's writings and a purely literary study of his writings and speeches is quite an interesting, intellectual pastime. He was a dialectician *par excellence.*

An illustration of his doggedness may also be cited. It would show how he drove a point home and neglected nothing as insignificant. This was also an offshoot of the *mandap* controversy. The Social Reform Party had called a meeting of the Poona public in a private house with a view to packing it with their own men and electing delegates of their own party. Tilak and his followers reached the meeting place before the conveners arrived and occupied all the seats. Gokhale and his friends found when they arrived that they had no sitting room. A correspondent of the *Hindu* wired to Madras that Tilak had taken the aid of the students of his Law Class for packing the meeting, excluding even the conveners and got his people elected as delegates. Tilak served a notice of defamation on the *Hindu* complaining that the allegation against him and the students of his Law Class was defamatory and caused mental pain to him and was calculated to lower him in the estimation of the people.

The telegram of the Poona correspondent was published by the *Hindu* under the heading "Disgraceful Squabble at Poona". The notice was not intended to be seriously pursued, but Tilak did want to show Mr. Ganapati Subramanya Iyer and his colleagues Mr. Veeraraghavachariar that there were mischievous elements in the Social Reform Party which were discrediting quite legitimate means of making majorities. Mr. G. Subramanya Iyer was as much a friend of Gokhale as of Tilak but sympathized more with the Social Reform Party while Mr. Veeraraghavachariar sympathized more with Tilak's view of placing political reform before all other reforms to concentrate agitation upon. It may be proper to point out at this stage that it was not only Tilak who held this view. Dadabhai Naoroji was quite keen on social reforms and industrial reforms but he declared as President of the second Congress at Calcutta that work for those reforms lay outside the scope of the Congress. When the controversy over the Age of Consent Bill was raging fiercely, Hume, rightly described as the Father of the Congress once announced that he would sever his connection with the Congress if he found the majority of the leading Congressmen against the Bill. This naturally excited many Congressmen and the retort was given that if acquiescence in hasty and mischievous measures of social reforms was the price of Hume's support to India's political demands, Indians could afford to do without it and so as early as 1891 many people expressed the desire that the Social Conference should not be held in the Congress *pandal*. If a leader like Hume could lose his balance of mind and a man like Ranade chose to canvass his pet hobby in defiance of popular opposition, why blame obscurantists like Balasaheb Natu and Shridhar Vithal Date for their obstinate behaviour!

Reviewing this session in the *Kesari* for January 7, 1896, Tilak expressed satisfaction at Surendra Nath's declaration that the Congress was a common platform for all, for social reformers and the orthodox, for Hindus and Muslims, for Bengalis and Madrasis, for merchants and peasants. He then referred to the resolutions adopted by the Congress during the last ten years and remarked that it was not necessary to meet every year at a cost of fifty to sixty thousand rupees merely to reiterate the same resolutions and welcomed the President's suggestion to

make rules of procedure and formulate a programme of work all the year round. He stressed once again the need of carrying on propaganda work in England and taking the Congress movement to the doors of the artisan and the cultivator in India. Subsequent sessions of the Congress were not marked by the enthusiasm shown in Poona in the midst of violent local strife. Perhaps it was due to the outbreak of plague and famine in various parts of India and even Tilak was greatly preoccupied in fighting these two menaces for two years. In the middle of 1897 he was sent to jail. After return from jail in 1898, he was not keeping well for some time. Later he was very much taken up by the Tai Maharaj case but in 1903 and 1904, he returned with renewed vigour to the discussion of Congress work and how it should be conducted. Hume's message to Congress, Malbari and Congress, Wedderburn's articles about Congress work in *India* as well as what Smitten, Thorburn, Swinie and Jardin wrote in *India* in this behalf are some of the subjects of his articles. All the while he was preaching for whole-time agitational work to popularize Congress resolutions and to rouse the conscience of British democracy in England. He began to preach that retail political demands must give place to a single demand of full self-government on colonial lines. Even since 1896, Tilak was trying to induce Congress to show a little more grit. In 1899, he wanted to move a resolution condemning the regime of Lord Sandhurst. A storm of opposition was raised. He challenged the delegates to prove that Lord Sandhurst's regime had not been ruinous to the people. He quoted the misdeeds of the bureaucracy categorically and demanded to know whether he was at all exaggerating. But Romesh Chandra Dutt, the President and many other delegates were opposed to Tilak's line of thinking. An attempt was made to gag him on the ground that provincial matters should not be considered in an all-India gathering. Tilak began to quote chapter and verse to prove that he could not be restrained on that ground since provincial matters had engaged the attention of the Congress in previous years, but the President threatened to resign if Tilak persisted. Much the same procedure was repeated at the Satara Provincial Conference over which Mr. Gokuldas Parekh presided. He was thus not successful in inducing leading men in the Congress to show much grit, though he persisted in his own way, till

Lord Curzon came on the scene and announced the Partition of Bengal. His papers and other papers were doing the necessary propaganda work and Sir Pherozeshah Mehta and others wanted nothing more. During the 15 years of struggle the leaders of thought were mostly lawyers, who believed sincerely that all that India had to do was to make a lucid and balanced presentation of her case before the British public and Parliament. For this purpose they wanted a political organization and they found it in the Congress. Whatever periodical excitement and exacerbation of feelings there might have existed from time to time among Congressmen, there is no doubt that the progress of the Congress from its inception in 1885 to 1905 was one, even march based on a firm faith in constitutional agitation and in the unfailing regard for justice attributed to Englishmen. Tilak also shared this faith. Only he was more militant, more active; he also believed in constant pressure being exerted and was anxious that the Congress organization itself should be equally so. But it was, more or less, a holiday gathering, meeting annually at some prominent place in India. Any number of quotations from the writings and utterances of the Patriarchs of the Congress could be given in support of this.

The first years of this century witnessed the hectic days of Lord Curzon's rule. His curtailment of the powers of the Calcutta Corporation, his Official Secrets Act, his officialization of the universities which made education costly, his tirade against the untruthfulness of Indians, his budget of twelve reforms, his Tibetan expedition, euphemistically called the Tibet Mission, and finally his Partition of Bengal broke the back of loyal India and aroused a new spirit of resistance and defiance in the nation. His allegation that Indians were untruthful by environment, heritage and upbringing and therefore unequal to responsibilities of high office under British rule was so sweeping that the entire nationalist Press of India raised a storm against it. The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* produced from a book of Curzon that he himself had written about having deliberately spoken lies while on a tour in Korea and added that this passage was carefully omitted from the next edition of the book on the eve of Lord Curzon's appointment as Viceroy of India. The *Kesari* reproduced it. Other papers recalled the "truthfulness" of Clive and Hastings and a racial turn was

given to the controversy. In fact by his resolution of 24-5-1904, Lord Curzon made race the test of qualification and not merit, and adherence to this policy made Lord Morley declare as Secretary of State for India that what India resented was racial domination, not so much political domination. His Viceroyalty was characterized by ceaseless activity. He had a scheme of 12 reforms and appointed several commissions. "Commissions there are that shelve and commissions there are that solve. But mine are of the latter category" said he. There is no doubt that he did some lasting good also to India. His Ancient Monuments Preservation Act is a blessing for which Indian nationalism owes him a deep debt of gratitude. Similarly, it should be recalled to his credit that he publicly denounced a British battalion in Rangoon, some privates of which were believed to have outraged an Indian woman to death, but could not be detected owing to a conspiracy of silence amongst its members. This took place in 1899. In 1900, the 9th Lancers at Sialkot were punished because two of its privates who were charged with having beaten an Indian cook to death for failing to procure an Indian woman for them could not be detected.

Yet, while the nation was in revolt, its sentiments were not being properly represented by the Congress leaders. In 1903, the open letter by Hume, Wedderburn and Cotton did not evoke the response that it deserved from the Congress leadership or managership. In 1904 again, Wedderburn wrote on similar lines and announced his intention to attend the Congress in Bombay, accompanied by Sir Henry Cotton, who was elected President for that year's session. Tilak wholly supported these letters. He reviewed Dadabhai's *Poverty and Un-British Rule in India* and Digby's *Prosperous India* in a series of three articles and referred to those books quite often even later to urge that their lead should be followed. Dadabhai's complaint was that leaders of the Congress in India did not believe in continuous, constant, consistent, whole-time work. Capable Indians from Congress ranks were taken up by Government in big jobs like High Court Judgeships and Executive Councillorships and others were given titles or otherwise patronized. This led to further weakening of the Congress movement, weak as it was. Tilak was fully in agreement with this view, which was not expressed in such explicit terms by Hume, Wedderburn, Cotton, Hyndman and

others, but in essence it was the same. Congress leaders were not ready for sacrifice to the expected extent.

The Bombay Congress session of 1904 was held against such a background. Sir Henry Cotton had retired from the Civil Service. When in service he was known to be sympathetic to Indian aspirations and that was why he was not raised higher than to a Chief Commissionership. But he did not care and after retirement, he openly joined the Congress. Anglo-Indian papers suggested that his pension should be stopped. After the Congress, Sir Henry went to pay a courtesy call to Lord Curzon, but he declined to see him on the ground that it would be laying a new precedent, as if he was a strict adherent of only precedents, traditions and old practices in all other ways. Pherozeshah was Chairman of the Reception Committee. He never wanted to act on what Hume and Wedderburn were urging. Indeed even Dadabhai had given him cause for complaint because he had a few weeks ago attended the Amsterdam International Labour Conference of World Socialists and condemned British rule in India in scathing terms. He was given a great ovation but Pherozeshah and some others in Bombay disapproved of this old man's doings. In the Subjects Committee, Lajpatrai had a tiff with Pherozeshah on this account. Tilak was anxious that Congress should give up its inaction and indifference and discussed this point with Wedderburn and Cotton. The latter has referred to this specifically in his *Reminiscences*. Tilak had been acquitted of all charges of a criminal character by the High Court in the Tai Maharaj case connection a few months before and was given a great ovation at the Congress session. The question of a constitution for the Congress was discussed once again, but Pherozeshah had no heart in it. He was positively of the view that the Congress should only meet once a year and record national opinion on burning topics and be done with it. Agitation should be left, in his opinion, to individuals and other associations. Yet a resolution in favour of sending a deputation to England was adopted on the motion of Wedderburn, seconded by Tilak. Gokhale and Jinnah were chosen as its members. Tilak approved Gokhale's name, but he did not approve Jinnah's on the ground that he was not sufficiently experienced. Jinnah was ultimately unable to go and Lajpatrai who sailed earlier, joined Gokhale to push on the educative

campaign undertaken to enlighten the British democracy on Indian affairs. Lord Curzon's regime came in for constant criticism and both of them warned Britain that India was in revolt and needed to be conciliated. Tilak was highly pleased with Gokhale's performance in England. Both of them were given receptions in India after their return. Gokhale's reception in Poona was most enthusiastic. Tilak himself moved the resolution of congratulations and welcome to him. Copies of a portrait of Gokhale were specially prepared by him and distributed to the subscribers of the *Kesari* and the *Mahratta.*

All this happened on the eve of the Banaras Congress session over which Gokhale was elected to preside. Gokhale's mood seemed to reflect a desire on his part that the Congress should give up Pherozeshah's policy of negation and inertia. The wave of awakening in the country especially in Bengal strengthened what had come to be recognized as the New Party whose leaders were Lala Lajpatrai, Bal Gangadhar Tilak and Bepin Chandra Pal, popularly known as Lal-Bal-Pal. But these were not all. Aravinda Ghose, Ashwini Kumar Dutt, Ganapati Subramanya Iyer and G. S. Khaparde were also among the leading spokesmen of the Party. The Party had enough following to put up a straight fight with the Moderates and compel them to move forward. Tilak who was the acknowledged leader of them all was determined that the Congress should no longer retain its hesitating, equivocal and talkative character. He was determined that the Congress tradition of seeking official favour or at least official recognition must be broken, that the national sentiments must be more faithfully echoed in the Congress resolutions and that it must not remain a holiday gathering, but must work continuously and lead the national struggle for freedom. This was veritably a tussle between autocracy and democracy, apathy and enthusiasm, timidity and courage. The Congressmen led by Pherozeshah tried to win the officials ; Tilak sought to inspire and organize the people of the country. At the Banaras Congress, the New Party had things much in their way. The President himself, although an avowed representative and a loyal adherent of the old school was with the New Party in his sympathies and sentiments, but he hesitated when it came to action and showed his moderation. Pherozeshah, the autocrat of the Congress, did not attend

the session. Gokhale had championed the cause of the Bengalis in England and had justified the inauguration of the Swadeshi and Boycott movement with boldness and Mehta did not like it.

In his address to the Congress, Gokhale severely criticized the Viceroyalty of Lord Curzon, compared it with the reign of Aurangzeb — the same expression appeared a few months earlier in Tilak's *Kesari* also — and spoke in favour of Swadeshi and boycott and demanded self-government for India on colonial lines. Gokhale's address contained some formal phrases of welcome to the Prince of Wales. The speech was so impressive that *The Times of India* found fault with Gokhale for having given up moderation. He had really done nothing of the kind. He had only faithfully echoed popular sentiments on almost every question. The difference between Moderates and Nationalists came to the fore in the Subjects Committee, when a resolution of welcome to the Prince of Wales came up for discussion. The Moderates were in favour of sending a message of welcome. Lajpatrai and Tilak opposed this proposal. Tilak said that the Prince of Wales was already in India for some time and had been welcomed by some municipalities and Indian States and the Congress welcome would be belated, but if a message was to be sent to him at all it should be one of regret that the Prince was not able to pay a visit to the Congress, which was a previously expressed desire of the Congress. Lajpatrai made a strong and frontal attack saying that this display of loyalty and formality was unnecessary and was not in keeping with the prevailing sentiment in the country. It was quite enough that he was invited to the Congress. Yet a resolution was moved and it seemed that it would be carried. Lal-Bal-Pal, therefore, suggested the amendment that the Prince should be requested to inform his father, King Edward VII, that the administration in India was not being carried on, in conformity with Queen Victoria's proclamation. This amendment was carried by a large majority. The leaders of the New Party thought that the ice was broken, that the Congress had turned a new leaf in its history. Tilak looked forward to the next Congress at Calcutta vigorously to continue the work begun so substantially at Banaras and devoted the whole of the year to constant propaganda in that behalf.

In June 1906, Tilak paid a visit to Calcutta on the occasion of the Shivaji festival. Soon after that Bepin Chandra Pal proposed that Tilak should be elected to preside over the next Congress session at Calcutta. This was the first time in the history of the Congress that his name was seriously proposed for presidentship. Pal was not merely content with making the proposal. He carried on a regular campaign. The Moderates were frightened. Pherozeshah and Surendra Nath sent a cable to Dadabhai Naoroji in England requesting him to take the presidential chair, saying that the Congress was in danger and badly needed his guidance. The cable was despatched by Bhupendra Nath Basu. He had taken the step without consulting his colleagues or the Reception Committee. Dadabhai was the last man to shirk help when the Congress was reported to be in danger. He sent his consent forthwith. The Moderates had certainly scored a point against Bepin Chandra Pal, because none would have dreamt of running as a rival to Dadabhai for the Congress presidentship. But the more important question was whether the policy of the Congress which was already modified at Banaras to a certain extent should be pursued in the same direction or checked and weakened. The Nationalists wanted it to be strengthened. Mr. G. S. Khaparde, in consultation with Tilak sent a circular letter to leading Congressmen in July 1906 in which he stressed the need of a radical change in the Congress programme. The letter attracted the attention of the Anglo-Indian press and was subjected to much adverse comment. It was feared that the Congress would slip out of the hands of the Moderates into those of the Nationalists. *The Times of India* which had found fault with Cotton and Gokhale in 1904 and 1905 for having given up moderation and joined extremist ranks suddenly began to praise their statesmanship and appealed to them not to play in the hands of the Nationalists. Some of the Moderates also were scared by Mr. Khaparde's letter. Dealing with this letter and its reactions, Tilak says in the *Kesari* dated December 11, 1906 as follows:

"If the Moderates think that we are easily disappointed and lack grim determination they are entirely mistaken. We have lost faith, not in the ultimate result, but in the dilatory activities of the Congress. To us the holding of the Congress for three days in the year, the tepid work of the British Congress Committee and the occasional sending of a deputation to England

seems quite insufficient. Not that we have no faith in constitutional agitation. We do not want to overthrow the British Government. But political rights will have to be fought for. The Moderates think that these can be won by persuasion. We think that they can be got by strong pressure. Will the Congress exert itself to apply that pressure ? That is the point and if such pressure is to be applied, the Congress leaders must do away with its holiday character and turn it into an organization working continuously and energetically."

What would transpire at Calcutta was anxiously awaited. In the words of Mr. R. P. Masani, the biographer of Dadabhai Naoroji :

"Time for the 22nd session of the Congress was drawing near. It was an occasion for stock-taking. With the coming of age of the national political organization of the country, had India obtained her birthright ? If not, did not the mendicant policy of the elders stand condemned as barren ? That, at any rate, was the opinion of young India. A conflict, therefore, arose over the question of the ideals and methods of work of the Congress. Young India demanded a proper constitution and a vitalizing programme for the Congress — a reconstitution of the political life of the country. The 'Old World' politicians who had been carrying the work of the Congress in their own way for 20 years, paid no heed to this demand. It was not, however, a mere emotional conflict, nor was it a personal conflict for ascendancy. It was essentially an intellectual conflict, a conflict of ideology. Self-government under British paramountcy was the goal of the old school; the ideal of the new school was autonomy, freedom from all foreign control. It had, however, no objection to nominal, theoretical association. This antithesis between the view-points of the two sections showed a revolutionary change in the mind of the people. Indeed for the rulers, it marked a dangerous phase in the political education of the country and it caused no little concern among official circles and the European community. For a long period, the British and Anglo-Indian Press had affected supreme unconcern about the manifestations of political unrest in India, but they could no longer ignore the striking change that had come over the country. The ranks of the Nationalist Party had been reinforced by discontented youths as to whose temper there could be little doubt. The fulminations of the Congress though provoking, had been practically harmless. Despite 21 years of apparently vain patriotic toil, its leaders and members as a class had adhered to loyalty and constitutional methods. In that sort of agitation, there was no menace to British supremacy. But the young rebels were determined to give a blow to it. There was however, no desire yet, except among a handful of revolutionaries to appeal to force. That would have been suicidal. There was, however, such a weapon as boycott to which they thought they could safely resort. Boycott of British goods and whatever was British. They believed that without transgressing law and the constitution they could bring the authorities to their knees by refusing to associate with Government and by withholding from it all voluntary and honorary service; and they defied any one to say that their ideal was not legitimate or that their method was not constitutional."

Such was the conflict between the two sections — the Moderates and the Extremists as they were called in 1906. Dadabhai's selection, with whatever motives it might have been manoeuvred, was quite a felicitous selection even from the point of view of the Extremists. They had not merely secured in Dadabhai a President of ripe experience, possessing sweetness of temper and infinite patience and tact, but they had reason to be satisfied that he occupied a position much nearer the advanced wing of the Congress than any of the Moderates. He was neither a Moderate nor an Extremist. He had never hesitated to speak freely the language of his heart and he was not the man to lower the standard with a view to placating one side or the other. After the repressive regime of Lord Curzon, his public utterances had breathed fire almost invariably. He had already asserted and could assert over again what the Extremists had been urging, with as much force and effect, if not more, with which anyone of them could have done. He was one of those who still believed in constitutional struggle for progressive expansion of political freedom and was satisfied at placing India on a level with the self-governing colonies. But so was Tilak, the unquestioned leader of the Extremists, although Bepin Chandra Pal and Aravinda Ghose were talking in terms of complete freedom in the sense of separation from the Empire. Dadabhai was no longer the same meek and submissive supplicant that he was in his earlier years, praying for justice at the bar of British public opinion. He was, therefore, perfectly acceptable to the leaders of the Extremists and Tilak was indeed glad that he was left free to argue out and fight the case of the Extremists.

Dadabhai landed in Bombay on December 14. He was given a remarkably demonstrative welcome. In Calcutta also, there was a personal warmth and spontaneity in the demonstration of people's love and reverence for him. The Calcutta Congress was the largest political gathering witnessed in India till then. The address of welcome delivered by Dr. Rash Behari Ghose was typical of the views of the advanced section of Congressmen. He stoutly defended Swadeshi and boycott and reminded the audience that the wounds of partition were still as sore as ever. The keynote of the presidential address by Dadabhai was Swaraj. He had been claiming for some years past,

and others, notably Tilak, were reinforcing the demand, as the only solution for the ills of India, but this was the first occasion when the demand was made from the Congress platform and it thrilled the audience and the whole country from one end to the other. It was the first session of the Congress after its coming of age and it was time, said Dadabhai, that they should carefully consider what the position of Indians then was and what their future should be. He did not wish to repeat his lamentations over the past. He would only look to the future. He said :

"What position did Indians hold in the British Empire ? Were they British citizens or not ? The moment Indians came under the British flag, they became free British citizens and their rights as such were beyond question. They had every reason to claim all British rights as their birth-rights and also as rights pledged to them. Just as the administration of the United Kingdom in all its services. departments and details was in the hands of the people of that country, so should it be in India. As in the United Kingdom and the colonies, all taxation and legislation and power of spending the taxes were in the hands of the representatives of the people, so should it be in India and the financial relations between England and India must be adjusted on a footing of equality. We do not ask for any favours. We want only justice. Instead of going into any further divisions or details of our rights as British citizens, the whole matter can be comprised in one word — self-government or Swaraj, like that of the United Kingdom or the colonies."

The *Kesari* had anticipated all this in its articles on the eve of the Congress in a very confident manner and after the Congress it wrote proudly that Dadabhai in his presidential address and the session of the Congress by its resolutions had completely vindicated the position taken up by the *Kesari*, the New Party and Tilak himself. There was full agreement as regards methods and the mentality that induced them. Dealing with the most crucial question regarding methods, Dadabhai said :

"I have been, for some time past, repeatedly asked whether I really have, after more than half a century of my own personal experience, such confidence in the honour and good faith of British statesmen and Government as to expect that our just claim to self-government as British citizens will be willingly and gracefully accorded to us with every honest effort in their power, leaving alone and forgetting the past. Since my early efforts, I must say, that I have felt so many disappointments as would be sufficient to break any heart and lead one to despair and even, I am afraid, to rebel. But I have not despaired. You may think it strange. I stand before you with hopefulness. I have not despaired for one reason and I am hopeful for another reason. I have not despaired under the

influence of the good English word, which has been the rule of my life. That word is "persevere". As we proceed we may adopt such means as may be suitable at every stage, but persevere we must, to the end. Now the reason of my hopefulness after all my disappointments. And this also under the influence of another word, "revival"—the present revival of the true old spirit and instinct of liberty and free British institutions in the leading statesmen of the day. Within the short life that may be yet vouchsafed to me, I hope to see a loyal, honest, honourable and conscientious adoption of the policy of self-government for India—and a beginning made at once towards that end."

His last message to Indians was:

"Be united, persevere and achieve self-government so that the millions now perishing by poverty, famine and plague and the scores of millions that are starving on scanty subsistence may be saved and India may once more occupy her proud position of yore among the greatest and civilized nations of the world."

Anglo-India was all displeasure. In its opinion it was a surrender to the Extremists. Typical of its attitude is the comment of the *Englishman* which was that "Dadabhai, who was called upon to quench the flames of hatred towards the British rule in India, had only used kerosene for that purpose."

The Tilak party was equally successful in the matter of resolutions. Tilak and Bepin Chandra Pal organized a private meeting of the delegates of the New Party to discuss the subjects that the Congress should deal with. It was decided at this meeting to get the Congress to adopt distinct resolutions on Swadeshi, boycott and national education. Of those the last was passed by the Subjects Committee without much ado. The storm of discussion centred round the Swadeshi and boycott resolutions. At the Banaras Congress, boycott was accepted as a political weapon only incidentally, in a somewhat circuitous way, for it recorded "its earnest and emphatic protest against the repressive measures which have been adopted in Bengal" and incidentally added an adverbial clause saying, "after the people there had been compelled to resort to the boycott of British goods as a last protest and perhaps the only constitutional and effective means left to them of drawing the attention of British public opinion to the action of the Government of India in persisting in their determination to partition Bengal in utter disregard of universal prayers and protests of the people." Here it was not clear and perhaps it was deliberately not made clear whether the Congress approved of the boycott

of British goods. This was a flank movement. Tilak was not satisfied with it. He wanted a frontal attack and after a prolonged controversy and frequent passages-at-arms with Moderate leaders like Pherozeshah Mehta, he wrung out the words "the boycott movement was and is legitimate". At the Banaras Congress, it was only boycott of British goods. At Calcutta it was not merely economic boycott, but something more. At Banaras no general reasons were given for the acceptance of boycott. At Calcutta, the preamble to the resolution specifically referred to the facts that Indians had no share in the administration and that their representations to Government had gone unheeded. There was only one thing wanting in the resolution. It only approved of boycott as started in Bengal ; it did not ask other provinces to follow suit. But Tilak pointed out that it did not also prevent other provinces from taking it up by confining it to Bengal only. As regards the resolution on Swadeshi, it did not contain the words "even at a sacrifice" and when Tilak brought an amendment to add them, it was hastily announced to have been already carried. Tilak demanded a poll but it was refused. He left the meeting in protest accompanied by sixty of his followers including Bepin Chandra Pal and Ashwini Kumar Dutt. He gave notice of his intention to move it in the open session to the President. Realizing the strength of Tilak's following, the President accepted the amendment and bodily inserted it in the resolution.

Supporting the resolution in the open session Tilak expressed pleasure that all differences had been squared, that both parties had approached the question in a spirit of conciliation, falsifying the prediction of their Anglo-Indian friends that the 22nd Congress would meet with premature death immediately after attainment of the age of majority. Summarizing the work of the Calcutta Congress Tilak said in the *Kesari* :

"The Congress has now, in effect laid down that Swaraj or self-government is the goal to be ultimately and gradually attained by the nation and that while the nation may pray and petition to the Government as part of the constitutional agitation and seek the redress of grievances or the fruition of political aspirations, the nation will mainly rely on its own endeavours to accomplish the object. Swadeshi, boycott and national education are the three most potent weapons given into our hands by the Congress and by using them we must establish Swaraj. The Congress resolutions demonstrably carried the impress of the views preached by the *Kesari*."

Tilak gave the credit of the unity displayed at Calcutta only to Dadabhai because the Moderates did not accept the interpretation that the boycott was not confined to Bengal only. Among them were Malaviya and Gokhale while Sir Pherozeshah Mehta did not want the words " even at a sacrifice " in the Swadeshi resolution. The seeds of the eventual split were, therefore, there which culminated next year.

It may be noted that after the session of the Congress, the annual session of the Industrial Conference was held under the presidentship of the Maharaja of Baroda who said Government must start industrial colleges on the pattern of those in Berlin, Vienna, Paris, Naples and Boston. Sir Vitthaldas Thakersey gave Bengal the credit for having put life in the Swadeshi movement while Sir Romesh Chandra Dutt said that the Swadeshi movement had wrought such a revolution that it had eclipsed even the political movement. There was also held the first national Swadeshi *Sammelan* in the *pandal* of the Congress over which Nawab Syed Mahamud, a descendent of Hyder Ali and Tipu Sultan presided. Gokhale, Surendra Nath, Bhupendra Nath, Bepin Chandra Pal, Lajpatrai, Tilak, and Kelkar attended the *Sammelan*. All favoured organization of Swadeshi on well-defined lines. Tilak addressed one or two public meetings in which he said obstruction and passive resistance were the natural outcome of the policy of self-reliance that the nation had adopted in addition to prayers, petitions, interviews and deputations. Political pressure was indispensable to get results.

Lala Lajpatrai had invited the next Congress session to Lahore. But imagining that Nagpur was a safer place, Pherozeshah got the venue of the Congress changed in favour of Nagpur. It is said that when the Moderate leaders left Calcutta, it was already arranged that Dr. Rash Behari Ghose was to be the next President at Nagpur and going back on the progress made at Calcutta was decided upon. In Bengal, there was no such attempt because both the parties were almost equally advanced and knew the value of unity. But in the Provincial Conference held at Surat on 29th March 1907 under the Presidentship of Dr. Sir Bhalchandra Bhatavdekar, Pherozeshah got the better of the Extremists and succeeded in dropping the

resolutions on boycott and national education. The presidential address was a big sermon on the virtues of moderation. Dealing with the Swadeshi movement the President expressed the view that the subject pertained more to the Industrial Conference than the Congress. The Conference could not go back on the Calcutta resolution on this subject and the exhortation to people to use Swadeshi goods even at a sacrifice was carried. As regards national education, Pherozeshah said he was unable to understand what that meant. Prof. Vijapurkar and Mr. C. V. Vaidya read out the Calcutta resolution and pleaded that the question must not be dropped. Mr. N. C. Kelkar suggested appointment of a committee to consider implementation of that resolution. It was passed by the Subjects Committee but the President declared that it was not carried. Kelkar demanded poll, but was refused and Pherozeshah succeeded in browbeating Kelkar. Notice was given that it would be moved in the open conference and then it was agreed that a private committee to define what national education was would be appointed and Pherozeshah would work on it. So a resolution was not moved in the conference and a resolution on boycott was not allowed to be moved at all.

In a letter written to Kelkar from Sinhagarh, Tilak, who was unable to attend this conference owing to illness expressed displeasure with the proceedings. Similar procedure was adopted at Raipur where the C.P. and Berar Provincial Conference was held about the same time. At Allahabad, Pandit Malaviya would not admit 200 delegates of the New Party, because they were in favour of boycott. Yet both at Raipur and Allahabad Khaparde and Lajpatrai addressed public meetings on the subjects of boycott and national education and thousands of people heard them with approval. These happenings indicated that the Moderate Party was intent on whittling down the Calcutta resolution in the Nagpur Congress and subsequent developments on the eve of the Congress which was ultimately held at Surat instead of at Nagpur confirmed these fears. A careful perusal of the *Kesari* during the whole of 1907 and the first half of 1908 leads one to arrive at an authentic and authoritative understanding of the working of Tilak's mind and activities. A conference was held at Nagpur on January 27, 1907 to appoint a committee which met on February 22 to form the

Reception Committee of the Congress to be held in December as usual. According to the rule made at Calcutta, it was not the Provincial Committees all over India which were to elect the President by a majority vote, but it was the Reception Committee of the particular place concerned which was given the right of doing so by a three-fourths majority. The Moderates and Nationalists of Nagpur were therefore vying with each other to secure such a majority by enlisting members for the Reception Committee of their own persuasion. On September 1, it was found that the Moderates had secured 800 members while the Nationalists had got about 1,800. The Nationalists wanted Tilak as the President and the Moderates had already fixed their choice on Dr. Rash Behari Ghose. The Nationalists gave only 26 names, withholding the rest, together with Rs. 45,000/- i.e. the subscription paid by 1,800 members at the rate of Rs. 25 per voter. The Moderates demanded this money and the Nationalists having refused to do so, they proceeded to eject the Nationalist members from the Executive Committee. This they had no right to do as the Executive Committee was formed months back. Mr. Chitnavis called a meeting of the Reception Committee without consulting the Executive Committee or the General Secretary Dr. B. S. Moonje. The meeting held on September 22 was a fiasco and the convener was an object of a hostile demonstration on the part of an angry mob. Dr. Hari Singh Gour, himself a Moderate, said that the work of the Congress should begin with Rs. 20,000/- collected by the Moderates from their 800 members of the Reception Committee together with a loan of Rs. 6,000/- from each party. But, the Moderates were obstinate. They were unwilling to allow the Nationalists to hold the Congress and they were unable or afraid to hold it themselves. They, therefore, reported to the All India Congress Committee their inability to hold the session of the Congress at Nagpur. A meeting of the All India Congress Committee was held in Bombay on the 10th of November and in spite of the protests of Tilak and Khaparde and in spite of the willingness of the Nagpur Nationalists to accept any compromise for the sake of the reputation of their city and province, the venue of the Congress was changed to Surat, a deputation from where was present to extend the necessary invitation according to a pre-meditated plan.

Many things had happened since the Calcutta Congress to disturb the minds of the people. A wave of repression had started. In the South, Rajamahendry and Coconada were seething with discontent. In the Punjab, the bureaucracy was trying to pass into Acts two Bills — the Colonization Bill and the Land Alienation Act Amendment Bill — which endangered the rights of the people over their lands and made their discontent acute. The abnormal increase of land revenue in Rawalpindi District, the increase in the canal rates on the Bari-Doab Canal, touched the pockets of even the poorest cultivator and created a serious situation. The editor and the proprietor of the *Punjabee* were prosecuted and in May 1907, Lala Lajpatrai and Sardar Ajit Singh were deported. The allegation against Lala Lajpatrai was that he had attempted to conspire against India with the Ameer of Afghanistan who had come to India and was given receptions by Government and the people in the beginning of the year. Government never said anything but the *Englishman* blurted out that this was the allegation against Lajpatrai. Tilak challenged Government to try him openly in a court of law or release him. But nothing happened and discontent only increased. In Bengal, the editor of *Yugantar* was sent to jail. The editor of the *Sandhya* refused to conduct his defence because he did not think that in pursuing the God-appointed mission of Swaraj, he was in any way responsible to the alien rulers. Babu Aravinda Ghose was arrested on a charge of sedition. On November 1, 1907, the Seditious Meetings Act was passed despite the opposition of Gokhale and Rash Behari Ghose and it was rumoured that the liberty of the Press was also menaced. Morley, who had become Secretary of State for India with the accession to power of the Liberal Party in England, had toyed with the idea of political reform by expanding the Councils and increasing their powers but on the excuse that discontent was growing in India, he had nearly given up the attempt by appointing only two Indians in the India Council in Great Britain. On the occasion of the Budget speech, he described educated Indians as enemies of the Empire and supported curtailment of civil liberties. Morley had suggested a certain Council of Notables but Tilak wrote strongly against it urging only extension of the democratic right of election. He said that the notables would only be ' Not Ables '.

When this was the general state of things, Lala Lajpatrai and Sardar Ajit Singh were released on November 11, 1907. This was quite welcome news but it increased the confusion in Congress affairs because, as soon as Lajpatrai was released, the cry went up from everywhere that he should be elected President of the Congress at Surat. On November 21, the Reception Committee of the Congress was formed and office-bearers elected. The presidential election was to be made, it was announced, on November 24, presumably to prevent Congressmen from Maharashtra from attending the meeting. Although the All India Congress Committee meeting on November 10 had decided to hold the Congress session at Surat, the question of election was in the hands of the Reception Committee and that ought to have embraced members from all over Bombay Province and not merely Surat. But Pherozeshah had decided everything in an autocratic manner and he had decided that Dr. Rash Behari Ghose must be the President. From November 10, letters and telegrams from all over the country pressed the claims of Lala Lajpatrai. Young Nationalists from Surat and adjoining places also stoutly supported the name of Lajpatrai. Gokhale and a number of other Moderate leaders were sent by Pherozeshah to Surat to see that Lala Lajpatrai's name was not approved by the Reception Committee. It became impossible for Tilak and men of his way of thinking to attend the meeting of the Reception Committee as they received intimations of the meeting only on the 23rd. At the meeting of the Reception Committee itself Gokhale tried, by his persuasive eloquence to win over the younger elements by telling them that since the Congress was going to pass a resolution of protest against the deportation of Lajpatrai and Ajit Singh, Lajpatrai should not occupy the chair. The younger elements replied by saying that putting him in the presidential chair was a hundred times stronger protest against his deportation. Gokhale argued, coaxed and appealed but when every device proved ineffective, Gokhale is reported to have said, "How can we snap our fingers at Government? Surely we cannot flout the Government at this stage. The authorities will throttle our movement in no time." At last he challenged the younger Nationalists to secure Lajpatrai's election in the face of the packed majority of the Moderates. The Nationalists left the meeting because the

suggestion about Lajpatrai was not allowed to be made. All letters and telegrams in that behalf were merely filed and Dr. Rash Behari Ghose was then "unanimously" elected President by the votes of those who remained at the meeting. The election of Dr. Ghose as President was only a part of the larger plan of going back upon the position taken up at Calcutta and of shutting out the Extremists from the Congress, permanently, if possible. It was the duty of the Moderates all over the country and especially Gokhale who was entrusted with the work of drafting the resolutions of the Surat Congress to declare publicly, if this widely expressed allegation about the plan of the Moderates was incorrect and unfounded, when this alleged plan was being discussed and strongly objected to by the Nationalist Press. It was even urged by some Nationalists that they should hold their own Congress and leave the Moderates to guide the destinies of the Congress as they liked. But Tilak was strongly opposed to any such course of action, he wanted the Congress itself to advance.

Writing in the *Kesari* dated 27th August 1907, he says, "The Indian National Congress is an institution of all communities and creeds and schools of thought in India and it has been founded on the model of representative bodies in England. Therefore, it is childish to suggest that a particular school of opinion, not approving its existing policy and direction should start another Congress." Accordingly he made it quite clear that whatever the venue of the Congress, the Nationalists would attend and put forward their say. Yet *Kesari* was displeased that it was removed from Nagpur to Surat. Referring to Gokhale's view that Lajpatrai should not be elected President, Tilak wrote on December 3, that those who wanted to dance attendance upon Pherozeshah like his aid-de-camps may do so but such autocratic behaviour was bound to cause general resentment in Maharashtra and the entire country. In a letter written to Motilal Ghose at this time Tilak said, "I am prepared even to fall at the feet of Dr. Rash Behari Ghose and appeal to him to withdraw his name in favour of Lala Lajpatrai. Please prevail upon him to do so."

In the *Kesari* for December 10, he insisted that Lajpatrai must become the President of the Surat Congress.

"If it was a question of honouring a patriot, Lala Lajpatrai had made tremendous sacrifices and suffered for the country and there could be no comparison between him and Rash Behari Ghose. We do not say that Gokhale worked against Lajpatrai out of personal malice or hatred but his activity was calculated to commit the Congress to harmful beliefs. The Congress is there to fight with the Government for attainment of political rights and it has no business to take into consideration Government's pleasure or displeasure while taking the steps that it considers right. If you want to do honour to Lalaji, elect him President of the Congress. (It may be pointed out here in anticipation, that he took the same line in 1917 when he suggested that Mrs. Besant should be elected to preside over that year's session even though she was under detention). If you cannot do it, keep quiet. Who are you merely to invite Lajpatrai to the Surat Congress ? He can come there in his own right as a delegate. Why should he be your guest ? Dr. Rash Behari Ghose can surely help to find out a *via media* and arrive at a settlement with the Nationalists. If this could not be done, people would not be wanting at Surat who would make counter-proposals in a systematic way at the time of the presidential election at Surat. Whether the resolutions are drafted by Gokhale or Pherozeshah or any one else, Nationalists must see that they are not whittled down and no attempt is made to go back on the Calcutta texts as was done in some Provincial Conferences. It is true that the New Party has every reason to be dissatisfied with what is happening in the Congress, but that is no reason why there should be a split in the Congress. Every Nationalist should go to Surat, but not play in the hands of Gokhale or Mehta, who are obdurate."

This was written when only five weeks were left for the Congress to meet at Surat. He had on December 3, argued with his followers who were urging a separate Congress saying :

"A little, dispassionate consideration will show that the Nationalists are bound to dominate the Congress, next year, if not this year and, therefore they must make an effort in that direction and not give up the Congress and start a new body. It is much better and advisable that the Nationalists should see how the Congress deals with the deportation of Lajpatrai and Ajit Singh, Morley's India policy, Swadeshi and boycott, Seditious Meetings Act, national education, constitution of the Congress etc. The Nationalists should take whatever steps they want to take only in the light of what shape Congress policy takes in these matters. A conference of Nationalists might be held to formulate in clear terms their approach on the eve of the Congress. It may be that the Moderates will be in a majority at Surat but that need not unnerve the Nationalists, they should try to press their point of view, which has already been meeting with the approval of the people."

What happened at last at Surat was that no opportunity was given to Tilak and his friends for a give and take on all these questions and this led to a deadlock. Tilak was represented as

arch-offender but the writings in the *Kesari* on the eve of the Congress make it quite clear that he never intended to break the Congress. Writing on 17th December in the *Kesari*, Tilak said :

> " Let us note that the real point of contention is not who should be the President, but whether a particular set of people should be left free to behave autocratically and suppress other points of view. The Nationalists also want the Congress. We declare that it is not their intention to break it or create a lawless situation. But they will not allow the monopoly or autocracy of Mehta and Wacha and they are not prepared to be guided by Gokhale who is anxious not to displease the Government. The root of the controversy regarding the choice of the President is here. It is a question of principle and not of personalities."

By this time, telegrams to withdraw his candidature were sent by many to Lajpatrai, as they were to Dr. Rash Behari Ghose. While the latter did not respect them, the former declared that he was not in the running for the presidential chair. For this, Lajpatrai has earned an encomium from H. P. Mody, biographer of Pherozeshah, in the following words : " Dr. Ghose whom the Surat Reception Committee had unanimously elected and whose appointment was in all respects valid, could not be challenged. The Nationalist manoeuvre to put Lala Lajpatrai as his rival was thwarted by the patriotic Lala himself. He declined to be disloyal to his erstwhile colleagues and did not take the bait." In all his writings in the *Kesari*, there is a clear testimony to the fact that Tilak wanted to adhere to the Congress through thick and thin, that he regarded it as the nation's non-official parliament with all sincerity and he always wanted it to reflect the views and policies of the majority in that institution. A speech delivered by him on December 23 at Surat at a mass meeting also emphasized all these points. His main fear was that far from advancing on the position taken at Calcutta, the Moderates were planning to go back on it.

A list of the subjects likely to be taken up for discussion by the Surat Congress was officially published about a week before the session. This list did not include the subjects of self-government, boycott and national education on all of which distinct and separate resolutions were passed at Calcutta to the great displeasure of Pherozeshah who told Tilak like a petulant child that it became possible only because it was Calcutta. Tilak had retorted by saying that he was prepared to measure

swords on that point even in Bombay which was Pherozeshah's stronghold. This omission naturally strengthened the suspicion that the Bombay Moderates were determined to go back on the positions taken up by the Calcutta Congress in these matters. The Press strongly commented upon this omission and at the meeting in Surat addressed by Tilak, he appealed to the Surat public to help the Nationalists in their endeavour to maintain at least the *status quo* in these matters. The next day a conference of about 500 Nationalist delegates was held at Surat, Aravinda Ghose presiding, where it was decided that the Nationalists should prevent the attempted retrogression of the Congress by all constitutional means, even by opposing the election of the President, if necessary. A letter was written to the Secretaries of the Congress requesting them to make arrangements for dividing the house if need arose for it, on every contested proposition, including that of the election of the President. In the meanwhile a press-note was issued by the Reception Committee to the effect that the statement that certain resolutions adopted in 1906 at Calcutta were omitted from the programme of the Congress, prepared by the Reception Committee of Surat was wholly unfounded. But the draft resolutions were still withheld from the public. On the morning of December 25, Tilak happened to get a copy of the draft of the proposed constitution of the Congress prepared by Gokhale. In this draft, the object of the Congress was stated thus : "The Indian National Congress has for its ultimate goal, the attainment by India of self-government similar to that enjoyed by the other members of the British Empire."

Tilak addressed a meeting of the delegates the same morning at the Congress camp and explained how this constitution was devised to exclude the Nationalists from the Congress by making the acceptance of the new creed an indispensable condition of Congress membership. Tilak further stated in plain terms that if they were assured that no sliding back of the Congress would be attempted, the opposition to the election of the President would be withdrawn. The delegates at the meeting were asked to sign a letter to Dr. Ghose requesting him to take up the four old resolutions passed at Calcutta for affirmation. Lala Lajpatrai who reached Surat on the same day saw Tilak and Khaparde in the afternoon and intimated to them his

intention to arrange for a committee of a few leading delegates from each side to settle the question in dispute. Tilak and Khaparde having agreed, he went to see Gokhale to arrange for the committee if possible, and Tilak and Khaparde returned to the Nationalist Conference which was held that evening. At this Conference, a committee consisting of one Nationalist delegate from each province was appointed to carry on the negotiations with the other side. It was also decided that if this committee failed to obtain the assurance from the responsible Congress officials that the *status quo* shall be maintained, the Nationalists should begin by opposing the very election of the President. No kind of intimation was received from Lajpatrai on the night of the 25th or the morning of 26th December, regarding the proposal of a joint committee of reconciliation proposed by him, nor was a copy of the draft resolutions supplied to Tilak or any delegates to enable them to judge if sliding back from the old position was intended or not. On the morning of December 26, Tilak and other Nationalists went to Surendra Nath Banerji at his residence and informed him that the Nationalist opposition to the election of the President would be withdrawn if (1) the Nationalist Party were assured that the *status quo* in respect of the resolutions would not be disturbed and (2) if some graceful allusion was made by any one of the speakers proposing the election of the President to the desire of the public to have Lala Lajpatrai in the Chair. Surendra Nath agreed to the latter proposal as he himself was to second the resolution. As regards the first condition he gave an assurance for himself and Bengal, but he asked Tilak to see Gokhale or Malvi, the Chairman of the Reception Committee. A volunteer was accordingly sent in a carriage to invite Malvi to Surendra Nath's residence, but the volunteer brought the reply that he had no time as he was engaged in performing *sandhya* and *puja*. Tilak then returned to his camp to take his meals as it was already about 11 a.m. On returning to the Congress *pandal* he made persistent efforts to meet Malvi but could not find him anywhere. A little before 2-30 p.m. word was brought to Tilak that Malvi was in the President's tent. Tilak sent a message to him from an adjoining tent to find a few minutes for him. Malvi replied that he had no time as the presidential procession was being formed. These facts explain

the position of the two parties when the Congress commenced its proceedings on Thursday, 26th December at 2-30 p.m. No assurance from any responsible official of the Congress about the maintenance of the *status quo* having been received, Tilak sent a slip to Surendra Nath intimating that he need not make the proposed reference to Lala Lajpatrai in his speech. He also requested Malvi to supply him with a copy of the draft resolutions if ready. He got it at about 3 p.m. though a correspondent of the *Advocate of India*, an evening daily of Bombay, had got it the previous day.

The Congress opened with the address of Malvi welcoming the delegates. After the address was over Dewan Bahadur Ambalal Sakarlal proposed Dr. Ghose to the Chair in a speech which was heard to the end. But when Surendra Nath Banerji got up to second the proposal, there were shouts from everywhere. In spite of his numerous efforts he could not go on and the session had to be suspended for the day. At about 8 p.m. the late Dr. Chunilal Saraiya, Manager of the Indian Specie Bank and Vice-Chairman of the Surat Reception Committee, saw Tilak and told him that he intended to arrange at night a meeting between Gokhale and Tilak at the residence of a leading Congressman to settle the differences. Tilak agreed and said he would be ready for the meeting at any hour of the night. But no word came from him at night. On the morning of Friday, the 27th (11 a.m) Chunilal Saraiya again saw Tilak and requested him to go to Prof. Gajjar's bungalow in company of Khaparde near the Congress *pandal*, where by appointment, they were to meet Dr. Rutherford M. P. who was trying for a reconciliation. Tilak and Khaparde went to Prof. Gajjar's, but Dr. Rutherford was unable to reach there owing to other engagements. Tilak then decided that as no settlement was arrived at privately owing to every leading Congressman's inability or unwillingness to take any responsibility in the matter, he took it upon himself to propose that the business of the election of the President should be adjourned and a committee of one leading Moderate and one leading Nationalist from each province with the addition of Dr. Rutherford be appointed to consider and settle the differences existing between the two parties, both of which should accept the committee's decisions as final and then proceed to the unanimous election of the President. Prof. Gajjar

and Dr. Chunilal Saraiya undertook to convey the proposal to Pherozeshah and Dr. Rutherford in the Congress camp. After half an hour they returned and told Tilak and Khaparde that nothing could be done in the matter.

It was about 12-30 at this time and on receipt of this reply Tilak wrote to Malvi, Chairman of the Reception Committee, "Sir, I wish to address the delegates on the election of the President after it is seconded. I wish to move an adjournment with a constructive proposal. Please announce me — Yours Sincerely, B. G. Tilak, Deccan Delegate (Poona)." The proceedings commenced at 1 p.m. when Surendra Nath was called upon to resume his speech seconding the election of the President. Surendra Nath was quietly heard by all. As Tilak got no reply to his note he sent a reminder. Still, Malvi kept quiet. Tilak, therefore, proceeded to go up to the platform just when a volunteer tried to hold him back. Tilak however, asserted his right to go up and succeeded in getting to the platform just when Dr. Ghose was moving to take the President's chair. It is not true that "by the time Mr. Tilak came upon the platform and stood in front of the President, the motion of the election of Dr. Ghose had been passed." As Tilak stood up on the platform he was greeted with shouts of disapproval from the members of the Reception Committee on the platform and the cry was taken up by the other Moderates. Tilak repeatedly insisted upon his right of addressing the delegates and told Dr. Ghose when he attempted to interfere that he was not till then a properly elected President. Malvi said that he had ruled Tilak's amendment out of order, to which Tilak replied that the ruling was wrong and that he had a right to appeal to the delegates on the same. By this time, there was a general uproar in the *pandal*, the Moderates shouting at Tilak and asking him to sit down, the Nationalists demanding at the same time that he should be heard. At this stage, Dr. Ghose and Malvi said that Tilak should be removed from the platform and a young gentleman, holding the important office of Secretary to the Reception Committee, Mr. Vaikunth Desai, son of Ambalal Sakarlal Desai, touched Tilak's person with a view to carrying out the Chairman's order. Tilak pushed the gentleman aside and again asserted his right of being heard, declaring that he would not leave the platform, unless bodily removed. At this stage, Gokhale

asked the Secretary not to touch Tilak's person. According to Nevinson's account Gokhale spread his arms about Tilak, lest any one touched his person. But there were others threatening an assault on him, though he was calmly standing on the platform facing the delegates with his arms folded on his chest. It was during this confusion that a shoe, hurled on to the platform hit Pherozeshah on one side of his face after touching Surendra Nath, both of whom were sitting within three or four feet of Tilak on the other side of the table. Chairs were now being lifted to be thrown at Tilak on and below the platform and some of the Nationalists rushed to the platform to his rescue. Dr. Ghose, in the meanwhile, attempted twice to read his address, but was stopped by cries of 'no, no' from all sides of the *pandal* and the confusion became still worse. It was found impossible to restore order and the proceedings were then suspended *sine die*.

Dr. Rash Behari Ghose's speech, though undelivered in the Congress, had been, by this time published in the Calcutta papers and telegrams from Calcutta received in the evening showed that he had made an offensive attack on the Nationalists, but the situation was not such as to preclude all hope of reconciliation. Motilal Ghose, A. C. Mitra, B. C. Chatterjee and Lala Harkishenlal tried their best to bring about a compromise and if possible to have the Congress session revived the next day. They went to Tilak on the night of the 27th and in the morning of the 28th to ascertain the views of his party and to each of them Tilak gave the assurance in writing in the following words :

" Surat, 28th December 1907

" Dear Sir,

" With reference to our conversation and principally in the best interests of the Congress I and my party are prepared to waive our opposition to the election of Dr. Rash Behari Ghose as President of the 23rd session of the Congress and we are prepared to act in the spirit of forget and forgive provided firstly that the last year's resolutions on Swaraj, Swadeshi, boycott and national education are adhered to and each expressly reaffirmed, and secondly such passages, if any, in Dr. Ghose's speech as may be offensive to the Nationalist Party are omitted.

Yours etc.,
B. G. Tilak."

This letter was taken to the Moderate leaders but no compromise was arrived at, because they were bent upon revising

those resolutions with a view to whittling them down. A convention of the Moderates was, therefore, held in the *pandal* the next day where the Nationalists were not allowed to go, even when some of them were ready and offered to sign the declaration that was required. Similarly, those who did not wish to go back on the Calcutta resolutions and desired to work further on the same lines met in a separate place the same evening to consider the steps to continue the work of the Congress in future. Thus ended the proceedings of the 23rd Congress amidst confusion and bitterness, leaving the parties more estranged than ever, making easy the task of those who were unfriendly to the cause of India's freedom. Statements and counter-statements followed from the Reception Committee, Gokhale and Tilak. Many eye-witnesses made their statements in the newspapers and observers like Nevinson and Rutherford also published their own accounts. All of these have been taken into consideration while giving this narrative as also what H. P. Mody has written in the biography of Pherozeshah. Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya must have studied all these accounts while writing about this episode in the *History of the Indian National Congress*. He says :

"At this distance of time, it is possible to form some opinion on the view-points of the two parties. That there were differences in outlook and each party was anxious to have its outlook accepted by the Congress, cannot be gainsaid. But as matters stood at the time when the Lokamanya rose to speak, the point was a small one. He insisted that under the constitution as adopted at Calcutta, the President was only nominated by the Reception Committee and it was the delegates assembled in Congress who finally and effectively elected the President. He was, therefore, entitled to move an amendment or even an adjournment of the house at this stage. He was not allowed to do so and he wanted to exercise his right of addressing the delegates on this unjust deprivation of his right. It is impossible to say that technically he was not correct. At the same time one cannot help saying that feelings had become exacerbated on account of pure misunderstanding which arose from a suspicion that the Calcutta resolutions were not included in the draft. Even if they were not, it was open to the Subjects Committee to include them or if they were not in a form satisfactory to the Nationalists it was open to them to get them altered or modified suitably in the Subjects Committee. Their omission by itself, even if it was a fact, need not have led to the situation as it developed. A frank discussion among the leaders of the two parties ought to have been sufficient to clear the position and the questions could have been dealt with on their merits. But this could not take place on account of pique on the part of some Moderate leaders. It is however, easy to be wise after the event. When feelings run

high, even great men may and do lose their balance. It would be imprudent on our part to attempt any apportionment of blame between two such men as Lokamanya Tilak and Gokhale and we pass over the unfortunate incident without allowing our reverence for them to be dimmed in the least."

What happened in the convention of the Moderates amply justified the fears entertained by the Nationalists. The Moderates did confirm Swaraj or self-government as the goal, but as the *ultimate* goal, thereby suggesting that it was not part of practical politics. The draft constitution of the Congress said that "the Congress has for its ultimate goal the attainment by India of self-government similar to that enjoyed by other members of the British Empire. It seeks to advance towards this goal by strictly constitutional means by bringing about a steady reform of the existing system of administration." Reform of the existing system of administration and not its gradual replacement by a popular system, was to be the immediate object of the Congress. This difference is not merely verbal, because the definite idea of the Moderates was to get on with the bureaucracy, look up to Morley for introducing political reforms and to convert for that purpose the National Congress into a party organization. The Congress was to be the rallying centre round Morley's standard, about whom there were still some expectations if the agitation of a militant character adopted by the Bengalis against the partition could be ended. As the acceptance of the Congress creed was to be a condition of membership, it was evidently a device to shut out those Bengal Nationalists who had repudiated the ideal of colonial self-government. It may be pointed out here that independence or absolute autonomy was held perfectly legal by Lord Morley and later in 1909, Mr. Justice Beachcroft, who tried Mr. Aravinda Ghose and the Manicktola conspirators in the Alipore Bomb Case, wrote in his judgment: "Independence is an ideal with which no true Englishman would quarrel." This judicial pronouncement was specially significant in view of the fact that Mr. C. R. Das who was counsel for Aravinda Ghose had repeatedly declared on behalf of his client that if preaching independence was a crime, Aravinda Ghose was willing to suffer any punishment that might be awarded to him.

Tilak was often blamed, in the words of Gokhale, for "coquetting with the views of the Bengal School of Extremist politicians", but he had always consistently preached only

Dadabhai's ideal of colonial self-government though he defended sometimes his Bengal friends' ideal as quite legitimate.

Again, the draft resolution on Swadeshi did not contain the words "even at a sacrifice" which omission Gokhale explained as accidental and unintentional. As far as boycott was concerned, Gokhale admitted that the changes made by him were intentional. He explained that they were rendered necessary by the unfair and unjustifiable attempt made by Bepin Chandra Pal from the Congress platform in 1906 and Tilak and others in the Press throughout 1907 to construe the phraseology employed in the Calcutta resolution on boycott as approval of all forms of dissociation with the Government. Gokhale wanted it to mean only boycott of foreign (British) goods. Bepin Chandra Pal said, "We in Eastern Bengal and Assam have not only tried to boycott British goods, but all honorary offices and association with Government." The Calcutta Congress resolution on national education said, "The time has arrived for the people to take up earnestly the question of national education and to organize a system of education under national control and on national lines." Gokhale's draft concluded with the words "organize an independent system of education". Gokhale may have thought that these changes were only verbal, but they were really vital and on every item, weakening of the Calcutta position is obvious. The acceptance of the revised position by the convention of the Moderates and later by the Congress at Allahabad clearly justified the fears of the Nationalists which were really well-founded anticipations, and it was no use saying that a deliberate sliding down was not planned and that it was open to everybody to suggest whatever one liked in the Subjects Committee as pleaded by Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya. A very comprehensive article in the *Kesari* dated December 31, 1907 on the Surat Congress published in the first part of *Khadilkars' Writings* is the most illuminating flashlight on the Surat happenings. It places its unerring finger on the fact that the Moderate monopolists in the Congress were determined that they would leave nothing undone to destroy the influence of the New Party and that they would allow the Congress to live only if it functioned within the framework they had prepared for it and that necessarily implied a friendly and accommodating attitude towards the Government, because the temptation was that

if the Congress and the country behaved, there would come a liberal measure of political reforms and if not, there would be even more of repression. For this they were prepared to take the risk of breaking the Congress and parting from their Nationalist compatriots. The way in which the Surat Congress ended shows that they succeeded in giving effect to their policy but later events showed that they neither got a liberal measure of reforms nor could they save the country from repression.

That Tilak was never in favour of such a split and when it came, he was most anxious to heal the breach as soon as possible is easily established from his writings and other activities during the first six months of 1908. The Poona District Conference, the Dhulia Provincial Conference, the Pabna Conference in Bengal were held jointly by the Nationalists and Moderates and the *Kesari* was completely in favour of such conferences and constant efforts were being pursued by him to hold the next session of the Congress as a continuation Congress session. But the Convention of the Moderates at Allahabad made it clear that they were happy that they had produced a constitution and passed rules for the Congress that shut out the Nationalists and before anything better could happen, Government's policy of repression helped them to carry out their object effectively. Tilak was proceeded against for sedition in July and shortly afterwards sent to transportation for six years and a joint Congress was postponed until 1916. The fact that as soon as he was released, he devoted his attention to heal the breach in the Congress and persuaded his followers to get into the Congress shows that he looked upon that body alone as the principal political organization of the entire country, where every shade of political opinion should find room and that its procedure and decisions should be completely democratic. These developments have been recorded in a subsequent chapter, " Back From Mandalay " and may be conveniently followed there.

It may be noted, however, that even after Tilak was sent to jail, attempts were unceasingly made by his followers like Khaparde, Kelkar, Khadilkar and Moonje to hold the next session of the Congress at Nagpur under the auspices of the Continuation Committee that had come into existence at Surat after the split where a concerted effort was to be made to offer

a hand of friendship to the Moderates. But the Conventionists were determined to go their own way. They held their Congress in Madras. The Government issued an order under Section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code on the organizers of the Congress at Nagpur and prohibited its holding. The order further said that till January 11, 1909, no public meeting should be held, no structures made or *pandals* erected. The Reception Committee Secretaries, Dr. B. S. Moonje and Mr. Narayanrao Alekar complained to the Magistrate but after giving them a hearing he confirmed his previous order and since then, the Nationalists were practically in the wilderness. The Congress was held every year by the Moderates, but the attendance at these Congresses was by itself a sad commentary on them. While in 1906 at Surat the number of delegates was 1,663, in 1908 at Madras it was 617, in 1909 it was 243, in 1910 it was 637 and in 1911 it was 446. The Conventionist Congress did nothing to establish Congress Committees all over the country which was their intention. The Bengal and Madras Moderates wanted their Nationalist friends to come in but Pherozeshah was adamantine and always put his foot down on any such effort. It was only after his death and that of Gokhale that Wacha alone could not hold out and under the pressure of Moderates from Bengal, Madras and U. P. the Nationalists were allowed to join the Congress, but as has been said before, that story forms part of the chapter " Back From Mandalay ".

During the closing days of Tilak's life, it became a question of debate among Indians and his followers as to what policy he would have followed, when the Congress was completely under his influence and he had chalked out a certain line of policy in view of the passage of the Government of India Act of 1919, whereby partial provincial autonomy had been given and he was intent on the Congress capturing the legislative machinery and executive posts under the Act for effecting its revision as early as possible. The Punjab and Khilafat wrongs were perpetrated at that time and Mahatma Gandhi was anxious to follow a policy of progressive non-co-operation to attain Swaraj eventually and get a redress of those wrongs immediately. Tilak died on the eve of the special Congress which was to consider Gandhiji's plan. After his death there was a good deal of speculation regarding Tilak's attitude to the

situation that was developing and everybody argued according to his light and leading. A full statement is luckily available on this point which must conclusively set at rest all speculation. Soon after Tilak's death, Khadilkar left the *Kesari* and went to Bombay as editor of the *Lokamanya* which was started by the Lokamanya Tilak Publishing Company. Among its Directors were men like Mr. N. C. Kelkar and Dr. R. H. Bhadkamkar and Mr. K. P. Khadilkar himself. It was started on April 9, 1921 and the statement referred to appeared in the issue of the *Lokamanya* in the form of a leading article by Khadilkar, dated July 20. 1921. It is surprising that when so authoritative a statement was made in those days, it should have escaped the attention of those who raised a controversy over Tilak's possible attitude. It is a model of clarity and perspicuity, as well as uncontestable proof of Tilak's foresight, vision, utter selflessness and preparedness to efface himself completely for national good. Here is what Khadilkar says:

"There is a party which says that Tilak would not have wholly supported Gandhiji's movement of non-co-operation, had he been alive today. The main foundation for this statement is that two or three months prior to his death, Tilak was busy making preparations for the return of the Nationalist Party to the new legislative bodies. It is pleaded that since Tilak had made such preparations, his party ought to have stuck to the election programme with steadfast determination and stayed in the Congress as a minority party even after the Calcutta Congress resolutions and since this party did not do so, it lacks the resolve, pushfulness and ability of Tilak and this party, composed of incapable followers of Tilak, is not entitled to the people's confidence.

"In our opinion the charge made in this statement is unsupported by facts, is actuated by envy and jealousy and at the root of this allegation, there is the vile motive of obstructing national work by instigating Tilak's followers not to co-operate with Gandhiji. It is quite true that Tilak was busy making preparations for the Nationalist Party to fight the then forthcoming elections two or three months before his death. Every one in Maharashtra knows that the trouble created by the Moderates at the Poona District Political Conference at Junnar and the Bombay Provincial Conference at Sholapur was due to the exasperation of the Moderates on account of this activity of Tilak.

"It is quite true that Tilak was exerting with all his might in order that the Nationalists should be returned in a majority in the new legislative bodies. But it is quite an unfair inference to draw only on that ground that he would have continued to concentrate his attention only on the council elections after the Calcutta Congress resolution in favour of non-co-operation. His very preparations, his line of thought and his political antecedents afford no basis for such an inference. It is necessary to find

out how much support Tilak's own utterances provide for venturing such a statement, in a logical way. While speaking at the meeting of the All India Congress Committee at Banaras on the subject of non-co-operation he said that his whole life was an obvious demonstration of the principle of non-co-operation. Tilak freely and frankly told Gandhiji, 'I like the programme well enough, but I have my doubts as to the country being with us in the self-denying ordinance which non-co-operation present to the people. I will do nothing to hinder the progress of the non-co-operation movement. I wish you every success and if you gain the popular ear you will find in me an enthusiastic supporter.'

" These words make it clear that Tilak had his own doubts as regards the people's capacity to go through the penance of non-co-operation at short notice. But to say that he was doubtful about this is not to say that he would not have asked people to follow the principles of non-co-operation. It is one thing to take precautions and make utmost efforts in order to avert failure and quite another to stop making any efforts because there was possibility of failure. Dogged determination is that frame of mind which actuates one to keep on making ceaseless efforts in full faith and firm conviction that success shall be achieved, sooner or later, if not in one year, in two years, if not in one generation, in two generations, with a sublime disinterestedness in success or failure. Tilak was a veritable incarnation of this quality of dogged determination. It is inconceivable, therefore, to plead that Tilak would have withheld his support to non-co-operation probably because a sufficient number of patriotic persons would not have been forthcoming to join the non-co-operation movement in a year or two, even when it was started with the object of attaining full self-government. To say so is to blaspheme Tilak and to imply that Tilak was not what he really was.

" Even if we set aside considerations about his lifelong behaviour, his utterances and the legitimate inferences that we can draw on their basis, his words and the way he conducted himself during the last three or four weeks before he breathed his last are especially important. What he told Mahatma Gandhi only two weeks before his death has been quoted above. About this time, Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das had asked him in a private letter whether he would be willing to accept the presidentship of the special session of the Calcutta Congress. After having considered the pros and cons of the proposal in consultation with his colleagues, he wrote back to Mr. Das to say that he did not want to accept the offer of the presidentship of the Calcutta Congress. After communicating this decision to Mr. Das, Tilak was leaving for Bombay on July 12, 1919. On that day Tilak conferred with the present writer (Khadilkar) for a couple of hours, neither of them ever dreaming that, that was going to be the last discussion between them. Tilak opened the discussion with the remark, 'I am going to Bombay today and you have to go to Sangli. Let us therefore discuss some important matters.' On this occasion he fully explained what future trend of political developments he visualized and wherefore he declined the Calcutta Congress presidentship.

" Tilak said, 'The principle of non-co-operation as conceived by Mahatma Gandhi will be considered unexceptionable by every thinking person. Yet,

since the various steps contemplated by him will affect in varying proportions people in various callings, it is quite likely that there will be three or four groups of people belonging to different ways of thinking and that might lead to a split-up of the Congress into two or three splinter parties. In order to avoid such a catastrophe a great effort will have to be put forth and I will have to exert to the utmost to maintain the solidarity of the Congress that has been built up during the last four or five years as a power and a force for political good. Such insistence will be indispensable and in order to co-ordinate possible different points of view by reasonable compromise, I must be quite free from the shackles of the position of the President of the Congress. That is the reason behind my declining the presidentship of the Congress. After the secession of the Moderates from the Congress, it seems as if the Congress is going to split once again and thus weaken itself. The task of maintaining the Congress as a great political force is far more important than presiding over its deliberations. Even if there are differences in the Congress, its present adherents must hold together, pull together and fight the bureaucracy. The cause of complete Swaraj will not otherwise advance further. I believe that I shall be found more serviceable for maintaining unity in the Congress and so I have refused to take the presidentship. I must not be unduly partisan of a specific or particular view-point, and I consider it in the best interests of the country that all Congressmen should follow one and the same path. Taking such a precaution at this juncture is of paramount importance.'

"Those who are conversant with the working of Tilak's mind on the occasion of declining the presidentship of the Congress cannot have any doubt that it was because of the compelling and commanding force of Tilak's line of thought, that the Congress Democratic Swarajya Party members declined to contest the elections to the various legislative bodies, after the Calcutta special session of the Congress passed the resolution on non-co-operation. Tilak knew full well that Gandhiji's non-co-operation movement would make rapid strides and gather strength and he would have to collaborate completely with Gandhiji. He had said it in so many words in the conversation referred to. He also estimated that if and when the movement progressed, Government would place under arrest both Tilak and Gandhiji and in the light of that forecast, he had also told the present writer how he would conduct himself.

"Tilak said, 'It is much better to be away rather than get arrested by the bureaucracy and so I intend to proceed to England for a few months or even a year. After I go to Bombay I desire to get busy making arrangements in that behalf.' On being asked how it was preferable to be in England or in Europe to being placed under arrest, Tilak said, 'It is not because I want to avoid physical suffering or loneliness of jail life that I am planning in this way. Indeed Government's intention is not likely to be to cause physical suffering. No, the arrest will not be effected with that purpose. If the Khilafat and non-co-operation movements gather sufficient strength as expected by Mahatma Gandhi, the bureaucracy will be compelled to open negotiations with the leaders of the people regarding the grant of full Swaraj rights and in order to get the Congress to reach a settlement,

the temptation of the release of leaders like me and Gandhiji would be dangled before the Congress leaders that would be left behind. I fear that on such an occasion, the followers will be tempted to accept less than their full due, out of their love and respect and anxiety to secure release of their leaders. Some weak people may even be pleased with very little and plead in addition that they were disposed that way for the release of their leaders and thus conceal their weakness. I am very anxious that such a development should not take place. We must not take less than our full measure out of such weakness. My arrest may lead to such a development and I must avert it, if I can help it.'

"On being asked further wheher it would not be more convenient that he should rather be in India to negotiate a settlement with the officials, Tilak frankly stated, 'The bureaucracy will never open such talks with me. No one should get away with the idea that the bureaucracy would ever open such negotiations with me, because my previous political career is like that. Any one who thinks that the bureaucrats will change their angle of vision about me do not understand human nature. I have become useless as a medium for such business on account of my political precedents. On the contrary, it is just because I am among the negotiators that the bureaucracy will deliberately and haughtily withdraw within their own shells. I know full well that it cannot be for me to carry out such a task and therefore I want effectively to remove the temptation of securing my release from the sight of my followers when Mahatma Gandhi's movement gathers momentum and when I must be away. I can clearly visualize that the movement will grow to that stage and the bureaucracy will open negotiations to make more political concessions. When that moment arrives, I can be of no service to the motherland. So why keep here when I can be of no service? Far from it, I might be an obstacle in the way of India getting her full measure by getting arrested, and so, I am planning to get out of India's borders in a few weeks.'

"That is the gist of the talk between the present writer (Khadilkar) and Tilak for about two hours. We hope that our readers will carefully consider how Tilak's mind was working on the eve of the inauguration of the non-co-operation movement to lend complete support to Mahatma Gandhi and help realize the full measure of Swaraj which Tilak foresaw as a result of the non-co-operation movement."

Can anyone imagine a more staunch adherent of the Indian National Congress and a more self-effacing patriot after reading this testimony by Khadilkar?

CHAPTER XV

GUILTY OF SEDITION ONCE, TWICE BUT NOT THRICE

Every activity of Tilak since he made up his mind to give up the life-membership of the Deccan Education Society is indicative of his resolve to throw himself in the service of the people. The plague and famine catastrophies occupied him to the point of complete absorption. His utter selflessness and complete abandon with which he carried on all these movements to the accompaniment of outspoken criticism of the regimes of Lord Harris and Lord Sandhurst created a very distinct and distinguished position for him in the public life of Western India. Government was watching all his doings with special care. In particular, his conflict with the official world over the Hindu-Muslim riots in which he roundly charged Government with sinister partiality for Muslims and his charge that it was Government's political policy that encouraged the riots marked him out as an intrepid critic who could not be browbeaten. His positive service to the people in the plague relief operations, coupled with constructive criticism of Government's well-meant but unimaginative and oppressive measures to save people from the scourge of the plague, marked him out as a fearless tribune of the people, and his powers of organization and ability to conduct a well-planned and well-defined agitation to secure relief to the people from the miseries that came in the wake of the great famine of 1896, carved out for him a permanent place in the popular mind as their unfailing guide, friend and philosopher.

It was in the midst of his plague and famine-relief work, however, that he courted official disfavour the most and the official world began to look upon him as a thorn in its side. He was damned as a hostile element, a sedition-monger and a strict vigil was kept for snatching a suitable opportunity to throttle him and still his voice. The necessary instigation came from the Anglo-Indian Press. When his demand for remission and suspension of land revenue during the famine days became persistent, *The Times of India* described it as a 'no-rent campaign' thus suggesting the parallel of the Irish Land League

and its leader Parnell. It was rumoured that he was to be proceeded against just then but Government's legal advisers did not support that course of action, though his colleagues and collaborators had been proceeded against. Yet, mentally Government was prepared to pounce upon him. The signal was given as it were by the murder of Rand on June 22, 1897. What precipitated action against him was, all the same, an enigma. The murder of Rand was committed by the Chaphekar Brothers as an act of revenge, according to their ideas, for its oppressive plague relief activity among the people and were duly prosecuted for the crime of murder. Tilak was prosecuted for sedition. It was alleged that there was sedition in his speeches published in the *Kesari* in connection with the Shivaji festival.

The two events had nothing to do with each other. What he had done was that he had simply defended Afzal Khan's murder by Shivaji as a controversialist because one of the speakers in the festival happened to mention that incident. When he said that " No copper-plate (charter) was given to the *mlenchhas* to rule over Hindustan ", one " Justice " quoted this sentence in *The Times of India* mistranslating it to apply to the Muslims, Christians and Europeans and asked whether it was not incitement to sedition against Government. When Tilak appealed to the Poona leaders to realize the " futility of mere clamour against the high-handedness of the plague authorities " and suggested that the best course was to remain in the city and form vigilance committees for each street and organize pecuniary help to the private plague hospital, *The Times of India* quoted this remark after the murder of Rand and said, " Though we do not offer any suggestions as to the view that a jury might take of the Hon. Mr. Tilak's discourse on ' the futility of mere clamour ' against Mr. Rand and his assistants, still someone with a pistol in his hand seems to have been in hearty agreement with the Hon. Member's distrust in the efficacy of mere clamour." It is quite true that the Rand and Ayerst incident threw the Anglo-Indians in a state of panic. They openly expressed the suspicion that there was a deep-laid plot by the Poona Brahmans. When the murderer made good his escape, the Anglo-Indians vented their feelings of revenge in an attack on the Indian Press which by its alleged seditious writings was considered to have fanned the people into a frenzy. Resort to Section 124A of the Indian

Penal Code was urged. Misgivings about the suitability of that Section for trying subtle and slippery writers and speakers, were expressed and a demand for a more stringent definition of sedition followed.

A suggestion was openly made that Lord Sandhurst should not confirm Tilak's re-election to the Bombay Legislative Council. Extracts from the Poona Press were published and *The Times of India* slyly suggested that they were seditious and action therefore was called for. *The Times of India* said, " It is not for us to establish a direct connection between this mild teaching and that deplorable event (Rand murder), still the atmosphere which such teaching must have created is precisely the atmosphere in which violence to individuals, hatred of Government and widespread contempt for law and authority would necessarily grow." The sequence of dates also was considered significant. On May 11, 1897 Tilak wrote about the futility of ' mere clamour '. On June 12, he justified Shivaji's murder of Afzal Khan. Putting them together it was asked : Do they not amount clearly to a plea for political murder ? Apparently Lord Sandhurst's Government was saner and did not yield to this instigation since Tilak's election to the Legislative Council was confirmed. But in the words of Sir Sankaran Nair who presided over the Amraoti session of the Congress in 1897, " the unreasoning panic into which the Anglo-Indian community was driven by such malicious attacks and its unfortunate success in inflaming the English people forced the hands of the Secretary of State and Lord Sandhurst had to take measures, which it is believed, he would never have sanctioned, if he had remained a free agent."

Poona was celebrating the Diamond Jubilee of Queen Victoria's reign and in a series of three articles, Tilak had reviewed this reign quite favourably. There was a celebration dinner at Government House, Ganesh Khind, which he attended. On the same night this murder was perpetrated. The news spread throughout the city in a few hours. People were struck with terror and astonishment. The police became active, streets were blockaded, houses were searched, suspects were arrested. Anglo-India scented behind the murder a subterraneous Brahman conspiracy. Government was not taken in by this

conspiracy hypothesis, but the city of Poona was held responsible for the murder and punitive police was imposed. There was such panic that even Dr. Cowasji Jehangir, once a sheriff of Bombay and Dr. Sir Ramakrishna Bhandarkar were not allowed to attend Rand's funeral. A public meeting of the citizens of Poona to condemn the murder might have mitigated Government's angry suspicions, but no such meeting was held until the Collector of Poona Mr. Lamb took initiative in the matter. At this meeting he charged Tilak and the *Kesari* indirectly with sedition and repeatedly referred to the speeches that had been made in the Shivaji festival only a week before. This was the same Mr. Lamb, who as Collector of Kolaba had refused permission to hold the Shivaji festival at Raigarh and Tilak had secured the permission over his head from the Governor. Tilak was in no way daunted or deterred from pursuing his course by these threats. In fact in the next issue for July 6, 1897 Tilak in a strong article against the imposition of punitive police asked: "Is the Government's head on its shoulders?" In the next issue he frankly told Government that "To govern is not to take revenge".

Since, Anglo-Indian papers were constantly dinning into the ears of the Government that sedition was rampant, Tilak counteracted that campaign by starting a series of articles in the *Kesari* on July 20 to explain what sedition meant. He went to Bombay on July 27 to seek legal redress against the reckless statements made against him by *The Times of India* and also to arrange for publication in the *Champion* and other papers the material that he had collected in support of some statements Gokhale had made in England regarding the plague relief excesses. While Tilak was busy with this work, the Government was busy finalizing plans for his arrest and prosecution for sedition. On the day he reached Bombay, a complaint was filed under Section 124A of the Indian Penal Code before the Chief Presidency Magistrate, Bombay and warrants for his arrest and search of his house and offices were issued. Though Tilak was known to be in Bombay, they were not served on him till late at night. Tilak was putting up, as usual, with Mr. D. A. Khare, in Angre's Wadi, Girgaon. They had finished their dinner and were chatting when a European police officer called and showed the warrant to Tilak. Tilak got ready to leave with him. The

officer took him to the Police Commissioner's office where he was locked up. Mr. Khare went to see the Chief Presidency Magistrate to see whether his release on bail could be secured. Bail was refused. Tilak was so completely undisturbed that when Khare knocked at his cell at about midnight to tell him that no release on bail was possible, he was sleeping soundly as if nothing had happened!

On July 28, preliminary investigation started before the Presidency Magistrate, Mr. Slater. The application for bail was again refused and even the appeal to the High Court against the refusal was not allowed by Justice Parsons and Justice Ranade on the ground that the case was to begin only two days afterwards. On July 31, he was examined in the usual way and the case was committed to the Sessions. Mr. Dawar, who appeared for him, complained against the seizure of the registers of the subscribers of the *Kesari* and the *Mahratta* in accordance with the search-warrants, saying that although Tilak was proceeded against as printer, publisher and editor of the *Kesari*, its publication had to go on and if the registers were not returned, Government would be accused of unlawful conduct and malicious vindictiveness. This had instantaneous effect and the registers were duly handed over to Tilak's solicitor. After the case was committed to the Sessions, Tilak's counsel again applied for release on bail on August 4. He argued that to keep Tilak in custody was to deny him reasonable opportunities for preparing his defence. It was heard by Justice Badruddin Tyabji. He was convinced of the reasonableness of this plea and asked what amount of security was the accused willing to give. Counsel said whatever security was demanded would be given. Court directed that two securities worth Rs. 25,000 each and personal surety of Rs. 50,000/- should be given. Although Tilak's counsel had bravely offered to pay any security, it was not quite an easy matter. But two courageous men came forward. They were Dwarkadas Dharamsey and Y. V. Nene. It is not difficult to imagine what it meant, when Justices Parsons and Ranade had refused him bail and Justice Tyabji had imposed heavy conditions, for those who stood as sureties. Possibly that also meant incurring Government's displeasure since it was common knowledge that the proceedings against Tilak had been decided upon after much deliberation. Both these gentlemen became

Tilak's intimate and trusted friends in later life. Other friends who helped Tilak at the time besides Mr. Khare, were Mr. M. R. Bodas, Dr. M. G. Deshmukh, and Mr. S. S. Setlur.

After release on bail was secured Tilak went to Poona and began to prepare his defence. His papers had become barely self-supporting and whatever balance they left went to defray the debts which they were burdened with from the beginning. The income from the conduct of the Law Class went to cover his domestic budget and there was no surplus to meet such a contingency as this case for sedition. Engaging eminent counsel to defend him meant money. His friends knew this and a defence fund was started. The Natu Brothers had already been deported under the old Regulation of 1818 and so it appeared that a regular repressive campaign was started. A public fund became necessary and that incidentally testified to the people's confidence in the Tilak method of carrying on public work. The fund was subscribed to even from Bengal, Babus Shishir Kumar and Motilal Ghose of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* and Babu Surendra Nath Banerji of the *Bengalee* having extended a helping hand. The defence fund was swelling every day though by small sums, but most people wanted to remain anonymous.

Tilak managed to collect a couple of thousand rupees for sundry expenses and proceeded to Bombay to stand his trial at the Sessions. He was pretty certain that he would be convicted and sentenced. He thought therefore, of making his will. It was a touching occasion for him and his manager-nephew, Mr. D. V. Vidwans, because they found that the financial condition was nearly that of bankruptcy. But Tilak recovered his usual self-control in a moment and made arrangements for the conduct of the *Kesari* and the *Mahratta*. Messrs. Pugh and Garth were sent by the Bengal friends to defend Tilak and Mr. J. Chowdhry volunteered his services also. Tilak had about two weeks during which he had to arrange all papers relating to the case and to collect material for being put forth as evidence. Friends in Bombay gave hearty co-operation. It was a happy experience for Tilak that there was sympathy and support all around. It may be noted here that while giving the order of release on bail, Justice Badruddin Tyabji had said that "The articles in question about which he desired to say clearly that he gave no

positive opinion one way or the other, but they were not necessarily of such a character as to lead one to the irresistible conclusion that the man responsible for such articles must be convicted upon them." What was the incriminating material? One was a poem of an ordinary versifier, in which Shivaji was supposed to be addressing his Mahratta following, appealing them to be up and doing and the other item was Tilak's speech at the Shivaji festival, in which he defended Shivaji for murdering Afzal Khan. On such slender foundation, the prosecution based its edifice of a sedition charge against Tilak.

The hearing began on September 8, 1897 before Mr. Justice Strachey and a special jury of nine persons of whom six were Europeans wholly unacquainted with the Marathi language. The verdict of such a jury was almost a foregone conclusion in view of the prejudice created against Tilak by the Anglo-Indian Press, particularly since the murder of Rand and Ayerst. Had the trial been held at Poona, both the Judge and the jury would have acquitted themselves better on account of their knowledge of Marathi. Mr. Pugh, his counsel, pointing out that Tilak's criticism of the plague administration was quite fair, even if strong, referred to the complimentary language used about him by Lord Sandhurst and affirmed that he had no animus against the Government. He also drew attention to the incorrect and misleading translation of the original articles. The Advocate-General, Mr. Lang too, was quite fair, but the Judge delivered a strongly prejudiced charge to the jury and it appeared as though the Judge and Advocate-General had exchanged their roles! He followed almost faithfully the theory of the Anglo-Indian journals by freely referring to the famine and plague period and happenings in those days, particularly with reference to the employment of British troops not being liked by the people, and then passed on to the Poona murders and observed that the inevitable result was friction, and such a state of tension and excited feeling that it led to the murder of Rand and Ayerst. He took care to say that there was no relation of cause and effect between the two, viz. Tilak's articles and the murders. Yet there was sufficient prejudice created against the accused and six of the nine jurors held that he was guilty of sedition. The Judge spoke in eulogistic terms about the ability and influence of the accused but found him guilty, agreeing with the majority view

of the jury and sentenced him to rigorous imprisonment for eighteen months. An appeal to the High Court Special Bench comprising Justices Farren, Candy and Strachey was not allowed, because it was held that there was no grave failure of justice and therefore the case need not be sent to the Privy Council for which permission was sought in appeal. Still a special appeal to the Privy Council was made but that also proved fruitless.

It would be in the fitness of things to state the prosecution case and the defence case in brief. The Advocate-General said in effect:

"It is not necessary to prove that the writings in the *Kesari*, whether poetical or otherwise, incited a particular person to commit a violent act or create sedition in his mind. It is enough if there is only a possibility of it. If a particular piece of writing is calculated to create in the reader's mind a desire to try overthrow of Government, it should fall under the category of sedition. Tilak is an honourable gentleman, a fellow of the Senate of the Bombay University and a Member of the Legislative Council. The circulation of the *Kesari* is about 7,000 copies, about a thousand of which are distributed in Bombay. The paper is a weighty and influential journal and calculated to mould the reader's mind. It describes the Government as foreign. It asserts that the people are being crushed under tyranny. The Shivaji festival may be unexceptionable in itself, but it has been given a political colour and has been used as an instrument to create a feeling of disaffection against the Government. The court has to consider the total effect of the articles and not isolated words or passages. It is one thing to say that India is suffering from poverty and another to connect that statement with the story of Shivaji and Afzal Khan. The whole aspect of it is changed. The duty of remaining discontented in order to flourish has been preached by the accused without any disguise. All writings of the accused tend towards creation of a feeling of resentment against the powers that be."

The Defence Counsel said:

"But for the murder of Rand, Tilak would never have been hauled up in court. Most of the subject-matter of Tilak's alleged offence is in the form of verses. A metrical composition does not lend itself to a strictly legal, precise and scientific analysis. The Shivaji festival is very much like the festival of Robert Bruce and William Wallace. When people are fired with enthusiasm for such national festivities, they do use some extravagant, hyperbolic and metaphorical language. The controversy about Afzal Khan's murder was in the Press long before Rand's murder and by no stretch of imagination, could that murder be related to the murder of Afzal Khan. If the Government seriously believed Tilak guilty of the abetment of murder, it ought to have openly accused him of it. The very fact that he has not been so charged but prosecuted under 124A, shows the weakness of Government's case. Two persons of different political schools of thought

like Tilak and Prof. Bhanu combined to pay homage to Shivaji on the same platform. Could such a thing happen if the intention was to propagate the cult of political murder? Sedition whether in England or in India, must have the same connotation. A spicy description of a thousand and one grievances of the people, even when enumerated for the purpose of creating discontent among them must not be condemned as sedition. An isolated murder like that of Rand would neither ruin nor shake the foundations of the British Empire. Tilak's articles written in connection with the Diamond Jubilee of Queen Victoria constituted sufficient proof of his loyalty to the Crown as of his genuine patriotism."

But nothing availed, even though Mr. Asquith, later Prime Minister of England who appeared for Tilak in the Privy Council, laid much stress on the interpretation of Section 124A of the Indian Penal Code, the meaning of the word disaffection, the difference between strong political criticism and sedition and tried to impress upon the Privy Council that Tilak's appeal deserved to be more carefully considered by the Privy Council than any other case. The result, however, was that it was dismissed on the ground that there was no sufficient cause for the Privy Council to interfere in the matter. The dismissal and the judgment of Justice Strachey came in for universal condemnation in India. The *Kesari* published four very informative articles by the late Mr. Gajanan Bhaskar Vaidya of Bombay on the constitution and functions of the Privy Council but the concluding article of Mr. Vaidya, "The Decision of the Privy Council" and the criticism of the *Kesari* that the decision had destroyed the confidence of the Indian public in British justice were by coincidence published in the same issue.

After Tilak was sent to jail, new arrangements for publication of the *Kesari* and the *Mahratta* had to be made. Mr. Kelkar took full charge of the *Mahratta* and Mr. Khadilkar that of the *Kesari*. These two men published a daily edition of the *Kesari* in Bombay for a whole week in order to supply fresh account of the hearing of the case to an expectant public and the regular publication of the two papers during Tilak's absence in jail was a matter of agreeable surprise to many and a matter of malicious amazement to certain others who expected them to collapse with Tilak's removal to jail.

While Tilak was in jail, both the Indian Penal and Criminal Procedure Codes were amended. The Section, pertaining to sedition, under which Tilak was charged was also subjected to

amendment. This showed that Tilak was illegally sentenced and exposed the weakness of Government's case. Section 124A was widened in its application. Tilak had to suffer the grave consequences of the injustice involved in Justice Strachey's interpretation of the term disaffection. It fell to the lot of Tilak, more than any one else in India to test the law of sedition and his contributions to the record of State trials in British India have been remarkable. He was again tried for sedition in 1908 and once more in 1916. On the former occasion he was sentenced to six years' imprisonment and sent to jail. On the latter occasion he was acquitted. There is a vast difference between jail life in 1897 and as it is now or was during the non-co-operation days and subsequently. He was unable to take the jail diet. He was altogether unused to onions and they formed a necessary ingredient of the curry served with rice or bread. He could eat only bread to the accompaniment of water. Two months passed in this way in Dongri Jail. His weight came down by 35 pounds. Nothing could be done about this as Government refused to recognize the category of political prisoners. The discipline of jail life was rigid. From Dongri Tilak was taken to the Byculla House of Correction, where Sardar Tatya Saheb Natu was also kept under detention. He was allowed to have his own home diet and sometimes he was able to send stealthily some agreeable food to Tilak. But such surreptitious action could not be to Tilak's taste. At last the authorities themselves transferred him to Yeravda Jail in the month of February 1898 on the pretext that plague had assumed a serious character in Bombay, but really believing that the Poona climate would be better for his failing health.

While he was in the Byculla Jail Mr. S. S. Setlur, a Bombay advocate, was trying through the Howard Association to secure relief to Tilak. This body was formed in England with the object of improving the jail life of prisoners all the world over and securing humane treatment to juvenile delinquents in order to turn them into normal citizens. Mr. Setlur wrote a detailed letter to the Secretary of this Association, describing in full Tilak's jail life. The Secretary got in touch with the then Secretary of State, Lord George Hamilton, who replied in the routine way that Mr. Setlur's allegations were not correct and that Tilak was being treated in conformity with jail rules.

Yet demi-official orders were given for inquiries being made into the real state of affairs. The Howard Association was greatly influenced by the account of Tilak's jail life as is evident from the letter of its Secretary to Mr. Setlur. During the course of this letter he said :

"If any serious thing happens to Tilak, you may let me know of it in detail. But I hope he will survive his detention. In my letter to Lord George Hamilton I have said that if Tilak should die in jail, it would attract widespread criticism, both in this country and in India, of the Indian prison *regime* and that this, of course, would be very undesirable from the point of view, especially of the Government."

The case of Tilak led the Association to adopt a general resolution regarding the treatment of political prisoners in India whose text was :

"The Committee of the Howard Association have lately received various communications from India, referring to the actual and prospective imprisonments for real or alleged infringements of the Press laws of the country. The Committee are of the opinion that, in general, this class of offences ought to be regarded as being of a political rather than of a criminal nature, and that the punishment should be differentiated accordingly."

This resolution must also have gone some way in influencing Government in effecting Tilak's transfer from Byculla to Yeravda Jail.

At Yeravda, there was gradual improvement in his health. He was given better food and the little amenity of chewing bits of areca-nut was also not denied to him. He was assigned the work of preparing and mixing colours for dying wool. He put his whole heart in the work and his superior intelligence was easily discernible to the jail authorities even in that piece of work. Prof. Gajjar was requested to send him some books and chemical formulae for this task, which he did with pleasure. Tilak was allowed to take home his notes and the journal of his experiments on release. While he was there the case against Chaphekar was decided and he was sentenced to be hanged. He expressed the desire to get a petition written by Tilak. His request was granted and Tilak wrote his petition in the presence of the jailor. Before he was hanged, he also expressed the wish to see Tilak. That was also granted. He made the additional request that the copy of the Geeta which Tilak had with him should be given to Chaphekar and that after his death, his dead body should be cremated according to Hindu ritual. Tilak

complied with both his requests. These interviews were probably allowed to Chaphekar with a view to finding out if any clue as to the supposed relationship between Tilak and Chaphekar in connection with the Rand murder could be obtained. But nothing of the kind happened and Government and the police abandoned this line of thinking altogether. Letters began to appear in newspapers like *The Times of India* that Tilak's sentence should be remitted and he should be released. For some time it appeared as though this suggestion would be acted upon. Government was intent, it was reported, on releasing him on certain conditions. Besides the efforts of the Howard Association and the conviction that Tilak had no relation, even of an indirect character with the murder of Rand, the appeal made by Prof. Max Muller and others led to his release before the term was completed.

In January 1898, Max Muller's attention was drawn to the fact that an erudite scholar like Tilak was rotting in jail and undergoing rigorous imprisonment for sedition. Five years before, there had passed some correspondence between Tilak and Max Muller regarding the *Orion*. Max Muller had already sent him a copy of his *Rigveda*. The same was forwarded to Tilak through Mr. W. A. Chambers, editor of the *Champion* of Bombay, after taking the necessary permission of the Government of Bombay. Writing to Mr. Chambers in a covering letter on January 21, 1898, one Mr. Chattopadhyaya said from London: "Prof. Max Muller noticed in a newspaper that Tilak wanted a copy of his *Rigveda* and he has sent it with much pleasure. He regrets very much that Tilak should have to suffer in jail in the way he is doing. He desires that Tilak should be treated leniently in jail but he is at a loss to know how that could be done. He expressed willingness to induce Government to release him if a petition to Government were made." Subsequently, this idea was taken up and a petition signed by Prof. Max Muller, Sir William Hunter, Sir Richard Garth, Mr. William Caine, Dadabhai Naoroji, Romesh Chandra Dutt and a number of M. P.s was submitted. The points made in the petition were that Tilak was a loyal British subject who had given valuable counsel and co-operation to Government on many occasions and was an elected member of the Bombay Legislative Council, that Tilak should have been proceeded

against for his criticism of the plague administration just when he made it, if Government was advised that they were seditious writings, that from his work *Orion*, it was clear that he was a profound scholar and he loved nothing more than the field of research and scholarship, that rigorous jail life had shattered his health, that the real author of the murder of Rand was traced and he had nothing to do with the writings in the *Kesari* and, above all, the dignity of law and ends of justice had already been served by the punishment given to him and therefore Tilak should be restored to freedom as early as possible.

As soon as Tilak came to know about Max Muller's efforts for his release, he wrote to him a letter of thanks in which he said that his gratitude was beyond the power of expression of any words he might use. One had to face difficulties as they came and so his difficulties would soon pass away but he would for ever remember the debt of gratitude for the sympathy and kindness shown to him. He acknowledged receipt of the four books of the text of the Rigveda sent to him and informed Prof. Max Muller that his leisure was always devoted to the study of the Rigveda, the *Brahmasutras* and the Geeta. He also informed him that he was giving precise shape to his ideas about the pre-Orion conditions and when out of jail, he wanted to put those ideas in writing. Tilak luckily had a jailor in Mr. Solomon at Yeravda, who was a lover of learning and was all sympathy for Tilak when he came to know what the stature of his prisoner was. He gave the facility of a special light to Tilak till 10 p.m. at night and arranged for his food in the jail hospital. He was given the facility of reading other books besides the Rigveda. These congenial conditions made his remaining days in jail much less difficult at Yeravda than at Dongri, Bombay. All the while the question of his release was engaging the attention of the public as well as the Government. It was sought to impose upon him the condition that he should no more take part in politics. This was highly galling to his self-respect and even before it was proposed to him, his friend Khare rejected it on his behalf outright. The other condition sought to be imposed on him was, that he should not accept any receptions after release or take part in any felicitation functions. This he was willing to accept because he never cared

for any ostentatious demonstrations in his honour. On the 3rd of September matters came to a head. Khare and Mr. Brewin, a police official had a conference with him at Yeravda to discuss finally the condition or conditions, the acceptance of which should secure his release. It was suggested to him and he agreed that if Tilak was found guilty of sedition again he should serve the unexpired term of six months. This was finalized by appropriate authorities and Tilak was released at 10.30 p.m. on September 3, 1898 after serving 51 weeks of hard labour. Accompanied by Khare, he knocked at Vinchurkar's Wada, which was then his residence, at that late hour.

Since this trial for sedition Tilak's relations with Government were never friendly. As a consequence even those who should have stood by him parted company with him. The Moderate leaders who guided the Congress tried their best to put him down. There was no resolution at the Congress session held at Amraoti, while he was in jail, about his trial and conviction, even when his friend and colleague, Mr. G. S. Khaparde was Chairman of the Reception Committee of that session. There was a resolution in condemnation of the detention without trial of the Natu Brothers. A resolution of protest against Tilak's conviction, it was thought, would have been derogatory to the dignity of the High Court and inconsistent with loyalty. An attempt to demand his release, conditional or otherwise, at this Congress failed and even his picture was not allowed to be exhibited in the *pandal* by Moderate leaders like Mudholkar. But the President, Sir Sankaran Nair, made a reference to certain law points in the Tilak case and declared that in England Tilak would have been treated with all the honour and dignity due to a political prisoner. Sir Womesh Chandra Banerji spoke of Justice Strachey's definition of sedition as wholly indefensible and repugnant to public opinion. But there was tremendous applause when Surendra Nath Banerji referred to Tilak and his conviction while speaking on the resolution relating to Natu Brothers, and people rose in their seats spontaneously and cried "Tilak Maharajki Jai". Even the stentorian voice of India's Demosthenes was, for a moment, drowned. Newspapers described the scene as unprecedented in the annals of the history of the Congress. Surendra Nath said, "I declare on my behalf and the entire native Press that in our hearts, we believe

Mr. Tilak to be innocent of the charge brought against him. The ends of technical justice may have been satisfied but substantial justice has grievously failed. My sympathy goes forth towards Mr. Tilak in his prison home for whom the nation is in tears."

Political leadership up to this time was associated with social position, Government patronage and flashes of oratory in the English language. With Tilak's example in suffering and sacrifice, it was demonstrated that a new leadership was in demand. He gave a blow to all conceptions of easy-going, arm-chair leadership. He no longer basked in official sunshine. He was no longer the Hon. Mr. Tilak, Rajamanya Tilak, but what is infinitely greater and under the circumstances even the antithesis of it, Lokamanya Tilak. His unexpectedly early release sent a thrill of joy throughout the country. He was flooded with letters of congratulations and for some time the visitors to his house were counted in thousands. A newspaper gave the estimate of 10,000 for one day. Gokhale and friends in the Deccan Education Society also made a courtesy call. But prison life left some permanent effects on him. He began to look aged. He contracted diabetes which remained with him till his end. His weight came down once from 135 lbs. to 105 lbs., but in Yeravda it rose again to 113 lbs. His first consideration, therefore, was to regain health and so he repaired to his favourite hill resort, Sinhagarh for two months, from where he came down to leave for Madras to attend the Congress session of the year. From there he went to Ceylon. He did not speak on any subject either in the Subjects Committee or in the open session. Some people inferred from this that he had bound himself to deliver no public speeches in some undertaking secretly given to Government. While journeying in the South from Madras to Rameshwar and Madura, a representative of the *South Indian Post* interviewed him and asked him what he had to say about comments on these lines. Tilak explained quite candidly that his refusal to make any speeches was entirely a self-imposed ban. No one prevented him from speaking in the Congress. On the contrary he was pressed from time to time to say something. But he decided not to yield to the temptation as one speech would mean many speeches for which there would be incessant calls and in the then state of his health,

he was unable to put up with a strain of that kind. The Press representative asked him about his future programme. To this Tilak's brief reply was, " I shall continue to do hereafter what I have been doing hitherto." As is common knowledge, he meant all that he said. During his Madras stay, he was lodged in a historic building on the beach. It was built in the days of Clive. Tilak and his friend, Pandit Ganga Prasad Varma of the *Lucknow Advocate* were housed there. He was given a number of receptions and Tilak also threw a dinner party to the Madras notables, the Iyers and the Iyengars having been required to be seated and served separately ! From Ceylon he returned to Poona in February 1899, after he had fairly regained his health.

Tilak resumed the editorship of the *Kesari* from July 4, 1899. He signified the event with an article which was full of personal references and thanksgiving to readers and to those who not only conducted the *Kesari* and the *Mahratta* in his spirit but made even more popular. He paid a special compliment to Khadilkar for this achievement in respect of the *Kesari*. The circulation of the *Kesari* went up from 7,000 to 11,000 during this period. When his name reappeared as editor of the *Kesari* people hailed the event with great jubilation. The case against Tilak had resulted in a mighty awakening among the public. In a satirical vein he gave the credit for it to Government. He said he was following his own beaten track and there was no change or wavering in his policy but the Government's attitude had changed and that caused the trouble through which he and many people with him had to go. In the same article, he gracefully mentioned Prof. Max Muller for his disinterested intervention in his favour. Tilak also briefly reviewed the main events that had happened during his absence from the Gaikwad Wada in jail. He noted that the freedom of the Press had been restricted, that teachers in schools had been forbidden to take part in politics and that the amendment of the Penal and Criminal Procedure Codes had circumscribed the freedom of certain classes of people. He made it clear that the *Kesari* never wanted to violate law ; he was anxious to have the field of public criticism and agitation well-defined rather than liberalized. He laid the blame of the trouble in Poona at the door of the Moderates who had sought to establish their own separate bodies instead of working in co-operation with the advanced party of the

Nationalists. Some of them had connected the articles in the *Kesari* with the Poona murders and had thus added fuel to fire by playing the game of the Anglo-Indians. Neither the Moderates nor the Nationalists desired to exterminate British rule, nor were either capable of it. Both were equally undesirable in the eyes of the Government. The difference between them was temperamental and of methods. One would take things lying down, the other would resist, but both were discontented. There was, therefore, enough common ground for working in co-operation. This article left a salutary impression on all. The *Kesari* had become so popular that for every copy of it that was printed, there were a score of readers. It became increasingly popular and prosperous with the hearty and loyal co-operation of his colleagues, Khadilkar and Kelkar in the years that followed.

The second prosecution for sedition followed a few months after the Surat Congress. Tilak did not allow himself or his followers to get absorbed only in controversy regarding the break-up of the Congress. He kept on discussing in a series of articles the subject of conducting meetings, conferences and Congresses and the duties, functions and privileges of the President which were models of reasoning and showed how resourceful he was. His efforts to hold a joint Congress again and not to allow the Surat split to divide the Congress for ever continued unabated. But he was convinced that the driving force of the Congress and in the country must be the new militant party of Nationalists which had already emerged and which luckily in Bengal at any rate was not in conflict with the Moderates. He invited Aravinda Ghose to Poona and in a number of speeches Ghose explained the necessity of following the Congress programme of Swadeshi, boycott, national education and Swaraj. Tilak was feeling the need of a daily newspaper to propagate these ideas and so the National Publishing Company was formed with an authorized capital of one lakh of rupees with Tilak, C. V. Vaidya. M. R. Bodas, Nagindas Sanghavi, Balasaheb Deshpande, Babasaheb Khare and Dr. D. D. Sathaye as its directors. Mr. S. K. Damle was appointed its Secretary, who became editor of the *Rashtramat*. Mr. G. A. Ogale who later founded the *Maharashtra* at Nagpur and

Mr. D. B. Kalelkar who later became an associate of Mahatma Gandhi were his assistants. It was started just when Tilak was convicted of sedition for the second time in July 1908 and sent to jail. Then he went on what he intended to make a Maharashtra-wide tour in order to collect funds to the tune of Rs. 5 lakhs for putting the Samartha Vidyalaya started by Prof. Vijapurkar on a sound basis, and to work out in practice the ideas of imparting national education. He went to Sholapur and Barsi and collected a sum of Rs. 50,000/-. He had to cut this tour short in order to go to Bombay to appear before the Decentralization Commission as a witness. Then followed the Poona District and the Dhulia Provincial Conferences which were attended by both Moderates and Nationalists. At the latter Conference, Tilak himself moved the resolution appointing a Committee to bring about reconciliation between the Moderates and the Nationalists, saying that it was suicidal to leave out of the Congress any party that was pledged to lawful, peaceful and constitutional methods, simply because that party preached Independence, as the Bengal Nationalists did. The glass factory at Talegaon, under the auspices of the Paisa Fund was also started about this time. But the movement that was seriously taken up in an organized way was the anti-drink movement. While it was in full swing and was sought to be put down by Government by repressive action, the Muzaffarpur bomb outrage was perpetrated and the whole political atmosphere suddenly changed for the worse. Already the *Hind Swarajya*, *Arunodaya* and *Vihari* had been proceeded against for sedition and their editors convicted. The *Kal* edited by Prof. S. M. Paranjpe was the next victim and while Tilak was in Bombay to assist him in the work of his case, he was also served with a warrant for arrest on June 24, 1908, issued by the Chief Presidency Magistrate on the complaint filed by the Deputy Police Superintendent, Bombay. Tilak and Paranjpe were then staying in Sardar Griha.

Tilak was placed before the Chief Presidency Magistrate, Mr. Aston, who rejected an application for bail and remanded him to jail custody. While he was in jail, it appears to have dawned on the Government of Bombay that it was risky to stake Tilak's ruin on the article of 12th of May alone, entitled

"The Country's Misfortune" and sanction was given to prosecute him for another article of June 9, entitled "These Remedies Are Not Lasting". A fresh information was laid before the Chief Presidency Magistrate who issued a fresh warrant and it was served on Tilak in jail. On June 29, some formal evidence was recorded and Tilak was committed to the third Criminal Sessions of the Bombay High Court on two sets of charges under Sections 124A and 153A by two separate orders of commitment. Next day after his arrest Tilak was sent to Dongri Jail. As an under-trial prisoner, he was allowed the use of food, bedding and clothes supplied to him from home. But he had to suffer from a grievance which was worse than any physical discomfort. He was greatly handicapped in the preparation of his defence. On July 2, therefore, Mr. Jinnah made an application to Justice Davar, who presided at the Third Criminal Sessions, for Tilak's release on bail. The rejection of this application was an indication of how the judicial wind was blowing. By this time, notice had been served on Tilak's solicitors that the Crown would make an application to the court for directing that a special jury should be empanelled to try Tilak. It was most unfair to make such an application as Mr. Baptista ably argued. But the prosecution was lucky enough to be able to run on in the innings merrily, entirely in their favour, from the beginning and the hearing of the application for a special jury on July 3 resulted in its being granted. The rejection of the application for bail was universally regarded as unjustifiable.

Curiously enough, it had so happened 11 years ago that Justice Davar was engaged as counsel for Tilak in the sedition case against him in 1897 and he had successfully got out Tilak on bail on an application made before Justice Badruddin Tyabji. This judgment proved a very important precedent so far as question of bail in cases of sedition was concerned. For eleven years since then, the Tilak case was quoted for the conclusive ruling in it in support of release of under-trial prisoners on bail. With Davar's transfer from the Bar to the Bench, the whole course of law was changed, because this new decision was later widely quoted and acted upon to support rejection of bail applications. What was of essence in such cases was that there must be no anxiety as regards the security of attendance of the accused when the trial opened. When guarantee of attendance

was there, no other consideration should weigh and release on bail should be easily obtainable. But Davar the Judge reversed what Davar the Counsel had secured. Between the day of the rejection of this application and the day of the trial, Tilak had slightly over a week within which to prepare his defence. The jail authorities had given him certain facilities in this respect but after all only a limited number of friends could go to see him in Dongri Jail and during a limited number of hours of the day. Eventually, such defence as Tilak could prepare was there, not because of the facilities given, but in spite of the restrictions imposed. Tilak defended himself in court.

The trial opened on July 13. Attention was centred on the first day on the ruling that the Judge might give on the question of the amalgamation of the two cases in one trial and on the constitution of the jury. Tilak's objection to amalgamation of the two cases was overruled and they were combined for the purpose of a single trial and as many charges were put together as the Judge then thought he might combine so as to be technically within the law. Tilak objected both on the ground of law and the prejudice which might be created against him by the confusion in his own mind as well as in the minds of the jury in respect of the different charges which really deserved to be separately tried if the requirements of justice were to be satisfied. The evil effects of this amalgamation were not long in being realized, for as was clear from the proceedings, practically one single article was made the ground of three convictions and sentences on three different charges. As regards the constitution of the jury, the Judge granted the application of Crown for a special jury. While disposing of the application he remarked that it was in Tilak's own interest that he should have the benefit of being tried by a jury selected from the higher class of Bombay citizens. He expected that the panel summoned would be such, that making allowance for the challenges, there would be a fair representation of the different Indian communities on the jury as actually empanelled in the box. But far from being the case, the jury was made up of seven Europeans and two Parsees. The recording of evidence for the prosecution, which was more or less of a formal character occupied the court for about two days and a half. The witness that was cross-examined with some degree of keenness on the part

of Tilak was Mr. Bhaskar Vishnu Joshi, First Assistant to the Oriental Translator, Bombay who was put into the box to put in the incriminating and other articles and to certify to the correctness of the translation which, not he himself, but someone else had made. He could, therefore, be cross-examined not as one responsible for the translation himself, but as an official expert who could take liberties with the questions put to him in the cross-examination or give answers with a certain sense of lack of responsibility. The record of this cross-examination shows that Tilak completely succeeded in establishing the merits of the objection which he subsequently dwelt upon in his speech, viz. that though not purposely distorted, the mistranslations were numerous and calculated to create a wrong notion in the reader's mind about the spirit of the Marathi articles.

Out of the 15 exhibits put in for the prosecution seven were articles from the *Kesari*, two were Government sanctions for the prosecution, two more were formal declarations as press-owner, printer and publisher and two other were the search-warrants. One was the copy of the *panchanama* of the search in which were noted 63 documents which were seized by the police and the remaining exhibit was a postcard. Tilak objected to the admissibility of the articles other than the charge articles and the postcard. But his objections were overruled. As regards the *panchanama*, with the exception of the postcard, one portion of the papers included therein was not put in at all by the prosecution, but was returned to Tilak. The remaining portion was bodily put in as a whole bundle by Tilak along with his written statement. Tilak had to do so only for the purpose of showing the character of the papers and the condition in which the postcard was found. But the putting in of these papers even for that limited purpose, was regarded technically as amounting to giving evidence for the defence, and that cost Tilak the right of reply which is extremely precious to an accused, especially in a trial by jury. Having lost the right of reply, Tilak decided also to put in a number of newspapers which were calculated to prove his contention that his articles were written in a controversy and by way of replies to the points, as they arose in the controversy, between the Anglo-Indian papers on the one hand and the Indian papers on the

other. Tilak's statement was a simple and brief one in which he asserted that he was not guilty and described the real character of the incriminating articles. In his written statement, he accepted full responsibility for the incriminating articles, gave his own English renderings for some of the Marathi words occurring in the articles, quoted his views on political reforms from his statement made before the Decentralization Commission and concluded by saying that the charge articles formed part of a controversy, in which he had endeavoured to maintain and defend those views.

Tilak convincingly explained the postcard also. He said, " With reference to exhibit K (postcard) I have to explain that after the Explosives Act was passed, I wished to criticize it and specially the definition of explosives in the same. For this purpose, it was necessary to collect material and the names of the two books on the card were taken down from a catalogue in my library with a view to sending for them in case they could not be found in any of the Poona or Bombay libraries." He commenced his speech on July 15, Wednesday, the third day of the trial at about 4 p.m. and with the exception of Saturday and Sunday following, he occupied the time of the court up to about noon of Wednesday July 22, i.e. 8th day of the actual sitting of the court, taking a little over 21 hours. It was memorable from many points of view. Tilak did not command eloquence in the sense it is ordinarily understood, but it amply served the purpose which Tilak meant to serve by undertaking to defend himself in person. Whatever may be the verdict of the jury, they must have acquired an intimate knowledge of the master mind of the man they were called in to sit in judgment upon. Whatever his shortcomings as a speaker, they could not have much fault to find with him as a man. The speech had, undoubtedly a very elevating effect on all those educated persons who crowded the court every day and thousands who read the reports outside. Among them were Srinivasa Sastri and N. A. Dravid of the Servants of India Society. In the words of the *Modern Review* " The Judge, Jury and the Prosecuting Counsel shrank into insignificance before the towering personality of Tilak." It was a brilliant discourse on the law of sedition, both Indian and English. After reading

out Section 124A under which two charges were framed against him, Tilak said :

"This Section is divided into two parts. The first part refers to actually bringing into hatred or contempt His Majesty etc. But as there is no evidence before the court that any excitement has been caused by the articles in question, it seems to me that the prosecution does not mean to proceed under that part of the Section. The second part of the Section deals with attempts to excite disaffection. The Section does not simply refer to the publication of anything likely to create disaffection. An attempt is an intentional, premeditated action, which if it fails in its objects, fails through circumstances independent of the person, who seeks its accomplishment. Attempt is actually an offence, minus the final act of crime. The mere fact that a certain article is published will not make it an attempt. There must be a criminal mind, a culpable indifference to consequences. In the present case there has been no evidence to prove that the attempt failed, because the Government interfered or because the people refused to listen. Attempt includes both motive and intention. To take a common illustration, I intend to go to Bori Bunder station and my end in view is to go to Poona. In deciding intention, it is not safe to follow the maxim of the Civil Law, 'every man must be presumed to intend the natural consequences of his acts.' Criminal intention cannot be presumed but must be positively proved by the evidence of surrounding circumstances. The motive of an act must not be confounded with the intention, but is always one of the surest indications in an inquiry as to intention. If the writer's motives are good, if he is trying to secure constitutional rights for the people, trying in a fair way and persevering manner, he is entitled to express his views fully and fearlessly. Intention may be inferred from the legal fiction that a man intends the natural consequences of his acts. But if there are circumstances to show that the motive of a man is different, then the mere fact that the views of the writer are not correct or are even absurd or that he has expressed them in violent language, would not make him seditious. It is not the question of the correctness and acceptability of views or the style in which they have been expressed. The incriminating articles form part of a controversy between the pro-Bureaucratic Party and the pro-Congress Party. There was a bomb outrage at Muzaffarpur. There was no difference of opinion as to the character of the deplorable event. The question was: 'What was the cause of it? The pro-Bureaucratic Party laid the blame at the doors of the Congress or of the Nationalist Party and called upon Government to put us down. I have taken the other side. My writings are a reply to the Anglo-Indian criticism, a suggestion to Government and addressed to the Government, a discussion of the situation, a warning to both parties which it is my duty as a journalist to give and a criticism of the contemplated measures of Government.

"I will read extracts from a few Anglo-Indian writings. The *Pioneer* of May 7 recommends a wholesale arrest of the acknowledged terrorists in a city or district, coupled with an intimation that on the repetition

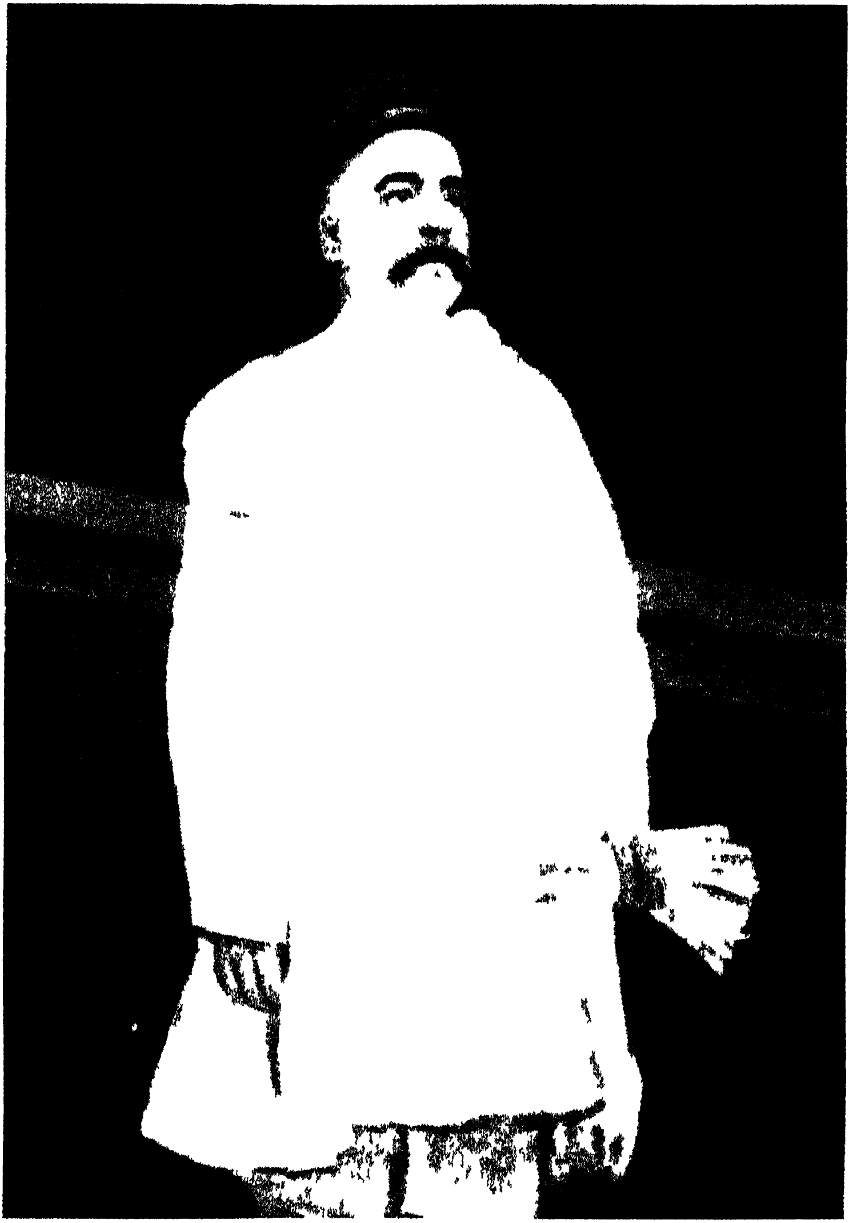
of the offence, ten of them would be shot for every life sacrificed. It tries to establish a logical connection between members of the Council and bomb-throwers in Bengal. The *Asian* recommends to Mr. Kingsford's notice a Mauser pistol and hopes he would secure a big bag, adding that he will be more than justified in letting daylight into every strange native approaching his house or person. A correspondent of the *Englishman* suggests that 'a few of these worthy agitators should be flogged in public by the town-sweepers.' Now, we honestly believed that these writings were mischievous, particularly the insinuations of those writers and they had to be counteracted. My reply to the Anglo-Indian Press is written on an occasion of provocation. It does not intend to excite disaffection. For every sentence in my writings, I can point out a parallel passage from the literature of our party. Pro-Congress newspapers, completely hostile to the *Kesari*, take the same view of the matter. I am charged specifically with attempting to cause excitement, not throughout India, but among the Marathi-speaking population. I do not stand alone in my views. Papers of all parties in the Marathi-speaking community have taken the same view of the matter. This absolves me from any evil intention. If there is no personal prejudice against me, these articles will show that I was not prompted by my personal prejudices. The arguments have not been invented by me. In charging me with sedition, this must be borne in mind, viz. what impressions will my writings produce on the Marathi-speaking public ? All they say is: Well, the reply has been well given. I have been writing nothing which I have not written for 28 years; and the view expressed in my articles has been already expressed by some leaders of our party. Taking all these points into consideration, the construction put upon the words of the articles by the prosecution is unjustifiable.

"Moreover, in my own interest, and in the interest of the cause I represent I am bound to question the translations which are completely distorted. It is simply intolerable that conviction for sedition should be based upon such translations. If I succeed in showing that the wording of these translations is not correct, that in itself is enough to ensure my acquittal. The words on which the prosecution is likely to rely are found to be distorted images of the original words. Marathi terminology in the discussion of political subjects not being settled, I was required to labour under a very great disadvantage, especially as we have frequently to write on the spur of the moment. The translator has made an attempt to translate the Marathi language of 1908, with the aid of a dictionary published full 50 years ago, not realizing that old fortifications cannot stand before new guns. I gave Mr. Joshi this sentence to translate 'A despotic government need not necessarily be tyrannical' and the translator himself found it difficult to express the two shades of meaning in Marathi. The charge is based not on the original Marathi but upon the translations. Therefore, the prosecution must stand or fall by the correctness or incorrectness of the translations. It is likely to be urged 'take away the bureaucracy and what hope is left ?' But I submit, the bureaucracy is not the Government. The bomb outrages were quickly condemned in my papers as in the Anglo-Indian papers. But in condemning them, we say that we must also condemn

the repressive measures of the Government. Both parties are taking advantage of the presence of the bomb. The Bureaucratic Party is taking advantage of it to suppress political agitation and the other party is taking advantage of it to claim some reforms. I can trace a great struggle between the people on the one hand and a mighty bureaucracy on the other and I ask you to help us, not me personally, but the whole of India. I am now on the wrong side of life and for me it can be only a matter of a few years; but future generations would look to your verdict and see whether you have judged right or not. If at least one of you would come forward and say that I was right, it will be a matter of satisfaction to me; for I know that if the jury is not unanimous in England, another trial takes place. It is not so here, but it would be a moral support upon which I would rely with great satisfaction. I appeal to you, not for myself, but in the interest of the cause which I have the honour to represent. It is the cause that is sacred and I doubt not, gentlemen, that He, before whom all of us will have to stand one day and render an account of our actions will inspire you with the courage of your convictions and help you in arriving at a right decision on the issue involved in this case."

This is only a bare summary of the speech Tilak made in his defence for more than 21 hours. His disquisition on Section 153A and running commentary on the incriminating articles and exposition of the rights of jury and freedom of the Press must be read in the original as recorded by N. C. Kelkar in the full and authentic report of the trial published soon after. A special European stenographer was engaged by Tilak to report the proceedings and together with copies of all the papers used in the High Court, they have been published in a book which covers about 500 pages. Tilak finished his address at about 12.30 p.m. on the eighth and last day of the trial. He was followed by the Advocate-General, who indulged in satirical and sarcastic remarks which were often quite offensive. He spoke of having had the misfortune to sit through (Tilak's) "ravings from morning to morning". He seems to have been conscious that he had exceeded the bounds of decorum because while concluding his address he expressed readiness to receive whatever rebuke his Lordship or the jury might offer him. Once he said to the jury, "You are told that you are guardians of the Press. Fiddlesticks! You are guardians of the Penal Code and the Penal Code protects the Press." On another occasion he said:

"He (Tilak) has been trying his best to throw all the dust he could collect even in this monsoon weather, into your eyes on this point. It is not what he now says he meant but what he meant when he wrote them



Tilak, addressing his last words to Justice Davar from the accused's dock in the 1908 trial for sedition.

(those articles) that matters. He cannot be allowed to say now that 'Of course, I wrote sedition and meant affection.'"

Proceeding he said :

"Our suggestion is that the whole object of Mr. Tilak's article was to threaten the administration and to threaten Government that if they did not grant the demands as a price of peace, then bombs would follow. If the general contents of the articles are sufficient to prove that there was an attempt to terrorize Government by threats open or concealed to that effect that bombs will be thrown, I put it to you whether the effect of the existence of this card is not a fact to be taken into consideration in considering the action of the accused. You find this man by his words and articles repudiating the bomb, but while doing so he tells Government that unless they guarantee reforms bombs will continue. He says Government has had a salutary warning and when you find a card about explosives in that man's own handwriting, I must leave you to come to the conclusion. I contend that if you look at all these articles, you will find that they are all influenced by the same desire to bring the Government of India into hatred and contempt on the grounds of its acting with obstinacy and oppression. That is, obstinate in that they refuse, as they say, to grant reforms and oppressive in that they pass repressive measures, as they say, such as the Press Act and the Explosives Act and that the Government of India is at once repressive and oppressive over attempting to maintain order which it is its highest duty to maintain. I do not propose to speak further and must leave it in your hands, agreeing for once with the accused and asking you to let nothing bear upon your minds except what you have heard in this court. Let no outside talk or preconceived opinion affect your verdict in this case which should be based entirely upon the articles and by giving the best possible consideration to the statements and arguments advanced by the accused."

The Advocate-General took four hours to address the jury and soon after the Judge started his summing up. It was about 7 p.m. He said :

"Before saying anything else, I think it would be the merest and idlest of pretences to say that you had not heard of this case before or heard of the accused before. I have no doubt that the case has been discussed by your friends in your houses or in your hearing. I feel that I need not tell you that it is your duty to confine your consideration entirely in this case to what you have heard or read within the four corners of this court. I have no doubt that you will not allow any passion or prejudice or outside information to influence you in the least in coming to a decision in this case. I heard with great satisfaction that the accused trusts you and your verdict. There is nothing which ought to weigh with you or influence you in the fact that the Crown prosecutes in this case. The only mandate that I obey and you are bound to obey is the mandate of our conscience. From my point of view the case presents no difficulty. The law is there and it is a well-settled law now. During the past ten years cases have come before the court and every case has been most carefully considered and has been the

subject of important legal decisions. What contempt means and what hatred means need not be explained to you at all. Disaffection has been much discussed. It is a peculiar word. It is not used as between two persons. It is always used more in the sense as being applied between subjects and ruler. The explanations to Sections 124A and 153A leave you in no difficulty. You must always bear them in mind. They are intended to protect criticism of Government measures and administrative acts. Journalists have perfect freedom to discuss measures of Government, to disapprove of them and to use forceful language if necessary and to do everything which is legitimately honest in bringing before the public and the Government the fact that their measures or actions are disapproved by a section of the public or by a particular speaker or by a particular journalist. But you must remember that no journalist has a right to attribute dishonest or immoral motives to Government. Freedom of the Press is a most valuable right and you will consider all that the accused has said in regard to that. The law says, however, that that freedom should not be used to bring into hatred or contempt the Government established by law or to excite feelings of enmity. Barring that, the liberty of the Press must be protected. Having read the articles of the accused, ask yourselves what is the effect produced on your minds. If the two articles in themselves contain sufficient material for you to decide whether what is written there amounts to an attempt to excite feelings of hatred and contempt against Government, you need not go further. If you have any doubts you are entitled to look at the other articles to enable you to judge the intention of the accused. You must again bear in mind in favour of the accused that Government has no right to say our subjects shall love us or shall regard us with affection. A man may feel the utmost hatred and entire disloyalty towards the Government but he must not express them or write and speak about them in a manner which will be calculated to raise in the minds of others similar feelings. If after giving the fullest consideration to what the accused has stated, after giving your sympathetic consideration to everything that the accused has urged in his defence, you have reasonable doubt as to the guilt of the accused, by all means say so. On the other hand if you find that he has transgressed the law and that his writing amounts to an attempt to bring the Government into hatred and contempt, it will be your duty to return a verdict accordingly. Consider each of the three charges separately and return a verdict on each one of them, unanimously if possible.",

The jury retired for consideration at about 8 p.m. and returned at 9.20 p.m. The suspense was over. The jurors came out and announced the majority verdict of guilty on all charges. They were divided by 7 to 2. The Judge agreed with their verdict and before passing sentence asked the accused whether he wished to say anything before sentence was passed. Without a moment's hesitation, Tilak said :

" All I wish to say is that in spite of the verdict of the jury I maintain that I am innocent. There are higher powers that rule the destiny of men

and nations and it may be the will of Providence that the cause I represent may prosper more by my suffering than by my remaining free."

The Judge then said :

" It is my painful duty now to pass sentence upon you. I cannot tell you how painful it is to me to see you in this position. You are a man of undoubted talents and great power and influence. Those talents and influence if used for the good of your country, would have been instrumental in bringing about a great deal of happiness for those very people whose cause you espouse. Ten years ago you were convicted and the court dealt with you leniently, and the Crown dealt with you still more kindly. It seems to me that it must be a diseased mind, a perverted intellect that could say that the articles which you have written are legitimate weapons in political agitation. They are seething with sedition, they preach violence. They speak of murders with approval and the cowardly and atrocious act of committing murders with bombs not only meets with your approval, but you hail the advent of the bomb in India as if something has come to India for her good. As I said, it can only be a diseased mind that could ever have thought that the articles you wrote were articles that could have been legitimately written. It can only be a diseased and perverted mind that can think that bombs are legitimate instruments in political agitation. Your hatred of the ruling class has not disappeared during these ten years. And in these articles, deliberately and defiantly written week after week, not as you say on the spur of the moment, but a fortnight after that cruel and cowardly outrage had been committed upon two innocent English women, you wrote about bombs as if they were legitimate instruments in political agitation. Such journalism is a curse to the country. I feel much sorrow in sentencing you. I have considered most anxiously what I should do in case a verdict of guilty was pronounced against you and I decided to pass a sentence which I considered would be stigmatized as what is called 'misplaced leniency'. I do not think I can pass consistently with my duty and consistently with the offence of which you have been found guilty, a lighter sentence than I am going to give you. I think for a man in your position and circumstances, that sentence will vindicate the law and meet the ends of justice. You are liable to be transported for life under the first two charges. I have considered whether to sentence you to transportation or imprisonment. Having regard to your age and other circumstances, I think it most desirable in the interest of peace and order and in the interest of the country which you profess to love that you should be out of it for some time. Under Section 124A I am entitled to pass sentence for transportation for life or any shorter period and I pass a sentence of three years' transportation under each of the first two charges; the sentences to run consecutively. You will thus have six years' transportation. On the third charge which is punishable not by transportation but by fine or imprisonment, I do not think I will add to your troubles any additional period of imprisonment. I therefore fine you Rs. 1,000/-.

The fourth charge was formally withdrawn and the Judge announced Tilak's acquittal on that charge.

As soon as the sentence was pronounced and the Judge had left the court, the police took charge of Tilak, took him to what was formerly Colaba Terminus of the Western Railway. He was sent to Sabarmati Jail, Ahmedabad to celebrate his 53rd birthday which fell on July 23, 1908. He was treated like a common convict and when it was found within ten days that the jail diet had reduced his weight by ten lbs. anxiety for his health became obvious and he was given special diet. From Sabarmati he was removed to Mandalay on September 23, 1908 and his sentence was commuted to simple imprisonment. This was a real act of grace. His fine also was remitted in accordance with the recommendation of the Full Bench which had heard Tilak's special application in appeal in which he had raised forty different points of complaint against Justice Davar's judgment. Arrangements were shortly made in Tilak's absence in jail for Mr. Khaparde to sail for England to file an appeal in the Privy Council. Sir Henry Cotton asked some interpellations in Parliament and so also Dr. Rutherford who was present at the Surat Congress and had warned Tilak that for the disturbance in the *pandal*, he would be held responsible. To this Tilak had replied that he was only perfectly peacefully pressing his claim to address the delegates to move adjournment of business and he could not be held responsible for whatever happened. The point of all these interpellations was that Tilak should be looked upon as a political offender and he should be set at liberty. Some members demanded printed copies of the important papers in the Tilak trial, but the demand was not granted. The appeal was also dismissed by the Privy Council. Efforts in both Houses of Parliament and memorials to the King-Emperor at the time of the Coronation also proved futile and Tilak was released only after he had almost completely served his term of sentence.

When the news of Tilak's conviction spread everywhere, public expression of the grief felt by the people displayed itself in various ways. The markets were closed and the workers in the textile mills of Bombay struck work for six days, because he was sentenced to six years. Protest meetings were held. The Indian Press was unanimous that Tilak was not done justice to. British and Indian leaders of opinion also protested against the sentence which was considered savage as also against the

policy of repression of which Tilak's prosecution was an indication. On July 23, shops were closed and children did not go to school. The strike by the workers in the mills was particularly disliked by Government and the Anglo-Indian papers. Pressure was indirectly brought to bear on the owners by Government's hirelings to declare that the reason for which the workers had gone on strike was condemnable, but the owners also were displeased with the way Tilak had been dealt with. Jobbers and *mukadams* were pressed to get the workers to resume work in vain. Government then tried some Parsees, Jews or Europeans among the owners to open the mills and get some hirelings and blacklegs to go in, not necessarily for work but to put up a show that the strike was only partial. This led to scuffles between the strikers and the blacklegs and once there were rows, the police had an excuse to intervene. Rioting led to firing that was followed by arrests and prosecutions. In those five or six days, some people were killed and a good many injured. Anglo-Indian papers described it as smart work by the police. Pretences were made by the police and the Government that they failed to see why riots should have broken out and the theory was propounded that since the workers could not be expected to be so enlightened or politically minded as to protest in a spontaneous way against the treatment given to Tilak, it must be some followers of Tilak who instigated the workers to resort to direct action. The following extracts from the report of the then Police Commissioner Mr H. G. Gell on the disturbances in Bombay in connection with Tilak's trial are noteworthy :

" All sorts of rumours became current about this time and one of the arguments used to gain the sympathy of the masses, especially the mill-hands of Bombay was that Government was displeased with Tilak because he interested himself in temperance and Swadeshi movements which caused loss of revenue to Government. Efforts were made to stir up a strike by Tilak's friends and sympathizers while the trial was on. There were about 85 mills and one lakh operatives. Most of them were Marathas and Tilak was a Brahman, but that did not stand in his way. He addressed two meetings at Chinchpokli on June 6 and 7, 1908. One was at a Satyanarayan Puja at Victoria Road. Tilak stated that the income of Government from Abkari alone exceeded the total income of the Mahratta Empire, that the policy of Government in those days was to encourage drunkenness and that if people attempted others not to drink, they were prosecuted for doing so by Government officials. He advised mill-hands, especially jobbers and head-jobbers to form local committees of mill-hands for the purpose of discouraging liquor drinking among them. It is clear from this that Tilak

had considered the advisability of gaining the sympathies of mill-hands and teaching them to organize and had he been vouchsafed a longer period of liberty, he would no doubt have had, in course of time, a large organized body of mill-hands at his disposal. Fortunately he was arrested in time, and though no doubt his followers will try and carry on his work, I do not think they have yet succeeded in doing much. It is satisfactory to note that Mahomedan mill-hands who constituted a considerable proportion of them did not join their fellowmen. (These people came from the North of India and were mostly weavers.) For years past the popularity of Tilak has been steadily growing in this Presidency and other parts of India and many natives, even though they do not think with him, look upon him as a man, actuated wholly by the desire to ameliorate the condition of Indians and they respect and admire him. In the riots 43 people were injured, 16 killed and 60 arrested for interrogation. Preachers on Chowpatty ostensibly spoke about Swadeshi but in effect spread Tilak's popularity and disaffection against Government. Brahman clerks in the mills did the same. Recruitment to the police force in Bombay is largely confined to natives of Ratnagiri District. Men from other districts should be induced to join to save the force from a feeling of exclusiveness."

With colleagues like Baptista and Lajpatrai and young men like Chaman Lall, Pawar and Dalvi, Tilak would not have taken long to start active work among the working-class people and promote trade unionism as a force behind the national movement, if his six years' enforced separation from his people had not come in his way. Khadilkar's series of five articles in the *Kesari* soon after Tilak was sent to Mandalay on " Why Bombay Is Our Advance-guard " evince keen appreciation of the necessity of organizing the working-class because it had a special capacity to be the vanguard in the freedom movement. Socialism was not still much in the air, yet occasional references to it as a creed which enunciated human weal were echoed in the *Kal* and the *Kesari*. Yet time for any movement under a well-defined Socialist banner was not ripe and it emerged only after Tilak's death, the Mahratta people in Bombay like Dange and Joglekar being its pioneers. The disturbances in Bombay as a protest against Tilak's conviction and the strike of the textile workers were regarded and characterized by Lenin as the first stirrings of the revolutionary movement in India as was discovered during the twenties and thirties of this century when Marx and Lenin attracted young India's attention.

The Moderates were supposed to be hand in glove with the Government in those days by the Nationalists. It was also

regarded that they were committed to acquiesce in a policy of repression if it was adopted by the Government, provided it was accompanied by a generous measure of political reforms. Speeches by Gokhale and Romesh Chandra Dutt in England created this impression, because they harped on the tune, viz. that the Extremist influence was bound to grow and there would be resort even to violent methods in the absence of the grant of political rights and satisfaction of aspirations raised in that behalf. The strong criticism of the policies of either in their respective Press by the Moderates and the Nationalists showed as if they were enemies of each other instead of complementary forces to help the march of progress by the nation. But Lord Sydenham's *My Working Life* and Morley's *Recollections* make it amply clear that Morley was opposed to the prosecution of Tilak, that he wanted him to be left alone, but that Sir George Clarke as the responsible man on the spot insisted on it as absolutely necessary and he thought he had reason to believe that though the Moderates did not openly approve of that course, they did not protest against it. Some of them were secretly satisfied about it according to Sir George. This belief persisted among the Nationalists for long and Gokhale was looked upon for some time as the most sinister figure in Indian public life by them. Even an attempt on his life was made by some hot-heads belonging to the terrorist cult who claimed kinship with Tilak's creed of militant nationalism. Some colour was lent to this belief by the fact that Sir Pherozeshah Mehta refused to preside over a meeting in Bombay to protest against Tilak's conviction. Gokhale did the same thing in England. But to hold any of the Moderate leaders responsible for instigating Government to arrest Tilak's activities was not only fictitious, but highly uncharitable.

The following extracts from Sydenham's *My Working Life* (pages 222 to 225) are in point and speak for themselves:

"The situation in the Deccan in 1908 was ably described by Sir Valentine and referring to Tilak he said, 'His own prestige with the advanced party never stood higher either in the Deccan or outside of it. Tilak commanded the allegiance of barristers and pleaders, schoolmasters and professors, clerks in the Government offices and his propaganda had begun to filter down to not only the coolies in the cities but even to the ryots or at least the headmen in the villages.' All this and more I had carefully watched; but not till I was convinced that Tilak's various revolutionary activities

must be stopped was action taken. In such cases the risks that a trial may fail, adding to the influence of the accused and supplying his supporters with a grievance, have to be seriously regarded. My colleagues and I decided that it was necessary to run these risks and Tilak was arrested on June 1 and sentenced on July 22 to six years' R.I. and transportation. It was necessary only to put an end to Tilak's activities and in order that this might seem clear I remitted the rigorous portion of his sentence and directed that a Brahman cook should be provided for him.

"There were, however, no signs of general resentment and while the Moderates gave me no public support some of them in private told me that they welcomed the action taken. On September 3, I drove through the old city of Poona — Tilak's home, and I noted 'people wonderfully cordial'.

"Following the trial, there was rioting in Bombay, necessitating my presence there. But this was expected and precautions had been taken. The mob never got out of hand and happily the loss of life was small. It is the duty of a Governor to write a weekly letter to the Secretary of State and I had duly informed him of the decision of my Government. Lord Morley always sent me delightfully frank letters, carrying on our old relations and telling me of his difficulties and anxieties. Of his translation to the House of Lords, he wrote on May 20, 'I don't at all distrust my judgment in going there. It gives me about a score more hours of comfortable work per week. And that you will admit is no small reclamation of wasted time. He had been at pains to send me reports of two flattering testimonials 'as he called them to my early doings which he pronounced to be splendid.'

"On May 8 he wrote, 'the bombs are a disquieting feature....I suppose Poona is more likely than Bengal for these diabolical operations.'

"On July 3 he wrote: 'By the way, I don't count among welcome things the proceedings against Tilak. I dare say the course you have taken was inevitable....Still when all this is said, it may well be that you had no choice. Gokhale, however, told Courtney that it would prove an ugly discouragement to Moderates. This may indeed be true but then we cannot allow Tilak and his men to set the law at defiance. This must be made plain both in our interest and theirs, for if we get a character for timidity, there is an end of the reforms.' This last sentence was eminently wise, but later came a postscript. 'Since writing to you an hour ago, I have come across the article in the *Kesari* for which I understand Tilak is being prosecuted. I confess at the first glance I feel as if it might have been passed over. But you have means of knowing the *actual effect produced* or likely to be produced. That is the real test of the quality of sedition.'

"Now the graveness of the charge against Tilak on which Justice Davar laid stress was that the *Kesari* extolled the bomb as 'a kind of witchcraft, a charm, an amulet' and had rejoiced in the assumption that 'neither the supervision of the police nor swarms of detectives could deal with these simple playful sports of science.'

"On July 31, Lord Morley wrote in a different strain: 'I won't go over the Tilak ground again beyond saying that if you had done me the

honour to seek my advice as well as that of your lawyers, I am clear that I should have been for leaving him alone. And I find no reason to believe that any mischief that Tilak could have done would have been so dangerous as the mischief that will be done by his sentence. Of course the milk is now spilled and there is an end of it.'

"But there was not an end of it. On August 7, after I had tried hard to explain the situation, he wrote: Your vindication of the proceedings against Tilak does not shake me. That they were morally and legally justifiable is true enough and that the result may bring certain advantages at the moment is also true. But the balance of gain and loss when the whole ultimate consequences are counted up — that is the only political fact time must show.

"It was most natural that Lord Morley's pride of intellect should induce him to believe that he must know better than the man on the spot, who was quite unable to present on paper the intricacies of the situation and whose mind had been made up only after months of deliberation. The apparent changes of view which the letters indicate were, doubtless, due to advisers near at hand, who had great advantages over the distant Governor. The theory, then new to me, that to put a stop to incitements to murder would discourage the Moderates has persisted since with unhappy results."

These extracts should exonerate the Moderate leaders from all allegations, maliciously or ignorantly made against them by whoever made them in those days. There is further corroboration of the fact that far from Gokhale having anything to do with the prosecution launched against Tilak, he sincerely hoped for his acquittal and made efforts to see that he was treated well in jail and released as soon as possible. Initiative was taken in this behalf by Mr. Srinivasa Sastri and his colleagues in the Servants of India Society. Says Mr. Sastri :

"I was present during the whole of that (Tilak's) trial and I cannot tell you how it affected the public mind at that time. I was, if I may say so, very much struck with the great ability with which Mr. Tilak defended himself and his heroic stand against formidable opposition, and when the sentence was pronounced against him, my colleague Mr. Dravid and I thought that he was a man whom an undeserved fate had overtaken. We were very anxious that these facts should be thoroughly well known in England and therefore wrote full letters giving accounts of what had happened and further requesting that Mr. Gokhale should interview Mr. Morley and see that in jail Tilak received as lenient a treatment as was possible."

Mr. Sastri quotes from a letter from Gokhale dated July 17, 1908 saying :

"The telegraphic summaries of Mr. Tilak's defence have made a very good impression. We shall all heartily rejoice if he is acquitted. I think

his prosecution has been a fearful mistake. I gather from the telegrams that he is taking up in his defence the position of a worker for constitutional reforms. If he makes this quite clear and if he is acquitted, I think that will strengthen the Constitutional Party in India."

On July 23, 1908 Gokhale wrote :

"This morning's papers contain telegrams about the shocking sentence inflicted on Mr. Tilak. There is, of course, no doubt that he will be brought back and set free after things quiet down and if and when they quiet down. Still, the conviction and sentence will really be a great blow to our party, for part of the resentment against the Government is likely to be directed against us also. However, there is no help in the matter and we must go on with our work as well as we can."

On August 13, 1908, he wrote in a letter :

"As regards Mr. Tilak, I have not the least doubt in my mind that after a little time, he will be treated with every consideration and that next year, after the proposed reforms have been inaugurated, if things ars quiet in India, he will be brought back and set free. You may rest assured that I will do everything that I possibiy can in the matter, though I don't like to say so, for it might be misunderstood by our Extremist friends. Nothing can now be done in England till the autumn session begins and even after that the matter will really rest with Sir George Clarke for whose judgment Lord Morley has the highest respect. I will prepare the ground while I am in England during the autumn session and on my return to India in December, I will follow up the work with personal appeals to Sir George Clarke, though everything will naturally depend upon the state of things in the country in general and the Bombay Presidency in particular during the next few months."

This shows clearly that Lord Sydenham was not acting in collusion with Gokhale in prosecuting Tilak and all stories that became current in this behalf were mischievous and malicious.

Tilak was proceeded against for sedition once again in 1916 for his speeches in the Home Rule movement. Three speeches, one made at Belgaum and the other two at Ahmednagar were considered objectionable, but this time Justices Bachelor and Shah acquitted him. A full account of this case appears in a subsequent chapter, "The Great Home Ruler". It fell to the lot of Tilak more than any one else in India to tempt and test the law of sedition and his contributions to the records of State trials during the British period were of much importance. Tilak came out successful only on the third occasion but his defence every time laid daring hands on the very foundations of the law of sedition as embodied in particular words. In 1897, the jury could not be relied upon convicting him unless the Judge

actually overstretched the natural meaning of certain words of Section 124A. Judge Strachey himself admitted that absence of affection was not a happy phrase to use in explaining the meaning of the word disaffection. Though Tilak's conviction based on such an interpretation was allowed to stand, so far as the law itself was concerned, Chief Justice Farren ruled later on that "disaffection" meant a positive feeling implying political alienation or discontent, a spirit of disloyalty to Government or existing authority. The amended law of sedition came down on Tilak in 1908. Tilak in his defence laid great stress on the point that as there was no proof of excitement or disturbance actually stirred up by him, he could be charged only with an attempt to excite disaffection ; but a criminal attempt presupposes a criminal intention which the prosecution failed to prove against him. The articles in question were written mainly as a reply to Anglo-Indian and other papers in a controversy in which those papers held Indian newspapers and politicians responsible for the inauguration of an era of bombs and violence in India while Government was really responsible for the same by reason of their maladministration and that the only real and abiding remedy was the grant of substantial political reforms. The presiding Judge, however, let alone the discussion of law and directed the jury to hold the accused guilty if the words actually used were likely to cause or calculated to cause disaffection, no matter whether they actually did so or not.

Once more Tilak was destined to be the touchstone for Section 124A I.P.C. in 1916 when he was acquitted. If the judgments of Shah and Bachelor J. J. were perused, it would be seen that the District Magistrate of Poona was led into committing the same mistake as Justice Strachey who held disaffection as equivalent to absence of affection. He only remembered his misinterpretation, though Justice Strachey had himself withdrawn the unfortunate interpretation and a Full Bench of the High Court discounted it away. In the High Court judgment on the third occasion emphasis was laid on facts rather than on law. Justice Bachelor said in so many words, "In my opinion the application does not give rise to any real question of law." Their Lordships contented themselves with the conclusion that as a matter of fact the speeches made by Tilak, taken as a whole, did not amount to sedition, though an expression

here or there, may be unhappy, discourteous or insulting, in a personal sense. That may be bad manners but not sedition; Justice Shah clearly held that he had no doubt that Tilak's speeches taken together and as a whole did not transgress the limit of law. Tilak thus scored a triumph over Government who could not resist the temptation of taking recourse to law, when it felt irritated by Tilak's activity, to silence him once more by the familiar weapon, viz. conviction for sedition. What was required by way of complete legal freedom for political discussion or propaganda in India was a law on the lines obtaining in England and in his introduction to the book of the third Tilak trial, N. C. Kelkar has indicated those lines in an ably presented argument. To a layman, it appears that it was the atmosphere that mattered more on every occasion whose influence even the impartial Judges could not escape because, after all, they are also human beings. The atmosphere in 1897 and 1908 was dark and dismal with the background of murders and violence. In 1916, the atmosphere was full of the rather respectable, even colourful, though tame and innocent movement for Home Rule in which Tilak's principal collaborator was an eminent British woman and several High Court Judges themselves were other collaborators, besides numerous legal luminaries. Yet Anglo-India was out for Tilak's blood as in the past. *The Times of India* unreservedly withdrew all the remarks it had made about Tilak on the strength of what the District Magistrate had said, when it saw that the High Court had completely reversed that judgment. But *the Madras Mail* wrote a singularly rabid article, blaming the Bombay High Court for not convicting Tilak on the strength of his two former convictions, recounting and ruminating all the slanderous stuff in Chirol's book and calling upon Government finally to break Tilak who was a danger to British rule in India.

The Madras Mail as some others of its way of thinking did not realize that to break Tilak was a forlorn hope. Because Tilak represented not a physical entity but an idea and surely even Government did not have any grievance against his body. To break him physically was easy enough and Government had come very near doing it in 1897 in jail, when he contracted diabetes and lost 35 lbs. of his weight in a short while. Anglo-India would have been pleased, had not Max Muller and others

secured his release earlier. Similarly, in 1908 Sir George Clarke must have greatly displeased Anglo-India when he commuted his rigorous imprisonment into simple and gave special directions for his good treatment. If Government wanted to break Tilak physically, it had ample means to do so, even if it did not have the torture machines of the Spanish Inquisition, the Star Chamber or the Governor of Bastille. Government wanted to break him mentally and this also it utterly failed to do. The idea he stood for, the Swaraj idea, has completely triumphed after his death and in spite of the persecution of many like him.

CHAPTER XVI

LOYAL, DEPENDABLE FRIEND

A very remarkable feature of Tilak's character was his unswerving loyalty to friends, which emanated from a high sense of duty, responsibility and honour. This can be seen from the way in which he interested himself in the Bapat case, the Tai Maharaj case and numerous other cases. The Bapat affair arose soon after Tilak had broken the bonds that tied him to the Deccan Education Society and taken charge of the *Kesari* and the *Mahratta* which needed his personal attention most at that time, but he placed his friend's work before every thing else. The Bapat case has remained, more or less, a neglected episode in Tilak's life but it deserves some notice as it gives an indication of Tilak's great qualities of sincerity, inexhaustible capacity for taking pains and intense devotion to whatever he undertook to do, right from the beginning of his public career.

Mr. Vasudeo Sadashiv Bapat and Tilak came in contact with each other in the Deccan College. Daji Abaji Khare and these two formed a trio, coming as they did from Dapoli Taluka of Ratnagiri District. Bapat was unable to continue his studies. He had to look out for a job and he got one in the Revenue Survey Settlement office of Baroda State. Being an intelligent, painstaking and loyal worker he attracted the notice of Mr. Elliot who was the head of that department. He rose to be Assistant Commissioner of Survey Settlement in a short time. Tilak was

very proud of the success Bapat had achieved in Baroda. Mention has been made earlier that Bapat was instrumental for securing a loan of Rs. 5,000 for Tilak for his Latur Ginning Press. Besides helping Bapat to the best of his capacity in his hour of need, Tilak had another object also in view. By raising a storm about Bapat's ears, certain elements in Baroda, led and instigated by the British Resident himself, were out to discredit the Maharaja and his administration. Tilak wanted to forestall them and foil these intrigues. The motive here was, obviously, patriotic. He considered good administration in the Princely States as evidence of India's fitness for Swaraj, while making that demand on the British Government. But the primary urge was to save his friend from ignominy to which the conspiracy against him would have led, but for Tilak's brains and efforts. He was not only his chief legal adviser, but also the draftsman of the brief and clerk and peon all combined into one. Khare continued to be his vakil till the end, but Mahadeo Chimnaji Apte was the leading advocate. Mr. R. H. Gokhale, a local vakil of Baroda Cantonment helped him.

What precipitated matters against Bapat was the work of investigation into the *Inam* Charters in Baroda State. Being an officer of the Settlement Department, this work was assigned to Bapat under Mr. Elliot who was the head of the Department. Inspection of old Charters, their amendments, restriction or annulment, increment of assessment and other germane duties which he had to carry out were such as should naturally cause dissatisfaction and discontent. There was enough jealousy against Bapat. Mr. Elliot was not particularly a favourite with the British Residency and the Inamdars had every reason to be dissatisfied with the Survey Department. Previously in 1892 and 1893, complaints against Bapat's department were made by the Dewan Manibhai Jashbhai himself, but he had to withdraw those complaints as frivolous and untenable. The Maharaja himself rewarded employees of this department for meritorious services and Bapat was promised special consideration after retirement. A third attempt was made by the Dewan, when Mr. Elliot was replaced by Mr. Machonochie when the former had gone on leave in 1894. The Maharaja was also away in England and a conspiracy was hatched against Bapat by the Dewan, the Resident and his own new chief. No means fair or

foul were left untried to get as many complaints recorded against Bapat as possible. Bapat was still at his desk but feared that suspension might descend on him any day. He felt that even his life was in danger. He naturally remembered Tilak and Tilak did run to his rescue. First of all it was decided that Bapat should leave Baroda. Mr. Vasudeo Ganesh Joshi, a common friend was sent to Baroda who brought Bapat to Poona by playing a nice trick on the police who were watching Bapat's movements. Mr. Joshi with his luggage was leaving Baroda after enjoying Bapat's hospitality for a few days. Bapat went to see him off to the Baroda railway station. Mr. Joshi had already purchased two second class tickets. Bapat had no luggage with him and no one suspected that he was also leaving Baroda. As the train whistled and began to steam off, Mr. Joshi pulled Bapat in his compartment to the dismay of the police watchmen who had posted themselves at a respectful distance. Before they could do anything about it, Bapat was in British territory and soon after, in Poona, without any trouble on the way.

This happened on June 18, 1894. He was suspended from service from January 30, 1895, and an Enquiry Commission was announced on August 31 of the same year. After the appointment of the Commission, Tilak advised him to appear before it and he immediately went to Baroda. Pherozeshah Mehta and Branson were the counsel engaged by the complainants with whom money was no consideration. Once Bapat had incurred the displeasure of the Dewan, the British Resident and his departmental chief, he had no friend left there. Even his local legal adviser, Mr. R. H. Gokhale from Baroda Cantonment was threatened with the cancellation of his sanad. No room could be hired for keeping Bapat's counsel's office and Maharani Jamnabai herself had to accommodate his counsel and Tilak. The work of the Commission lasted four months but Tilak's time and energy were almost completely taken by work on Bapat's behalf for about one year. He wrote for the *Kesari* and the *Mahratta*, off and on, by fits and starts and from distant Baroda.

It is necessary to say a few words about the hard work that he put in at this time. With the help of Bapat he scrutinized

the account books of certain tutored witnesses and they were proved to be false and fraudulent. His whole defence ran into 200 sheets which was prepared by Tilak. A final statement of another 50 sheets was also prepared by him after all evidence was heard. Tilak's exposure of the fraudulent character of the accounts of the Girdharlal Nanabhai's *pedhi* so annoyed Pherozeshah that he gave up his work in disgust and left for Bombay, leaving Branson alone to shift for himself. The Bapat Commission was really a departmental enquiry although it had all the appearance of a duly constituted law court. Charges of bribery, illegal gratification etc. against Bapat were a durbari affair and not a criminal proceeding. In all, 36 different charges were framed against him. But only twelve were considered and on eleven of them he was held guilty. The Commission recommended six months' simple imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 10,000. The final decision was to be made by the Maharaja himself; the Commission could only report and make recommendations.

On January 19, 1895, the Maharaja returned from England and took up the Bapat Commission's report for consideration. He gave it for opinion to Pandit and Dalal, two eminent lawyers, who said Bapat could not be held guilty except on a few counts. The Maharaja referred the case to the Baroda High Court and it acquitted Bapat on all counts, holding that the inquiry was a malicious frame-up. The Maharaja, therefore, acquitted Bapat but pensioned him off with Rs. 125 per month. Bapat was held in esteem for ever by him. In 1915 Bapat's eldest son and wife died and his only son became more or less an orphan. The Maharaja ordered him a monthly scholarship of Rs. 30 for four years. Bapat spent all his subsequent years in Poona till he died. Even after his death Tilak acted as guardian to his son, till he was a major and well-off.

Tilak had put his whole heart in the Bapat case. He was unable even to attend that year's session of the Indian National Congress. Not only his papers, but even the Law Class that he was running for his maintenance was neglected. The papers still were not paying even their own way. So he started the Law Class in right earnest from March 1, 1895. Pherozeshah

Mehta who was his counsel in the Kolhapur Defamation Case was on the opposite side in the Bapat case and he came to know better Tilak's abilities as a lawyer and his intellectual resourcefulness. Even the Maharaja of Baroda came to know with what ability Bapat's defence was prepared by Tilak and his respect for Tilak only increased as a result. The Maharaja sent for Tilak a few months later in 1895 and requested him to submit a translation of a certain English philosophical work for a decent fee, but Tilak declined the offer, saying that he was planning an original philosophical work and that it was gradually taking shape in his mind. The Maharaja was convinced that Tilak's interest in Bapat's case was wholly selfless and his subsidiary motive was to help the Baroda Prince himself against those who were out to lower him and his administration in popular estimation.

A wrong notion which is still prevalent in regard to the relations between Tilak and Sayajirao Gaikwad may be corrected here. Many people have gone away with the idea that the Gaikwad Wada, which was Tilak's residence since 1904 and where the *Kesari* and the *Mahratta* offices are housed was given to Tilak as a free gift by the Maharaja. In fact it is not so. The Maharaja wanted to dispose of the property and Tilak expressed his desire to purchase it, among others. The Maharaja got his engineers to assess its value and it was estimated to be worth Rs. 17,250. Tilak only asked for some concession in price, if possible, and the Maharaja sold it to him for Rs. 15,400. Mr. N. C. Kelkar himself was entrusted with the work of obtaining receipt for the cheque of this amount and completing the sale deed. Tilak did not, however, change its name. It continues to be known as Gaikwad Wada even today. In one part of it, Tilak's grandsons live and in the other part are housed the *Kesari* and *Mahratta* offices and the office of the Kesari-Mahratta Trust.

A close parallel to Tilak's behaviour in the case of Bapat is to be found in case of Mahadeo Ballal Namjoshi who was Tilak's colleague ever since the New English School was started. Tilak and Namjoshi jointly looked after the public relations business of the Deccan Education Society and negotiations with the Government officials were generally entrusted to them, till Gokhale came on the scene. He fell ill early in

1896 and it appeared as though he would not survive this illness. On his deathbed, he found it difficult to die because he was feeling guilty that he would leave his family destitute. Tilak assured him that he should peacefully depart from this world, care of his family being his worry and responsibility after his death. Tilak more than fulfilled this assurance. Even when away at Mandalay for six years, he had made arrangements from the funds of the *Kesari* office to defray the Namjoshi family's expenses. He had warned his nephew and manager, Mr. D. V. Vidwans that Tilak might be in jail so far as Tilak's family was concerned but he was always in Gaikwad Wada so far as Namjoshi's wife and children were concerned. Accordingly, the education of his children, their thread-ceremonies and weddings were all looked after by Tilak or his nominees. When the youngest daughter of Namjoshi was married, Tilak felt greatly relieved, because he had succeeded in keeping his pledged word to his own complete satisfaction. Ganesh, Namjoshi's eldest son became a mechanical engineer. He accompanied Tilak to England as his personal assistant. He has gratefully recorded in great detail all that Tilak did for his family in his *Reminiscences*, which testify to Tilak's high sense of duty, honour and loyalty to his friends.

Another case is that of Krishnaji Abaji Guruji who reported to Tilak about the horrors of early inoculation in Dharwar District during the early days of the Plague epidemic. An account of this has already appeared before. The appointment of the Plague Commission was largely due to Guruji's steady and assiduous work in exposing the excesses of the inoculation campaign by the Government. He had settled down in Banaras for some time past, but this work in the plague days detained him at Dharwar. He was running a rather obscure Marathi weekly called *Kalidas* in Banaras and some one in his absence published an article in his paper which was considered objectionable by the District Magistrate of Banaras. Notices of depositing two securities of Rs. 10,000 each were served on Guruji under Section 108 of the Criminal Procedure Code. Tilak could see that Guruji was being prosecuted because of his association with him in the movement against compulsory inoculation. It was very soon revealed that the Government of Bombay had instigated the Government of U. P.

to proceed against him. The U. P. Government had to call in the services of a Bombay Government employee to translate Guruji's Marathi articles into English. A Bombay advocate's services had also to be hired. The U. P. Oriental Translator knew nothing about it. The paper was in Marathi and had hardly a few months' standing. Not even a few hundred copies were printed and had it been left alone, the Ganges would not have been set afire. The *Leader* put all these facts together and left the people to conclude that it was an obvious illustration of vindictive action by the Government of Bombay. Guruji had to pay for his close association with Tilak, but Tilak would not let him down. He sent his friend and legal consultant, Mr. R. P. Karandikar, to take up his defence. The case came up for hearing on October 8, 1900 and a verdict was given on the 17th. Guruji was asked to deposit two securities of Rs. 5,000 each and personal securities of Rs. 3,000 or in default suffer one year's simple imprisonment. His son, who was the printer, was also sentenced likewise and a third accused who was Guruji's assistant was let off. Tilak arranged to prefer an appeal to the Allahabad High Court, Pandit Motilal Nehru being Guruji's counsel. Judge Blare ordered his release on bail on a small security, but the Magistrate had Guruji produced in handcuffs in his court and after a great deal of trouble, he was released on bail. The appeal came up for hearing early in January 1901, and his sentence was commuted. Yet Guruji had to put up with nine months' jail life. But Tilak's support to this humble worker and his family in his days of distress, was firm, constant and continuous.

Every tyro knows the English proverb " A friend in need is a friend indeed." Gokhale is commonly regarded as a political opponent of Tilak, but as a matter of fact and if we take a long-range view of things, they were political allies, working with the same end in view, but following different methods in well-chosen different fields. Gokhale had a full appreciation of Tilak's worth and Tilak similarly knew the value of Gokhale's services. When Gokhale found himself in difficulty as a consequence of the statements he had made in England regarding the oppressive plague relief measures, all his informants and friends let him down, but Tilak took it on himself to make

every effort to get evidence for substantiating as much as possible of what Gokhale had said in England, thousands of miles away, on the strength of what his informants had written to him. Questions were asked in Parliament and the Secretary of State for India declared on the strength of the information supplied by the Government of Bombay that all the allegations made by Gokhale were "malevolent inventions". Tilak was sure that Government could be made to modify this statement because he knew very well that there was enough of oppression, during the plague relief administration of Capt. Rand. He confidently said in the *Kesari* that Government would have to lick up some of its words though he had written that one of Gokhale's statements was exaggerated and another was baseless. He announced in the *Kesari* of July 20 that all who had complaints and grievances against the Plague Relief Administration should report them to the *Kesari* office in writing. Accordingly he received a good number of them. He collected some more evidence and proceeded to Bombay on July 27 to arrange for publication of a rejoinder to the Secretary of State in Bombay's English newspapers, because he believed that the situation could be partially saved. But so soon as he had stepped in Bombay he was placed under arrest and he was deprived of the opportunity of doing this good turn to Gokhale. Gokhale knew full well that only Tilak could stand by him and he said to Rao Saheb N. G. Chapekar that Tilak's help was denied to him because he was spirited away in jail. Gokhale acted on Ranade's advice and apologized for making statements which he was unable to substantiate. Here are Gokhale's exact words quoted by Rao Saheb Chapekar: "Had Tilak been free, he would certainly have collected evidence in support of my statements made in England and run to my rescue. But unfortunately he was arrested and sent to jail. I was unable to secure necessary evidence and I could not justify the allegations I had made." This proves what confidence Gokhale had in Tilak and how he had measured his character.

Still another case that may be mentioned is that of Mr. Shivram Mahadeo Paranjpe. A few days before Tilak himself was arrested in Bombay in connection with the sedition case in 1908, Paranjpe was arrested under the same Sections

of the Penal Code. As soon as Tilak came to know about this he came post-haste to Bombay to make arrangements for Paranjpe's defence and furnish securities for getting him released on bail, pending trial in the Sessions. Tilak was then in Nasik, but he came away directly to Bombay. This is nothing surprising or extraordinary because, Paranjpe was his close associate and party man. But the fact of the matter is that his natural bent of mind was altruistic. He was very conscientious and very circumspect where friends and colleagues were concerned.

The late Shankar Moro Ranade of Baroda was once his teacher. Their relations in later life remained friendly. When he died Tilak ran up to Baroda and made immediate necessary provisions for his family. A scholarship was secured for his son from the Maharaja of Baroda. This Ranade had left a novel unfinished. If it could be completed, Ranade's family would have got over some of their difficulties. Tilak promised his publisher that he would complete it. This was in the year 1903. Tilak never had any interest in this kind of literature and he never wrote a short story or a novelette in his life. But he felt prompted to undertake this only as a duty to a friend who was no more. Even from distant Mandalay, he suggested in a letter dated August 2, 1910 that Khadilkar should complete this novel, called *Shiladitya*. He was unable to carry out this promise because of his too many preoccupations but Tilak was conscious to the end that he had failed to do so. When this publisher, Mr. D. S. Yande, went to pay his respects to Tilak after his return from England in 1920, Tilak said, "I am now quite well. English climate has done me some good. I must find some time and finish Ranade's incomplete novel." He had a sense of guilt as it were that he had failed to fulfil a promise made in the interest of a friend.

CHAPTER XVII

THROUGH ORDEAL OF FIRE AND BRIMSTONE

The Jagannath Maharaj Adoption Case episode in Tilak's life is a classical illustration of his loyalty in friendship. A lesser person would easily have succumbed to the feeling of giving up a solemnly undertaken duty, in a mood of despair, because the very person for whose good the duty was undertaken turned like a worm to bite his hand. But Tilak was made of a very different stuff. It was not common clay. His being involved as a trustee of a friend's estate cost him anxiety for 23 years, beside a large sum of money, which he was never in a position to find or spend easily. He had to pledge his insurance policy and house and press to raise money, but he went through all this without the thought of giving up his trusteeship having even once crossed his mind. It was not merely his friendly loyalty that was on trial. His whole being, his character, his mental and moral make-up, his extraordinary intellect, his courage, his presence of mind, his legal acumen — all his qualities of head and heart were put to a severe test and he was not found wanting. He demonstrated all these facets of his character in his public work, whenever they were in demand, singly or collectively, and proved what mettle he was made of. But nothing provides a key to Tilak's culture and character more effectively than his conduct in the Tai Maharaj affair.

Tilak was arrested in Bombay at the end of July 1897 in connection with the first sedition trial but was released on bail, pending trial, by the Bombay High Court on August 5. He immediately returned to Poona to make arrangements for his defence. On the same day, he learned that his friend Baba Maharaj Pandit had a sudden attack of cholera. In the early hours of August 7, he was summoned to his deathbed. He wanted to make a will and appoint trustees to administer his estate. The estate was burdened with debts and he was leaving a young girl of only 15 behind him as his widow. They had no son but she was then pregnant and might have given

birth to a son. There was a daughter already, about one year old. Tilak was asked to make a draft of the will. He made a draft and certain names were suggested for being appointed as trustees. Among them were, one Keshavrao Ranade and one Nana Phadke. Both of them later figured as witnesses against Tilak in the litigation that followed but were then regarded as friendly neighbours. Even with the shadow of death upon him, Baba Maharaj knew better, knowing full well that the very object of making the will and creating a board of trustees would be defeated by the appointment of two such men as executors thereof. He, therefore, asked their names to be struck off and insertion of Tilak, Rao Saheb Kirtikar of Kolhapur, Mr. G. S. Khaparde of Amraoti, Mr. Kumbhojkar, a friend and *vahivatdar* of the Kolhapur portion of the estate and Mr. Nagpurkar, who was a managing clerk of the estate for many years, was insisted upon by Baba Maharaj.

In the midst of his troubles, Tilak was unwilling to take up an additional responsibility, but he was unable to be stern enough to refuse what was obviously the last wish of a dying friend. Had he been refused bail or had it been granted a day later, Tilak would have been saved from what turned out to be his regular persecution for a few years. There is no getting away from the fact that this was the one private affair in his life that caused him the greatest worry. He easily made light of all happy or unhappy occasions in his life in a stoic, philosophic spirit, but as a mortal, even he must have felt relieved when all the criminal allegations made against him in the course of this protracted adoption case. were quashed by the High Court and only the civil side of the case remained to be pronounced judgment upon. He remained unaffected when his wife or son died or when he was declared a seditionist. He was not elated when he was elected President of the Indian National Congress in his absence abroad. But he did pass through many anxious hours, because he considered that his honour was at stake in this adoption case. As a Sanskrit saying puts it, dishonour and ignominy are considered far more calamitous by men of character than death itself. His exclamation, on hearing of his exoneration from all criminal charges by the prosecution, is on record. He said, " This case consumed all my mental and physical powers for years. All is well that ends well. All the

same we must look upon laughter of happiness and tears of misery as mere monkeying and attend to our duties with equanimity of mind." His full and considered reaction in this behalf is recorded in the leading article of the *Kesari,* dated March 8, 1904.

Baba Maharaj died on August 7, 1897, a few hours after the will was finalized and Tilak was sent to jail on September 14, 1897. About a year later, he was released from jail. A few weeks were spent in recouping health. But after this he had to pay serious attention to the execution of the Baba Maharaj Trust. First of all, some overdue debts had to be paid. Tilak, Khaparde and Kumbhojkar had to sign personal promissory notes to raise the necessary money for this purpose. The question of adopting a son by Tai Maharaj, widow of Baba Maharaj, as heir to the estate had also to be settled without delay. On this point, there was some difference of opinion among the trustees. Nagpurkar was of opinion that some suitable boy should be adopted from the Kolhapur branch of the Maharaj family. Khaparde, Tilak and Kumbhojkar thought someone from another branch of the family at Aurangabad should be adopted, because one grown-up amidst the Kolhapur influences was not considered suitable by them. Tilak's anxiety was to reinstate in proper dignity the house of Baba Maharaj and rescue his estate out of all danger and to that end, he believed that a boy of young age should be adopted and properly trained according to the wishes of the testator. Khaparde and Kumbhojkar agreed. Tai Maharaj had given birth to a son but he expired about two months after his birth and she was feeling miserable. Ordinarily she would have listened to the advice of Tilak, Khaparde and Kumbhojkar, but Nagpurkar held out to her the bait, that she would have a part of the estate given entirely to her, if she adopted a nominee of his and that she would be a mere dependent at the mercy of the adopted son, if she chose to adopt a boy approved by Messrs. Tilak, Khaparde and Kumbhojkar. Yet another trustee, Rao Saheb Kirtikar had resigned his trusteeship almost as soon as he was nominated.

Tilak came to know about this and thought that further delay would only worsen matters and on June 18, 1901, it was

decided at a meeting of the board of trustees that Messrs. Khaparde and Tilak, accompanied by Tai Maharaj should proceed to Aurangabad, make enquiries on the spot for a suitable boy for adoption and decide this matter finally. Nagpurkar as the managing clerk was requested to make preliminary enquiries but he declined to do so. A number of boys were examined by these three and by unanimous agreement, a boy was selected. He is the same who has now been declared rightful heir and son to Baba Maharaj, viz. Jagannath Maharaj. The father of the boy expressed his agreement in writing. The necessary documents were made. Priests and learned Brahmans were invited to witness the ceremony on June 27 and June 28, 1901 and the party returned to Poona. The trustees informed, in a formal way, the District Judge of Poona and Agent to the Deccan Sardars that Jagannath Maharaj Pandit was, thenceforward, heir and son of Baba Maharaj, who was adopted by Tai Maharaj as her son by going through all necessary religious rites and rituals, connected with a Hindu adoption.

It should have been smooth sailing thereafter. But it was not so. Nagpurkar, the managing clerk, who was also one of the trustees, was feeling discomfited. He was planning to control Tai Maharaj, her adopted son and estate as the man on the spot looking after the day-to-day administration of the estate. While Tilak, Khaparde and Tai Maharaj were at Aurangabad, he had already managed to get the Kolhapur Durbar to confirm the adoption of Jagannath. Part of the estate was in Kolhapur State and the Kolhapur Durbar's assent was necessary to the new arrangement. The office of the trustees was in the custody of Nagpurkar when Tilak, Khaparde and Tai Maharaj were at Aurangabad. Taking advantage of this he put down a remark to the effect in the minute-book that the resolution of the board of the trustees in regard to the adoption passed on June 18, 1901 did not meet with his approval as one of the trustees. He had the ears of Tai Maharaj all the time, and he poisoned them to such an extent, that she became ready to throw herself on the mercy of the District Judge and Deccan Sardars' Agent, Mr. Aston and to aver that she was forced to go through the adoption process and that it was an act committed by her under duress. This Mr. Aston had Brahman-phobia and he was

hopelessly prejudiced against Tilak whom he considered an arch-revolutionary, a seditionist and an anti-British agitator. This Mr. Aston had sentenced an ordinary newspaper editor from Satara District, when he was District and Sessions Judge at Satara to transportation for life for seditious articles.

The conference between Mr. Aston and Tai Maharaj on July 6, 1901 lent a political colour to this adoption affair. The fact of the adoption was there and the burden of rendering it void devolved upon Tai Maharaj and her adviser, Nagpurkar. There were three ways of doing it. To deny the fact of adoption was one; the second was to go through another adoption to prove that no adoption had taken place at Auranagabad; the third way was to rescind the probate and the deed of execution of the trust that Tilak and others had already secured. In order to achieve the objective of setting aside Jagannath's adoption, Tai Maharaj decided to adopt another son, Bala Maharaj from Kolhapur and to pray for revocation of the probate which was given in favour of Tilak and others. On July 7, 1901, she served a notice on the trustees, saying that she had become sole proprietor of the estate of Baba Maharaj after her baby son was dead; the will of Baba Maharaj became null and void after the birth of the son. Had he lived till coming of age, the trustees might have continued to function as guardians. Had a son not been adopted, she would have been the sole master and the trustees need not have bothered about the administration of the estate. In pursuance of this notice she also made a petition in Mr. Aston's court for revocation of the probate. On July 10, she applied for permission to adopt Bala Maharaj to the Kolhapur Durbar and it was promptly given in spite of Tilak's protest and in contradiction to the assurances given to him previously. The revocation of the probate was a matter of some time, but another adoption was a comparatively easy matter. Bala Maharaj, his mother and his brother Pandit Maharaj came to Poona on July 12/13 when the adoption ceremony was planned. Tilak immediately went to see Tai Maharaj and requested her to do whatever she liked in the presence of all the trustees including Khaparde and Kumbhojkar. She agreed. Khaparde arrived in Poona on July 15 and Tai Maharaj was requested to abandon her plan as it was not in her best

interest as well as that of the estate. But she was obdurate. She was bent upon going through the other adoption. Her attempts to go through it having been foiled at Poona, she went to Kolhapur and adopted Bala Maharaj as her son in the presence of the Maharaja of Kolhapur himself on August 19 and Tilak had to file a suit in the First Class Court of Poona against Tai Maharaj and Bala Maharaj to get this second adoption declared invalid and to have the adoption of Jagannath Maharaj confirmed. This took place on September 23 but it did not come up for hearing for three years.

Mr. Aston immediately took up for consideration the application of Tai Maharaj. His plan apparently was to have established all possible points against Tilak during the course of the hearing of the application of Tai Maharaj. As a matter of fact, all that he had to decide was whether the probate was revocable or not, on the ground that Tai Maharaj had given birth to a son but he was dead when two months old and therefore she became heir to and proprietor of Baba Maharaj's estate. As a matter of course, he had also to determine whether the trustees became unfit on that account to act as trustees and still, if the trust survived whether his court had the right to appoint new trustees or not. This application was filed on July 29, 1901. The proceedings in this case lasted from that date to April 3, 1902. Altogether, there were 34 sittings out of which 14 were taken up by the cross-examination of Tilak by the Judge and Tai Maharaj's vakils. The principal noticeable point in these proceedings was that Jagannath's adoption at Aurangabad, though not raised as an issue, was forced in by the Judge as almost the principal question to be decided. A whole flood of documentary and oral evidence bearing on it from the side of Tai Maharaj was let in, although Tilak objected to it as altogether irrelevant. The specific issues raised were only whether the grant of probate to Tilak and others had become invalid and inoperative through the birth and death of a son to Tai Maharaj and whether the trustees had become unfit to act in the trust so as to make the appointment of new trustees necessary. On these issues, the Judge held in the affirmative, held the Aurangabad adoption disproved, revoked the probate and ordered the costs as in a suit to be borne by Tilak

and Khaparde personally. The judgment was a lengthy document of about 40 printed folios but 90 per cent. of it was devoted to findings and criticism of facts relating to wholly irrelevant matters such as the alleged confinement of Tai Maharaj at Aurangabad, the Aurangabad adoption, alleged use of force against Bala Maharaj and Pandit Maharaj and alleged confinement of Tai Maharaj at Poona in her own house.

These were matters against which Tilak had protested as irrelevant, more than once, and he did not put in a single scrap of evidence except by his own answers given under compulsion and on which he instructed his vakil to let him severely alone in examination by him. Therefore, there was only one-sided account of all these matters before Mr. Aston, the Judge and yet he did not hesitate to draw conclusions and make criticism as if he had all possible evidence from Tilak's side before him. The record of Tilak's cross-examination was full of notes made by Mr. Aston in order to discredit his behaviour and truthfulness. These notes showed that undue advantage was taken by the court of Tilak's helpless condition as a witness in the box, deliberately to tease, provoke and insult him, to misunderstand and misrepresent him on record by the questionable method of interrupting and twisting the witness's answers so as to create an impression that Tilak was indulging in shuffling, quibbling and prevarication. In his judgment, he used language which was altogether unjustifiable and discreditable to the position of an impartial Judge. He held Tai Maharaj and others to be truthful witnesses and opined that Tilak gave his evidence in an untruthful manner. His last note at the end of Tilak's deposition is in these words: "Fencing, prevaricating, quibbling witness; demeanour distinctly untruthful. A great deal of time wasted by ambiguous replies to plain questions which were repeated over and over again. Witness was repeatedly cautioned about fencing." As a result, he found that Tilak had not only deserved discredit by revocation of probate but had committed a number of offences in the transactions brought to his notice and he therefore crowned the improper and illegal proceedings in his court as a Civil Judge by taking action under Section 467 of the Criminal Procedure Code and committing Tilak to the City Magistrate for being dealt with according to law.

The following charges were formulated against Tilak: (1) Making false complaint for breach of trust against Nagpurkar. (In this connection Mr. Aston even went out of his way to induce Nagpurkar to put in an application for sanction under Section 195 Criminal Procedure Code. (2) Fabricating false evidence for use by making alterations and interpolations in the accounts of the Aurangabad trip. (3) Forgery in connection with the above. (4) Corruptly using or attempting to use as genuine evidence — evidence known to be false or fabricated in connection with the attesting endorsement of Tai Maharaj on the adoption deed. (5) Fraudulently using as genuine the adoption deed containing his interpolations over Tai Maharaj's signature. (6) Intentionally giving false evidence by ten sentences grouped together to (a) The fact of adoption at Aurangabad, (b) Tai Maharaj's confinement in her house at Poona and (c) Use of force against Bala Maharaj in the same house. This in itself is a formidable list. But to make the charge-sheet complete, as it were, Mr. Aston had suggested to Government an investigation in certain other collateral charges arising out of the same transactions such as giving false information to the police, cheating, unlawful assembly, rioting etc. etc. The commitment was made on the 4th of April 1902.

This may be regarded as the darkest day that ever dawned for Tilak throughout his sixty years and four. Imagine for a moment a man of Tilak's position facing the world, which already contained not a few prejudiced critics, a fair number of active and bitter opponents, the British bureaucracy as his sworn enemy, denounced by the District Judge as an obstinate, unscrupulous, perverse, high-handed and unchivalrous character, not hesitating to commit perjury and forgery to ruin a weak and defenceless girl widow of his friend, not yet out of her teens. Here was a man who had already been convicted for sedition. But that was an offence of a public and political character. Now came his turn for the bottom being knocked out of him and for his being exposed to public gaze as a character as unworthy in private as in public life. This was, by all means, the darkest day in his life to all appearances. But his confidence in himself and his legal acumen was so great that he went doing all his normal work without being even slightly

affected by Mr. Aston's pronouncement. The City Magistrate did nothing about the case for some time as a Special Magistrate was to be appointed for Tilak's trial under the charge-sheet made out by Mr. Aston. A police investigation was also to be held under the orders of the District Magistrate into all the cognizable and non-cognizable offences which Tilak was regarded to have committed in all these transactions.

While this hearing was in progress, a motion was made before the High Court on behalf of Tilak to transfer the case from Mr. Aston's court on the ground that Mr. Aston was determined to dispose of the irrelevant question of adoption in these proceedings and that while he had granted personal interviews to Tai Maharaj, he had refused to see the trustees. The High Court did not grant Tilak's application, refusing to declare at that stage whether the evidence about adoption was relevant or irrelevant and to believe that there were sufficient grounds for the transfer of the case from Mr. Aston's to some other court. It is quite permissible to say in view of the subsequent High Court decision on appeal that, had the High Court exercised sound discretion and transferred the case, no other Judge was likely to commit the blunder of considering the whole mass of evidence, relating to adoption and that the criminal proceedings would have been at least postponed till the decision of the highest court of appeal in the adoption suit was given and which was actually pending in the court of the First Class Subordinate Judge at Poona. The High Court took a rather light-hearted view of the application of transfer, unmindful of the consequences. The commonsense argument of " a stitch in time saves nine " had no room in the High Court's scheme of things, at least on this occasion.

On April 17, 1902, Tilak filed an appeal in the High Court against Mr. Aston's order of revocation of the probate and on August 19, Judges Crowe and Batty reversed Mr. Aston's order of revocation. The judgment left the question of adoption severely alone as being altogether irrelevant, while about 90 per cent. of Mr. Aston's judgment was devoted to the question of adoption and other absurdly irrelevant matters. The High Court judgment does not even so much as mention the word adoption in its text. A reader not conversant with the history of the case could not possibly have guessed, from this

judgment alone, that Mr. Aston had anything to do with the question of adoption in the proceedings before him ! The High Court decided that the probate was not liable to revocation on any of the points of law or fact relied on by Mr. Aston. As for the submission of accounts and inventories, Nagpurkar alone was responsible as being in the active and day-to-day management of the trust estate. Tilak and his colleagues were thus restored to power as trustees and executors. But the motion to the High Court, made simultaneously with the civil appeal for a suspension of criminal proceedings against Tilak with the decision of the regular adoption suit pending in the Civil Court was not successful and so there was nothing to stop the course of criminal proceedings. By this time, however, the police inquiry conducted by Mr. Brewin and Mr. Page of the Criminal Investigation Department was completed. These two officers had examined most of the persons connected with the transactions in question and it was generally believed that with the complete material before them, the police authorities were unable to recommend prosecution. But the political department took the matter up where the police left it and the prosecution was formally entered upon in all seriousness and an initial sum of Rs. 30,000/- was sanctioned for the purpose. Instead of leaving it to the police prosecutor or Government pleader to proceed as usual in a Magistrate's court, a Special Magistrate in the person of Mr. Clements was appointed and the papers of the case were formally transferred to him on September 9, 1902.

The Special Magistrate commenced the trial on the first charge relating to the false complaint for breach of trust against Nagpurkar. The alleged false complaint was originally made before the City Magistrate, who, however, was never requested to give the sanction. It was only when, towards the end of the probate proceedings, it occurred to Mr. Aston that the alleged false complaint which was withdrawn by Tilak on receiving satisfaction from Nagpurkar in the matter of the jewellery of the estate, might as well be pressed into service as one more stick to beat Tilak with, that Nagpurkar was actually encouraged or prevailed upon to put in an application to the District Court for sanction which was of course given, as soon as it was asked for. Mr. Aston was in such a hurry as not to remember

that he, sitting as a Civil Court, could not give sanction in a matter originally decided before a Magistrate and that in order that such sanction might be given, a court had judicially to consider and determine as a court responsible for the granting of sanction, whether any special reason warranted departure from the ordinary practice of issuing notice to a party before the grant of sanction. In this case, Nagpurkar of his own accord had never asked for a sanction nor was a notice issued to Tilak. The preliminary conditions to the progress of a trial thus remaining unfulfilled, the High Court finally stayed the proceedings in the first charge, where, it was yet open to the prosecution to take such steps, as advised, in order to obtain the necessary sanction and revive the proceedings. The prosecution was not slow to act upon the suggestion of the High Court. Nagpurkar was once more induced to take up the matter and he put in a formal application to the City Magistrate for legal and other assistance in the task on behalf of Government. The City Magistrate admitted the application and gave the sanction as expected on November 10, 1902. Tilak promptly filed an appeal in the Sessions Court during the little leisure he could snatch from the trial on the second charge running from day to day before Mr. Clements. The Sessions Judge Mr Beaman's judgment in appeal gave the second fatal blow to the case against Mr. Tilak, the first having come from the High Court judgment in the probate matter. It was indeed a slap in the face of Mr. Aston who was subsequently raised to the Bench, all the same! Mr. Beaman exposed and ridiculed the idea that he should ever be asked as did the Prosecution Counsel in the case to confirm the sanction, simply as a matter of course, because such sanction was regarded only as a technical matter and because what Mr. Aston had done, must have been done by him on mature consideration and therefore must be supported at all events.

Mr. Beaman noted the fact that when Nagpurkar could not press the prosecution at his own expense, the Crown found all the expenses for him. As regards the merits of the case, he found that Nagpurkar was a salaried servant and agent for the estate and as such, a responsible custodian of the valuable jewellery in dispute. It was his clear duty to allow inspection of the ornaments when demanded by the majority of the

trustees, on pain of lawful dismissal for suspected dishonesty and criminal misappropriation. There was neither anything illegal about nor any untruth in the complaint as actually lodged by Tilak. The Prosecution Counsel himself admitted that there was not a single untrue statement in the complaint. In the words of Mr. Beaman, Tilak said to the Magistrate exactly what he had said to Nagpurkar himself. He said, " Nagpurkar had been in possession of a great deal of valuable jewellery belonging to the estate ; we have now dismissed him, we have called upon him to surrender the property and account for it. He declines ; from his conduct under the circumstances, I have strong reason to suspect that he has criminally misappropriated some of it and I invoke your assistance as Magistrate to make him answer, make him give an account of himself and his property." Tilak was perfectly candid with the Magistrate and it was for the Magistrate himself to grant or refuse process according to his own inferences. "Under such circumstances, I believe, 99 men out of 100 would have done exactly what Tilak did, rushed to the nearest Magistrate, stated the facts and asked for the assistance of law," said Mr. Beaman. Nagpurkar himself never seriously felt aggrieved, but was obliged to come to the front simply because the proceedings in the first charge, might not appear to have miserably collapsed. Nagpurkar was consequently made to come on the scene nearly a year after the alleged false complaint was withdrawn. The concluding words of Mr. Beaman are : " As far as the proceeding goes, I do not see that Tilak has done anything for which he ought to be prosecuted under the authority of a court or which the person, who now pretends to seek the court's authority for prosecuting him ever imagined himself to be aggrieved at all."

Can there be a more severe indictment of the vindictive attitude of Government towards Tilak which made it beg of Nagpurkar to allow it to use him as its agent for mischievous revenge ? The effect of Mr. Beaman's judgment was that Government wisely refrained from presenting an appeal against it and inviting another rebuff of a more crushing character. It was, however, left to Nagpurkar to do it. To make sure about letting the High Court Judges know that he was the same Nagpurkar who had been used as a tool by and was protege of the Bombay Government, he was audacious enough to write

letters to the Judges who constituted the Bench asking for an adjournment on his own account and independently of the counsel he had engaged. In that letter he informed the Judges very candidly that he wanted an adjournment because he was unable to find an able counsel to represent him since all efficient counsel had left Bombay on account of the summer vacation! The most amusing part of the whole affair was that even the less efficient counsel he had engaged was also given a copy of this letter and all of them heartily laughed over the matter in the court! Mr. Branson who appeared for Tilak asked their Lordships, Tyabji and Russell, to mark the character of the man as shown by that letter and to take it into consideration while deciding the case. Their Lordships had no occasion to do so. They relied on the admission of the prosecution that every fact contained in Tilak's complaint against Nagpurkar was perfectly true and they dismissed the appeal as groundless. The law point involved in this case was so clear that Tilak's vakil, Mr. Daji Abaji Khare, confidently argued it on the very first day of the trial of the first charge before Mr. Clements, but the latter unceremoniously brushed it aside saying that he had already considered the point — even before it was raised. He would not even hear Mr. Khare thereon, but he had to drop it finally after its technicality was admitted by the High Court and its merits considered and allowed by Mr. Beaman.

It was not of material consequence, however, to Tilak. Because the charge so dropped was only one among many. The next charge in order was that of forgery, fabrication and false evidence. Some of these allegations were exclusively triable by a Sessions Court with the aid of a jury and they were more serious than perjury. On learning that the last charge, viz. perjury would be given priority over others, Tilak applied to the court to take up the more serious charges first. The application was refused and on October 27, 1902 Mr. Clements formally entered upon a trial of the charge of perjury which lasted till August 24, 1903. Tilak's application for the more serious charges being taken up initially, constituted, in intent, a challenge, which the prosecution was called upon to take if it had the courage to take the case to a jury instead of taking up a minor offence simply to give the Magistrate jurisdiction to try Tilak. It is obvious that he could

not say it in so many words in an application of that kind. Before dealing with what happened to this last charge of perjury, it would be convenient to relate the fate of the other five and more important charges. While the trial on the charge of perjury was going on, they were in a state of what might be called suspended animation. That is to say they were put aside for a while, for being brought forward and proceeded with, according as the spite or the conscience of the prosecution was or was not satisfied in the trial for perjury. If the charge of perjury failed to be substantiated in the initial stage, if the case for the prosecution failed in spite of the sedulous propping up it was receiving from Mr. Clements, there were five other charges for which Tilak could be put up for his defence. They were, therefore, never formally dropped. It occurred to the Chief Justice, however, at the conclusion of the hearing of Tilak's revisional application to inquire what had happened to those five charges. Probably the Advocate-General thought that it was palpably absurd to say at that stage in the face of the findings of the facts, and after the kind of appreciation of the law points and the evidence which the Chief Justice had shown, that all those more important charges were to be kept hanging on Tilak's head as a veritable sword of Damocles, and therefore in answer to a suggestive query from the Chief Justice, he formally assured the court to the relief of all concerned that the charges were withdrawn !

So, only the charge of perjury remained to be inquired into by Mr. Clements. It was spread over ten sentences grouped under three counts. As the trial advanced, it soon became apparent that the count as to the use of force against Bala Maharaj would not stand at all and Mr. Strangman, the Prosecuting Counsel withdrew it before the court framed a formal charge. The counts as to false evidence about adoption and wrongful confinement of Tai Maharaj remained, and after about sixty sittings, excluding the sittings occupied by the commissions issued to the Aurangabad and Amraoti Magistrates and after the pleading of the counsel which took more than a week, the case was decided on August 24, 1903. Tilak was convicted on both counts and a sentence of rigorous imprisonment for 18 months coupled with a fine of Rs. 1,000/- was passed on him. In Mr. Clements' judgment, there was not a single word in

favour of anything connected with Tilak while every attempt was made to view his action and motives uncharitably and to paint them as black as the Magistrate could, in order that his conclusion might appear justifiable. On the other hand, every possible extenuation, every excuse right or wrong was found out or invented for Tai Maharaj and Nagpurkar in supporting everything they said and did and was apparently wrong. All the witnesses for the prosecution were reliable and truthful, but not one on the side of defence was so. To crown all this, the court considered itself an aggrieved party, next only to Tai Maharaj because of Tilak's conduct in court and also that of his pleader, Mr. R P. Karandikar. Even the Press reporters were considered to have conspired against these two aggrieved parties throughout the case — Tai Maharaj outside the court and the Magistrate himself inside it. As regards Tilak himself, Mr. Clements' views are recorded in his reasons for the sentence. He said :

"For the offence of which the accused has been found guilty, the punishment may extend to seven years' imprisonment as well as fine. In estimating the punishment to be awarded, the intention must be taken into account. The accused's intention was primarily (as far as the first portion of the charge is concerned) to secure the continuance of the management of the estate by the trustees, as guardians of Jagannath. Management by the trustees meant, for all practical purposes, management by the accused and Khaparde. The question arises: Did they seek any personal profit to themselves in this? There seems to be evidence and reasons, sufficient to raise suspicion but not enough to preclude reasonable doubt. On page 110 of his deposition, the accused states: 'There has been loss to the estate since the deceased died. I don't mean damage. The estate has suffered. I mean that there has not been so much benefit as we expected. I mean it could have been managed better. The statement of accounts in suit No. 538 that I filed shows that the liabilities of the estate increased by about Rs. 15,000/- so that there was such an increase in liabilities. was admitted by him.) There is also about Rs. 14,000/- missing out of money (Note by Mr. Aston. It took ten minutes questioning witness before this borrowed by the trustees as I have already admitted.' His statement on page 13 shows that he is not prepared to hold Nagpurkar responsible for this. He never ascertained how this missing amount has been spent. Considering his animus against Nagpurkar he would have ascertained it at once, if Nagpurkar had been to blame. I have now to consider the accused's plea that all he did was for the good of the estate. This is an empty phrase. Men do not plot for the benefit of an abstract idea of this kind. The accused's conduct shows that it was not the welfare of Tai Maharaj that he had in view. It could not have been that of Jagannath, the son of foolish Tahsildar of Nidhone. What was the result of the accused's conduct ?

simply to involve the estate in litigation. His obstinacy and perseverance must also be noted. After he and his followers had been refused admission to the Wada in August, he set up an estate office of his own and collected revenue belonging to the estate. He previously abstracted from the Wada, the accounts etc. necessary for this purpose. He then made several attempts by invoking the aid of the City Magistrate and police on various pretexts to obtain possession of the estate records and jewellery. All this is proved by his own admissions. I think the accused may be given the benefit of what doubt there may be regarding his intentions. The only alternative is to regard these acts and the act of perjury of which he has been found guilty, as the demented acts of an obstinate man, who had been completely defended by people whom he apparently made the mistake of despising. His original motive in working for the adoption of Jagannath may have been compounded of feelings of jealousy towards Nagpurkar, wounded self-esteem and a desire to continue in his position of power with regard to the estate. He was evidently egged on by Khaparde in every step he took."

This extract from Mr. Clements' judgment is no certificate of character to Tilak and he never cared for one from him, but it is cited here to make sufficiently clear the spirit in which the Special Magistrate approached the case, so far as the accused was concerned. A few more facts may be cited to illustrate the prejudice which had warped the mind of the Magistrate against Tilak and consequently in favour of every one who was against him or instrumental to his ruin. He has taken into account not only Tai Maharaj's credibility but her character as well. To him it was evident that Tai Maharaj had shown great strength of character throughout and that as contrasted with her, " A weaker or more vacillating person than Nagpurkar could hardly be conceived." Her letters did not betray any weakness of mind. Her tenacity was remarkable. He regarded Tai Maharaj as a truthful witness, " as witnesses in this case went ", though she had not spoken the truth in every detail. She was very mindful of her dignity and it might be put to her ill-treatment, in which the chivalrous Magistrate all along sympathized, that she sometimes did not tell the truth. Her cross-examination was, in the Magistrate's opinion conducted on most unfair lines. Mr. Branson assumed his sternest manner and made the witness uncomfortable by compelling her to admit that she freely invented parts of the letters shown to her, i.e. told falsehoods to the parties to whom the letters were addressed, that she had to tell untruths in her examination to save discomfort to her, arising out of self-contradictions and that she

denied things which she ought to have admitted, simply as a caprice as she did not want to be bothered with a string of supplementaries. Such was the Magistrate's opinion.

As for Nagpurkar, he was obviously weak and vacillating but the Magistrate carefully avoids his description as an untruthful witness. In one instance, however, Nagpurkar happened to tell a deliberate and patent lie. He roundly asserted that on particular days, his nephew did not attend school in order to prove that Tai Maharaj was kept in confinement in her house. Tilak gave most effective contradiction possible by producing the necessary municipal school register which showed that the boy did attend school on those days ! But in even such a situation, Mr. Clements could venture to go to Nagpurkar's rescue and pull the witness out of the mire of perjury by the following splendid piece of sophistry. Says the Magistrate, "One can hardly conceive Nagpurkar bolstering up a strange case with a piece of evidence which it was perfectly easy to refute. He may have forgotten, he may have been trying to introduce a discrepancy. I am not at all inclined to think that he wishes that the accused should be convicted." 'Nagpurkar may have forgotten', may perhaps be an excusable remark, but that he should be held to be wishing that Tilak should not be convicted and therefore introducing a discrepancy in order presumably to weaken the effect of the evidence against Tilak, passes all comprehension ! The Magistrate was cautious enough to say Nagpurkar was introducing a discrepancy and not telling a lie. In order to illustrate Mr. Clements' grasp of things, seen and unseen, and his tenacity of prejudice, it is enough to point out that with regard to the alleged false complaint by Tilak that it was admitted by the Prosecution Counsel, and was held by the Sessions Court to be truth and candour in every detail. Mr. Clements is not at all satisfied that it was not a false complaint though it may be remembered that the matter was not before him and he had no occasion to express an opinion on it. He speaks of the complaint as follows : "I use the word false in reference to this complaint advisedly, because I consider that it was a false complaint. Mr. Aston also held the same view. I have not seen the proceedings in the matter of sanction given by the City Magistrate, but there are

reasons for believing that the whole of the evidence on the point was not before the court concerned."

What was there to prevent the whole of the evidence on the point from being brought before the court concerned and before Mr. Clements' court? The Magistrate said he had reasons to believe that the complaint was false but he did not give even one reason. No more facts need be cited, nor comments added to show that Mr. Clements was personally highly prejudiced against Tilak. The judgment and the sentence were both expected from the manner in which the Magistrate had betrayed his prejudice throughout the trial. It was all painful but not surprising. Mr. Clements had kept a warrant ready for the police and he refused to interfere in their discretion which was evidently to result in Tilak's removal to jail without being allowed sufficient time to give instructions for lodging an appeal by his pleaders on the spot. All this was anticipated by Tilak and he had drawn up the appeal memorandum almost completely at home. Tilak was removed to the jail immediately after, even to the surprise of the Sessions Judge himself, who while admitting the appeal and ordering his release on bail almost without any argument from Tilak's pleader Khare, openly expressed his surprise at and disapproval of the indecent haste shown in the execution of the jail warrant. Mr. Clements did not stop there. Notwithstanding the usual order of the suspension of sentence pending appeal, he insisted on recovering fine by restraint. That was the last act in the process of systematically persecuting and harassing Tilak.

Tilak was released on bail by the Sessions Court order and he was now entirely in other and better hands. After a lapse of two months necessitated by the printing of the voluminous record under the order of the Sessions Court, the hearing of the appeal was commenced on October 26, 1903. Mr. Lucas, the Sessions Judge was clear, courteous and sympathetic. The confirmation of conviction and sentence by him though reduced was, therefore, not quite expected. The disappointment of expectation was made the deeper by his uniformly just and favourable findings on all points of facts except one or two, which happened to be the most important. He held that most of the assertions of Tai Maharaj and her witnesses, made by way of raising a structure of improbabilities against Tilak's

assertion of the fact of adoption were disproved. Thus, for instance, he held that Baba Maharaj did not express any death-bed wish as to a boy being adopted only from the Kolhapur family, that his will did contemplate the adoption of a minor; precisely the thing done by Tilak in the interest of the estate, that a long minority under judicious management was obviously of the greatest advantage to the estate; that Tilak and Khaparde had no interested motives such as desire of pecuniary benefits or even love of power as admitted by Tai Maharaj herself but not conceded by the Magistrate; that Tai Maharaj was being guided by Nagpurkar who was the most unscrupulous and scheming person that was ranged on the side of Bala Maharaj but who had not the courage openly to oppose the trustees from the beginning and sought in conspiracy with Pandit Maharaj to accomplish in secret what he could not achieve openly; that the principal resolution of the trustees by which the Aurangabad adoption was decided upon was not tainted by deceit as the Magistrate held; that Tai Maharaj willingly went to Aurangabad to select a boy and was not at all under restraint there as falsely represented by her; that Tilak intended from the very beginning to do all that was necessary for a valid adoption being completed as soon as a suitable boy became available; that certain letters purporting to have been written by Tai Maharaj and put in the case were not genuine but fabricated; that there was apparently no fabrication or forgery of any kind committed by Tilak; that both Tai Maharaj and Nagpurkar gave false evidence against Tilak and that there was no confinement of Tai Maharaj in her house at Poona.

Mr. Lucas, however, assumed that Tilak had told a falsehood in the matter of actual fact of adoption and he therefore believed that Tai Maharaj must have naturally wished the adoption to take place at Poona and also on the same assumption, he made much of the omission of the detailed facts of the adoption in particular words in some of the papers passed through Tilak's hands. In view of the fact that he had taken so sympathetic and reasonable a view of all the tangled events before him, it is difficult to understand what led him to decide the case in a way patently inconsistent with legal acumen and sound appreciation of probabilities. He made much of the

extenuating circumstances in the case and though holding Tilak guilty of making only one false statement, he apparently put it to the account of the human proneness to temptation in weak moments that is sometimes found in even remarkably strong and obstinate characters, even if actuated by positively virtuous motives. Finally, he reduced the sentence to six months' imprisonment and fine as before. Winning the case in a revisional application against the Sessions Court judgment was thus rendered both difficult and easy. Difficult because there were apparently two judgments against Tilak. Easy because, the net result of these two judgments was that most of the irrevocable findings of facts were wholly in Tilak's favour and the only adverse finding that remained was altogether insupportable. The admission of the revisional application on legal grounds, was, therefore, in itself a ground for optimism and it was reserved for the High Court to complete the work of vindicating truth and justice in the case and to restore to Tilak his jeopardized honour in the fullest measure.

The judgment of the High Court is for all practical purposes a judgment on the adoption suit itself. For, the party of Tai Maharaj having succumbed to the temptation of using Mr. Aston to the fullest extent possible had sown the wind by getting Tilak to be committed on a charge relating to the factum itself of adoption and it had to reap the whirlwind in having the adoption itself being pronounced upon by the High Court. The crash came late, but it was complete when it did come. It was extraordinary that an adoption should be decided like this in a criminal case but it was made inevitable by Mr. Aston for the good of Tai Maharaj and the ruination of Tilak. The High Court dealt with documentary evidence in detail and as for the oral evidence, their Lordships refrained from interfering with the conscious appreciation of it by Mr. Lucas who had affected to disbelieve all oral evidence on either side on the fascinatingly simple, yet entirely unjudicial plea that Indians told lies easily and even by preference. In maintaining the poisonous elegance of this deliciously self-complacent but nationally defamatory generalization, Mr. Lucas had to disregard the large body of direct testimony to the fact of adoption by some ten respectable Aurangabad witnesses on the side of Tilak. The High Court practically censured on this point

the judgment of Mr. Lucas. The Chief Justice observed that he found in the judgment of Mr. Lucas no attempt at sifting the large body of Aurangabad evidence and that had it become necessary, he would have been prepared to hold that the absence of any discussion of this evidence itself, constituted such a grave omission that on that ground alone, the High Court would be bound to interfere. The legal acumen of Mr. Lucas had also been found fault with in the matter of adverse inference he had drawn against Tilak from the mere fact of the alleged omission of specific words about adoption in certain papers, so much so that the High Court held his judgment on this point to be "antagonistic to the first principles of criminal jurisprudence".

In this way ended the terrific tangle of the civil, criminal, original, appellate and miscellaneous court proceedings which threatened to tarnish the reputation of a man of character who placed solemnly undertaken duty above everything else, to the intense relief of his numerous admirers in whose estimation he probably would never have been lowered. What an agreeable contrast meets one's vision when one pauses to take stock of the High Court judgment and looks back upon the whole course of this litigation! On April 4, 1902, Tilak stood charged with several distinct or alternative offences, one of which contained three minor counts, and openly suspected or impliedly charged with three or four others. The framing of 12 criminal charges, some of them very heinous in their nature, appeared in itself a terrific indictment out of which it would have seemed hoping against hope to escape. On March 4, 1904, a strong and clear judgment of the highest tribunal of the land exonerated Tilak of all the charges and declared to the world his veracity and character as untarnished and spotless. But what annoyance, persecution and anguish he had to pass through for no fault of his! A diary prepared from the court papers shows over what a space of time Tilak's labours in the cause of the Baba Maharaj trust estate, were spread and how, in particular, the period between May 1901 and March 1904 was taken up. In all these proceedings for about 160 sittings, Tilak had to appear in court and on most of these days in person. Out of these 160 days, more than 90 per cent of them were of five hours each. The probate proceedings took 33 days before Mr. Aston

and the abortive charge of false complaint took eight days including appeal etc. The charge of perjury took 96 days up to the High Court decision including the commissions which took about 25 sittings and 20 sittings were taken up by miscellaneous motions or applications. Tilak's deposition extended over 15 days of five hours each and Khaparde was examined for about a week. Nagpurkar took nearly the same time and also Tai Maharaj, though she was examined, only off and on, so as to meet her convenience and comfort. Having counted the actual number of sittings, it is not difficult to guess how many additional days Tilak took to prepare the case, write out arguments, instruct his lawyers, arrange his evidence and travel to and from Bombay, Amraoti and Aurangabad. It may be remembered that Tilak was his own attorney throughout. The question of cost is even more formidable than that of time. Government is reported to have spent about Rs. 60,000/- and Tilak had to spend about Rs. 25,000/-. It is somewhat interesting to note that about Rs. 2,000/- had to be spent by Government and Tilak separately only for obtaining certified copies of court papers, exclusive of the printing bills.

All these details speak for themselves, and they cannot be made more eloquent by superfluous comment. All this physical labour, brain work and mental anguish were necessitated by the inquiry into the only fact whether Tilak spoke controvertible or unimpeachable truth in making certain statements on a compulsory oath and in reply to peremptory questions put by Mr. Aston on matters which, Tilak strenuously protested, were absolutely irrelevant and were upheld to be so by the highest judicial authority of the land. The trial, therefore, was only a legal euphemism for deliberate harassment, planned and insisted upon by certain unscrupulous officers, out of personal spite and political prejudice, with Government's toleration or encouragement. It is noteworthy, how Tilak behaved during all these difficult and anxious days. He kept the serenity of his mind, so as to pursue his usual, normal avocations without detriment. Even in his darkest hours, when expressions of hope from others were likely to sound only as hollow mockery and premature consolation, he maintained his cheerfulness, enough for himself and to spare for others and proved a source of intellectual inspiration to his own legal advisers and pleaders.

He could even command isolation of mind from his excruciating worries, intensified by the death of his eldest son due to attack of plague, in order to pursue his favourite research work and even to publish his original work, the *Arctic Home in the Vedas.*

The criminal part of this case was thus over, but the original civil suit filed by Tilak in the First Class Sub-Judge's Court, Poona on September 23, 1901, was still to be taken up and decided. All the documents in this connection were first with Mr. Aston, then with Mr. Clements and Lucas and finally with Judges Jenkins and Batty. After Tilak's acquittal in High Court on March 3, 1904, the papers were sent back to the Civil Court. In the meanwhile, Tai Maharaj was dead and in her place the name of her unmarried daughter Shanta was inserted. In 1905, Tilak was examined as the complainant for about four months. Again he had to go through a stiff cross-examination. Commissions went to Aurangabad and Amraoti to record statements of witnesses there. At last on July 31, 1906, the Poona Civil Court decided the case in Tilak's favour, holding the adoption of Jagannath valid. In October of the same year appeal was preferred against this decision, which was heard by Judges Heaton and Chandavarkar. This took four years to be decided. Within this period Tilak was hauled up for the second time in the law courts for sedition and sent to Mandalay for six years. Khare and Karandikar appeared for Tilak in the High Court which held the Aurangabad adoption invalid. The Judges held Tilak's and other witnesses' evidence as unreliable and his statements untrue. Justice Chandavarkar in the course of his judgment said :

> " On the one hand they had a young inexperienced widow, with a right of ownership, but ignorant of that right and led to believe that she was legally subject to the control of the executors of her husband's will as regards the management of the estate which she had by law inherited from her son, prevented from going to Kolhapur even to attend the marriage in a family of relations and anxious to adopt a boy from Kolhapur as far as possible. On the other hand they had two men of influence, learned in the law, taking her to an out-of-the-way place, ostensibly for the selection of a boy and then as it were compelled her there by representing that everything was within their discretion and thereby forcing her to adopt their nominee."

In these circumstances, the Judges came to the conclusion that the adoption was not valid, because it was brought about by

means of undue influence exercised over Tai Maharaj by both Tilak and Khaparde. All the same, Tilak was quite hopeful about carrying his point in appeal to the Privy Council. He sent a brief critical note on the judgment of Judges Chandavarkar and Heaton from Mandalay Jail and arrangements were made in his absence to appeal to the Privy Council, which rejected all the findings of Judges Heaton and Chandavarkar and confirmed the decision of the Poona First Class Judge. The judgment was in close conformity with the line of presentation of argument taken by Tilak in his brief. The Privy Council judgment in the Civil Case and the High Court judgment in the Criminal Case together constitute complete vindication of all that Tilak had done. The Privy Council judgment was given in 1915, a few months after Tilak's release from Mandalay. As the Aurangabad adoption was held valid, that of Bala Maharaj at Kolhapur was automatically held invalid. The Government should now have restored the estate in charge of the court of wards to Jagannath Maharaj without raising any obstacles or creating any difficulties. The Privy Council decision was there. Tai Maharaj was no more, her daughter Shanta was duly married and had no claim whatsoever on the estate and it was only natural to expect that Jagannath Maharaj, who had now become a major, should be entered in all Government papers as the rightful heir to and owner of the estate. But, it was only when Tilak served a legal notice to the court of wards on behalf of the right claimant and threatened that on expiry of the notice a regular suit would be filed against Government, that everything needful was done. Repeated petitions praying for this being done were simply disregarded. The purpose of the original transfer of the custody of the estate from the trustees to the Collector under orders of the District Court having been served by a lawful adoption being declared by the highest court of judgment, the court of wards should have given back the estate into the hands of the trustees. But since Tilak was one of the trustees, Government apparently, out of spite, planned to render the judgment of the Privy Council null and void by a petty practical stratagem. As the court of wards was acting under the orders of the Government of Bombay, the responsibility for all the sins of commission and omission must be laid on the Government of Bombay.

Not only the court of wards did not pay any heed to the petition after petition that Tilak sent but also adopted consistently a policy of favouritism towards the Kolhapur boy whose adoption Government had favoured. The ornaments and jewellery which formed a valuable part of the estate were always allowed to remain in the custody of Bala Maharaj, though some kind of security from him was taken for the same. He was allowed to enjoy profits of the Kolhapur estate without any let or hindrance. A conscientious court of wards would have taken energetic steps to have that estate attached through the agency of the British Government who was by treaty a surety for the peaceful enjoyment of the estate in Kolhapur by a lawful representative of the family. The Kolhapur boy was also allowed to occupy the family house in Poona even after his adoption was declared invalid. There were even more serious charges against the court of wards. For instance, the Kolhapur boy was given money out of the estate to carry on litigation. He was in possession of the annual income of some Rs. 10,000/- since 1901. The court of wards made no effort to prevent that loss to the estate, and again paid a sum of Rs. 15,000/- to him to fight the case in the Privy Council against Tilak. The debts to the estate were dealt with in a manner detrimental to the estate and investments were not made in a responsible manner. Tilak had to find all the expenses of Jagannath for fifteen years and even after the Privy Council judgment. But at last all accounts were made and it was decided that the estate owed Tilak some Rs. 53,000/-.

Still the Kolhapur Durbar did not recognize the Privy Council decision and therefore Bala Maharaj was the adopted son, so far as property in Kolhapur State was concerned. The British Government some years after Tilak passed away, recognized Jagannath as First Class Sardar and that is how this long drawn out adoption dispute ended. Tilak made no effort to recover his dues from Jagannath Maharaj even though the latter suggested that arrangements should be made for their recovery on the eve of Tilak's departure to England in 1918. All that Tilak did for his satisfaction was that he asked Jagannath Maharaj to donate a big piece of land to the Shikshana Prasarak Mandali for erecting a building for their Art and Science College. It is the same land on which the magnificent structure

of the Sir Parshurambhau College now stands. Tilak said it should be considered worth Rs. 30,000/- and Jagannath Maharaj should consider that Tilak's dues were paid. The remaining Rs. 20,000/- or so should be considered as a present from Tilak to his friend's son. Tilak's sons, who came on the field after Tilak's death did not, however, act in the spirit of their father and Jagannath Maharaj paid them off completely in spite of the arrangement entered into by both during Tilak's lifetime. Jagannath Maharaj, however, was all gratitude for all that Tilak had done. Tilak was careful that his association with him should not affect his relations as a Sardar with the British Government and for that purpose, Tilak had made arrangements for his education in a European school in Bombay and he intended to send him to England also for higher education. Such was the lofty idealism and spirit of detachment that Tilak showed in his dealings with the Jagannath Maharaj Adoption Case from start to finish. Only ten days before Tilak's death, the High Court of Bombay dismissed a suit filed by the Kolhapur Durbar by which they claimed that all estate that Jagannath inherited in British territory was originally Kolhapur's *inam* and it should be restored to Kolhapur. But it was guaranteed to the Maharaj family by a treaty and so the High Court dismissed the suit. The Secretary of State was also one of the complainants, but his demand only was for an inquiry into the validity or otherwise of this claim of Bala Maharaj and Kolhapur Durbar. Tilak spent two weeks on preparing the case on behalf of Jagannath Maharaj. The High Court not only dismissed the suit but ordered the costs of the defendants also to be paid. Had the complainant's claim been upheld, Jagannath Maharaj would have been only a spiritual heir of Baba Maharaj, responsible only for performing his *shraddha* every year!

It is interesting to recall a parallel case in Bengal in which an Englishman was involved. This case serves to indicate how the Government of India and the Secretary of State had different standards for similar cases, when it came to take decisions as between the whites on the one hand, and the black or brown on the other. One Mr. Rolt was a manager of an estate known as Khagra Estate in Poornia District. He was appointed by a court of wards to protect the interest of its minor owner. The Collector of Poornia, one Mr. Lee, suspected that Rolt had

misappropriated the estate revenues and so some confidential inquiry was started in that behalf. Without giving an opportunity to Rolt to explain what he had done and even when he had asked for an interview, criminal proceedings were instituted against him after consulting the Commissioner of his Division and the Legal Remembrancer. He was given insulting treatment in the court of Mr. Herd, a sub-divisional officer when the complaint made against him was inquired into. Later his case was heard in the Calcutta High Court and the High Court agreeing with the verdict of a jury acquitted him. In this verdict of acquittal, the High Court passed strong strictures against the Commissioner, the Collector and the sub-divisional Magistrate for having acted only on prejudice and without making sure whether there was at least a *prima facie* case or not for instituting criminal proceedings on serious charges against an apparently respectable person. The Government of Bengal had to inquire into the behaviour of these officers. The Government of Bengal made a valiant effort at justifying the conduct of its officers but it could not get away from the fact that there was indecent haste and prejudice in starting proceedings against Rolt. Ignorance of and negligence to adopt correct legal procedure was obvious in the conduct of the Collector of Poornia and his subordinate officer and the Revenue Board of the Bengal Government passed a resolution completely exonerating Rolt of any irregular or illegal behaviour and recommending that a sum of Rs. 15,000/- should be paid to him as costs incurred by him in his defence.

The points of comparison and contrast between Government's attitude to Tilak and Rolt are obvious. In both cases subordinate officers of Government were prejudiced and they launched legal proceedings without caring for correct legal procedure and by setting at naught the law of evidence. Ignorance of law and a morbid identification with the complainants are also common points. The contrast only becomes apparent when it is noticed that the Bengal Government felt ashamed of itself and made amends to Rolt for the harm done to him, while the then Government of Bombay, far from being ashamed of its erring judicial officers, decided that no compensation of any kind need be paid to Tilak for all his legal persecution, not only on its own volition, but even when Tilak had applied for

it to the Secretary of State for India. Tilak wrote a comprehensive article on this subject in the *Kesari* for June 13, 1905 and in its concluding paragraph he made it clear that the article was not prompted by the motive of demanding any compensation because, it was impossible to get it through a newspaper article when a petition to the Secretary of State had proved futile. But he wanted to point out to his readers how the Government discriminated on racial lines and also to show how the limbs of Government sometimes caused great hardship and indulged in persecution of persons that were not *persona grata* with them.

CHAPTER XVIII

PIONEER OF DEMOCRATIC SWARAJ

After attainment of freedom, India has become a democracy. It has not only a form of democracy, but its content also is democratic. There is adult franchise, both men and women have the right to vote and they elect representatives to the nation's legislative bodies. It is still a capitalist democracy, but well on its way to adopt a socialistic pattern of society. It will eventually be a Socialist republic, by peaceful conversion of itself. It is a republic, its President being elected every five years. Among those who prepared the ground for this consummation, with a definite consciousness of building up democratic traditions and institutions, and starting movements to consolidate the power of the people, Tilak must occupy the place of a pioneer.

The Indian National Congress was not clear from the beginning as to what it was out to do. Reform of existing administration and removal of some of the people's disabilities and grievances were its immediate aims and what little activity was there, was directed towards those objectives. The enlightened and educated people among Indians tried to draw the attention of the powers that be to these things, in their leisure. Public bodies like the Sarvajanik Sabha and the Presidency Association did the same thing before the Indian National Congress came into existence. But rousing the self-consciousness of the

people and awakening them to realize their power and organizing them for its exercise did not form part of the programme of the Congress almost until the days of the Bengal Partition. Tilak had a clear vision about all this ever since he and Agarkar resolved to begin their careers with the ideals of service and self-sacrifice.

It was in the eighties of the last century that Tilak began his public work. As early as in 1881, he complained in the *Kesari*, " There is such a thing as public opinion which autocrats and potentates dread, but we have done nothing to create such public opinion here." A few days later he says, " Princes become tyrants because the people do not assert themselves. If they do so in unity, the rulers will be powerless before them." Writings on these lines appeared from his pen and that of Agarkar in the *Kesari* off and on, but since 1890, when he took full charge of the *Kesari* and the *Mahratta* as proprietor and severed his connection with the Deccan Education Society, it became his unceasing endeavour to rouse the people. During the first 25 years of the *Kesari*, one constantly comes across anxious expressions for protection and promotion of the interests of the peasants, workmen, artisans, shopkeepers, weavers, Bhils and Katkaris. It has been continuously urged that it is these people who constitute the masses and their condition must be improved. In an article on factories started by joint stock companies in the inaugural year of the *Kesari* he said, " A country may be rich or poor, free or in bondage, but its majority population consists of those who live by their bodily labour and unless and until they are happy and contented, their country cannot be regarded as prosperous or progressive."

In 1890, Tilak was one of the Secretaries of the Bombay Provincial Conference and even then his idea was that only educated men should not meet once in a year and say all they wanted in the name of the people. In an article in the *Kesari* in that year he said :

"The Government will not grant any request if only some 500 people gather together once a year as self-chosen delegates and make a petition. That will be a weighty petition if only it is supported by similar petitions from the provinces, districts, towns and villages. Before a united demand is presented from the Congress platform it must arise from beneath. When this natural course will be followed and decisions will not be taken from

top, we will be fit for the exercise of democratic rights and to run representative institutions and Government will listen to us as real representatives of the people."

This shows the angle of vision of the *Kesari* and the courageous and determined men who started it. Of all of them, Tilak never lost sight of his starving and miserable countrymen. His appeal to the educated was: "You are the natural leaders of the masses. You must go to their cottages, understand them, organize them and help them improve their condition. It is foolish to regard ourselves as different from the people because we have learnt a few books. We are of them and must remain in their midst." Writing on the eve of the eleventh session of the Congress in 1896 he said, "We must so define our policy and programme as to induce workers and agriculturists to join the Congress and enthuse them to implement its resolutions." In 1902, he said, "The real condition of India must be studied not in the cities, but amongst the workers and peasants in the country. India is our motherland, all Indians our brethren and our mission is to ameliorate their political and social condition."

What he meant by people is easily seen from this and we understand what he means by people's power, people's raj, people's happiness. It was the vast masses of the people that he always meant. Had he meant otherwise, he would have become a partisan of the Princes, the landlords and the Sardars and begun their organization and consolidation. It is true that he did not attempt to root out these classes and he had personal friends among these and he often took up cudgels on behalf of some individuals belonging to these classes, but that was because he was against oppression, against injustice and against crime. Yet critics like Palme Dutt and M. N. Roy have dubbed him a revivalist, an orthodox Nationalist, an upholder of the interests of the lower middle class and a protagonist of old world religious practices and superstitions. Even Gandhiji has not escaped such comments at the hands of Communists and Socialists. But these are superficial *obiter dicta*. It has also been said by hostile as well as friendly critics that Tilak was an obscurantist and therefore he wrote against Patel's Bill in favour of inter-caste marriages and opposed the extension of Vedic rites to non-Brahmans in Maharashtra.

All these are unfounded charges, made without an unbiased and careful study of what he wrote and spoke or without any study at all. He was not opposed to any one adopting the Vedic rites, but he wrote against the threats held out to the priests by the Kolhapur Durbar who held *inams* granted to them for a particular reason but who were sought to be compelled to adopt Vedic rites while acting as priests. He was against force being employed and threats being given of confiscation and forfeiture of their *inams*. Similarly he was against Patel's Bill, not because he considered inter-caste marriages a calamity, but because no proper consideration was given in the Bill to its consequences as to rights of succession and inheritance. The opposition was on grounds of the proposed legislation being legally defective. Yet, the fact remains that he was not anxious that extension of Vedic rites to either non-Brahmins or mixed marriages should be given immediate accommodation in his scheme of things. These things could wait and be left to solve themselves in course of time and he was clearly of the opinion that popular attention should not be deflected from the fight for economic and political freedom. He gave a second place or even a third place to all social reform measures in his programme deliberately but he was not their enemy. Representative institutions, responsible government and establishment of democracy could make all necessary adjustments, required by society in due course — that was his view in these matters and in any case he did not experience any irrepressible urge for them.

Tilak has been variously described and truly described as "Father of Indian Unrest", "Father of Indian Revolution", "Maker of Modern India", "Bard of Indian Freedom" and so on. In order to make the description still more true it is necessary to add many more adjectival phrases and "Pioneer of Democratic Swaraj" has to be one of them, because he has constantly and unceasingly struck this note in his almost lifelong propaganda for political autonomy. Democracy and freedom for him were coterminus. That was what Mazzini preached in Italy; but the independence that Italy achieved through the efforts of Garibaldi and Cavour was not democracy. Similarly Prince Bismark's consolidated Germany was not a democracy, nor was Japan a democracy although it became a free country under

monarchy due to the efforts of the Samurais. Even China abolished Imperial rule in 1911 but mere military victories do not promote democracies. In 1921, Dr. Sun-Yat Sen established the Kuo-Min-tang and an effort was made to inaugurate democracy, but it was again military rule under Chiang Kai-Shek and now China is a Soviet Republic. This very cursory mention of contemporary efforts in other countries for attainment of self-rule shows by contrast the inestimable value of Tilak's vision as a seer of Indian Swaraj as democratic Swaraj, which he felt certain, would arise only out of the awakening of the people, their power of self-assertion and self-reliance. He never believed that the terrorists or the military leaders, by themselves would ever be able to overthrow the established government in India, unless it was backed by the people with active sympathy and support. Building up the power of the people for continued assertion of their rights and demands through movements calculated to ventilate their grievances and to demand their removal was his permanent programme and strength acquired by its prosecution, would in a given political situation, he calculated, eventually culminate in the achievement of complete political autonomy.

Tilak had the international factor always in his mind and he did believe and even say it in so many words, that India's opportunity would come when England was in difficulty and when such psychological moments arose, India's people must be mentally prepared and united to catch time by the forelock and carry out their objective. He recognized that here entered a factor which was beyond the Indian people's control and an element of chance or luck entered the whole consideration but when such an opportunity appeared to favour them, they must be able to strike while the iron was hot. That was the line of his reasoning. He did believe in the declarations of high-minded Britishers of making India fit for self-government by planting and promoting representative and democratic institutions among Indians, but he also knew that besides these liberal and high-minded people, there were conservatives and imperialists, and above all, the bureaucracy in India and its allies and the British vested interests which were opposed to India ever attaining freedom and therefore conflict with those who held the reigns of power was inevitable. He was always on the alert

to take full advantage of the conflicts in which popular interests clashed with those of the bureaucracy and its allies, to develop people's power of resistance and self-assertion and he did not spare himself in the least. He was prepared to suffer and sacrifice to any extent and he wanted as many people as possible to follow him. That was the main difference between him and people of his way of thinking on the one hand and the Moderates on the other. Otherwise, their objectives were the same. Both wanted to resort to only lawful methods as far as possible, but Tilak tried the method of passive resistance or civil disobedience also during the anti-drink campaign. Gandhiji practised it later on a larger scale, and prepared thousands of followers to do likewise, with what results, everyone knows. But all through his campaigns and very notably the Home Rule campaign, his insistence always was on democracy, representative institutions and power for people's representatives.

The Bengal Partition convulsed not only Bengal, but the whole country and during the agitation that followed for its annulment, the policy of the New Party or of the Nationalist Party was a policy of complete self-reliance which, had it been successful, would have ended logically in parallel government. Tilak expounded his ideas about Swaraj in those days with absolute frankness and clarity. In 1907, he wrote a series of articles in the *Kesari* on self-government and good government. In one article he said:

> "It is not enough only to have a Swadeshi ruler. We have got them in our Native States now. The more important question is how much power the people possess in the Swaraj and not whether the ruler is indigenous or alien. When we ask our people to make efforts for Swaraj, we mean that the people must get political power. From this point of view, the rule in Russia, even if native, is not Swaraj. The same holds good in the case of Germany. The Emperor there is a German by race and he is exerting to expand Germany's power in the world in every way, but the German people do not approve of his doings. They are making efforts to have democratic rule, people's rule and the agitation of the German Socialists against their Emperor must be held justifiable. The more the people get enlightened anywhere, the more will they demand democratic Swaraj."

It is quite true that the word people has been exploited and misused. When Pericles spoke of the people in ancient Greece he meant not even one-tenth of the people of Athens. Some critics of Tilak, knowingly or unknowingly have read a narrow meaning in Tilak's use of the words people and democracy.

Some were even so dense or hopelessly prejudiced as to suggest that by Swaraj he only meant Brahman rule, revival of Peshwa rule, a theocracy and what not. But his Swaraj embraced the whole people, without distinction of caste or creed. Had it not been so, he would not have said that he would welcome even Mussalmans, or Rajputs or any other Indians being given power. This was not merely a matter of saying something and not doing anything. All his activities tell an eloquent tale. His career easily divides itself in two sections, if a review of them is attempted. From 1890 to 1904, he carried on movements which were strictly within the limits of law, but after that he saw that even going beyond them was legitimate and just, because the atmosphere and popular response were encouraging. Even Gokhale, it may be pointed out, said in one of his utterances that passive resistance and non-payment of taxes were lawful and constitutional and there was nothing wrong in resorting to them when all other means had been found unavailing. Swadeshi, boycott of British goods and certain other British things, national education, arbitration courts, picketing of liquor and foreign goods shops were the new forms of agitation which were sometimes extra-legal, but, legitimate. In a lecture on "Principles of the New Party" in 1907 Tilak has fully explained how a movement of non-payment of taxes and civil disobedience and direct action leading to a national strike must shake the foundations of any administration and democratic Swaraj would result therefrom. Gandhiji perfected this strategy in later years.

Tilak's movement in the whole of Maharashtra for famine relief, his organization of plague relief, his exhortation to educated people in all places to take up the grievances of the masses and organize relief and redress of them and appeal to the peasantry to refuse to pay land revenue which was described by Chirol as a no-rent campaign, organization of the people in the name of Ganesh and Shivaji were all mass campaigns and these were surely not calculated to serve the interests of only Brahmans. They were meant for all people ; famine and plague did not do harm only to Brahmans but to all. Shivaji festival was meant to be not only a movement for Maharashtra but the whole of India and the Ganesh cult embraced all Hindus, whose moral, spiritual and political well-being was aimed at.

All these movements have already been separately dealt with and all that need be said here is that they served the best interests of all, were intended to develop the people's power of resistance, organization, self-reliance and self-assertion. From 1905 onwards the weapon of boycott began to be popularized. Its more recent nomenclature was non-violent non-cooperation. Even boycott was meant to be non-violent, although that word was not specifically used. An article on boycott has appeared in the *Kesari* as early as the very first year of its career. In the seventh issue, Tilak said, " Imprisonment or any other sentence for a political offence would be considered not reproachful if public opinion favoured that offence being committed. People will go to jail with a relish. How many people considered it reproachful to be imprisoned during the famine days of 1866-67 ? There is a body called the Land League in Ireland which has enforced a strict boycott of some landholders. We can resort to such measures here to bend intransigent people or officers." Although actual civil disobedience was advocated only in 1905-08, propaganda in its favour had begun right in 1903. On 29-12-1903, the *Kesari* said, " If lawful and constitutional means fail, we must think of other remedies." Again, " if you are dying under oppressive rule, it is your fault ; not of the Government. If it has become unbearable, rise in revolt and make it impossible for the British to carry on."

The Bengal Partition was announced on July 20, 1905. Since then Bengal was in revolt and Tilak extended full support to all that the Bengalis did. He considered the development as welcome for the establishment of democratic beliefs and practices in India. The attitude to resist injustice and oppression was essential, because that gave people the necessary training. Here he drew upon episodes from British history and explained how the British people's rights grew. The illustrations of Hampden and Pym and Cromwell were quoted. While everyday this spirit was growing, the bomb appeared on the scene and the terrorist movement was regarded as an ally or off-shoot of the Nationalist movement, which, being democratic in character, was really quite opposed to the cult of secret violence and murder of innocents. Still Tilak was wrongly regarded as its supporter and sent to jail. After his release he only started the Home Rule League which stood for democratic Swaraj and

captured the Congress whose working was on democratic lines. Both these bodies made a demand for representative institutions, democratic methods and democratic forms for regulating legislative, judicial and executive government. Partial success was achieved during Tilak's lifetime. Tilak's three speeches on Home Rule for which he was charged with sedition for the third time but was acquitted are a complete exposition and vindication of his democratic ideals.

Much has been made by Prof. Nalini Pandit in her recent book in Marathi *Evolution of Nationalism in Maharashtra* of Tilak's disapproval of the legislation passed in 1891 which sought to regulate hours of work for the workmen in textile mills, while he had welcomed the growth of the textile industry in Western India all through, thus trying to read in it his partisanship for the capitalist class and hostility towards labour. This is obviously a far-fetched conclusion and untenable in the light of Tilak's clear partisanship for labour, as evidenced in his manifesto of the Congress Democratic Party, his acceptance of the vice-presidentship of the Trade Union Congress about the same time and his earlier work in Bombay's textile labour, though of a welfare character. It must be remembered that Tilak, like every patriot of those days was a Swadeshist and therefore a protectionist and was, therefore, more concerned with safeguarding the interests of the Indian textile industry as against those of Lancashire. His expectation, therefore, was that even workers should not insist on hours of work and other facilities until the industry could afford all that in competition with the British mills. Did he not stand for Swadeshi, even at a sacrifice, when he preached it to the consumers of India who far outnumbered the textile workers? If, of course, the accusation is intended to be that he did not stand for class-war but class-collaboration, Tilak must plead guilty. That phase of Indian political development was decades off when Tilak opposed this legislation and it is too much to describe him as one who upheld the side of the manufacturer as against that of the workers. It was not only Tilak but the whole Indian leadership, including Gandhiji, which will have to be similarly characterized if we follow that line of reasoning. It looks too much like a stereotyped charge against the leaders

of the Indian National Congress, which itself has been described in Socialist and Communist quarters as a body which stood, for protection of Capitalist interests, "the Indian bourgeoisie". Was not Pandit Motilal Nehru described as agent of the Tatas when as the Swarajist leader in the Central Legislative Assembly he pleaded his support to the Iron and Steel industry in India and stood for the removal of countervailing excise duty on cotton piecegoods?

The same argument holds good as regards Tilak's taking up cudgels on the side of the poor *Khots* of Ratnagiri District. Tilak here was not interested at all in doing harm to the tenant cultivators. He was concerned with upholding the legal rights of the *Khots* as assured to them by their time-honoured *sanads*. Tilak's attitude was the same as he took in respect of the rights of the Brahman priests of Kolhapur who refused to officiate at religious and social ceremonies of the Marathas according to Vedic rights. It was the defence of a legal right. So was the case with the *Khots*. One can say Tilak was too much of a legalist on such occasions and lost sight of his social obligation to the underdog in his capacity as a progressive social reformer. But that is all. When it came to opposition to Government, it was Tilak's policy not to lose any opportunity of exposing Government, whenever he could justly and legitimately do so. That was always his first thought in all his doings. Why should he have run to the rescue of the aggrieved Mamlatdars in the Crawford affair, at the very beginning of his political career, unless he considered that any stick was good enough to beat the Government with, once he was convinced that it was in the wrong? While interpreting Tilak's actions, big or small, such sympathetic understanding is a prerequisite. In the absence of that, how boundlessly he could be misrepresented, misjudged and misinterpreted has been most ably demonstrated by Sir Valentine Chirol and no critic of Tilak can outdo him. But in Prof. P. G. Sahasrabuddhe of Poona, he had a sympathetic critic and he has ably shown in his book, *Bharatiya Lokasatta* how Tilak was always conscious of driving home to the people that India's Swaraj had to be a democracy, representative of the people in both form and content.

CHAPTER XIX

PROTAGONIST OF PROHIBITION

One of the nation-building activities which can be described as the least controversial and in which all parties and sections of people joined was the anti-drink campaign carried on by Tilak, soon after the session of the Indian National Congress at Surat in 1907. He spoke on numerous occasions and wrote quite often in his papers in favour of the anti-drink movement which assumed an organized and aggressive form when some young men volunteered to picket liquor shops at Poona, Ahmednagar, Thana, Belgaum and other places and the Temperance Association, formed in Poona in July 1907, with Gokhale as its President, prescribed rules and lines of policy for the guidance of the volunteers and so in a sense accepted responsibility for their work. Tilak was one of the members of the Managing Committee of the Association and N. C. Kelkar was one of the Secretaries. Rev. Dr. MacNicol, a Christian Missionary and Dr. Harold H. Mann, Principal of the College of Agriculture, Poona, prominently associated themselves with this anti-drink movement. In his criticism of the Bombay Government's budget, Tilak, as additional member of the Bombay Legislative Council, had complained that the fact that the excise revenue was increasing every year and more and more shops were being opened to sell both country and foreign liquor showed that the people were encouraged to contract the drink habit, though Government professed that it was against drink. Since then it was his habit to trace the increase in Abkari revenue from year to year and convincingly to prove to the readers of the *Kesari* and the *Mahratta* that Government was wholly insincere in its profession. Government had never accepted his suggestion to reduce the number of liquor shops even if it meant a loss of revenue.

As far back as 1849, the late Rao Bahadur Gopalrao Hari Deshmukh wrote :

"In the earlier regime (Mahratta) no one took liquor and no revenue was obtained from it. Both Brahmans and Marathas looked down upon toddy-makers and if anybody leased out his palm-trees for tapping he was boycotted by his caste-men. People used to take a bath, if someone with

liquor in his possesion passed by. A Brahman drink-addict was a rare phenomenon. If a solitary booth existed anywhere, it was in an out-of-the-way place and run more or less stealthily. Common people avoided that way. But the present (British) Government seems to follow extraordinary ways."

This typical sentiment found expression everywhere in diverse ways and it was no wonder that Ranade, Phule, Tilak and Gokhale were for a total ban on drink. In one of his speeches, made at Sholapur on March 2nd, 1908, Tilak said it was a misfortune of all that when Hindus and Mussalmans and Buddhists considered it irreligious and immoral to drink he was required to raise his voice and advise people not to drink. Even the British Government declared that it was against drink, but its professions and practices were completely divorced. He drove this point home by pointing out that Mountstuart Elphinstone, the first Governor of Bombay Province after the Mahratta regime had come to an end, reported in 1820 that the annual excise revenue of the Mahrattas was only Rs. 10,000 for the ten Marathi districts and it included revenue from the coastal districts where the palm-trees abounded. On an average, the excise income was Rs. 1,000/- per district which increased to about six lakhs of rupees per district, when Tilak was addressing this Sholapur meeting because the total excise revenue was over a crore and a quarter for the whole Presidency of Bombay including Sind in those days. Giving these figures Tilak asked: Is it not clear from these figures who taught our people to drink?

In the same speech he made a demand for complete prohibition. His argument was that India was perhaps the only country in the world which, for several centuries had succeeded in banishing drink from respectability. At one time in history, during the Vedic Age, drink was even deified and hymns were composed and sung in its praise. But, having come to learn what a monster it was, drink was abolished among all classes except among the outcastes who were regarded as outside the pale of civilization. He asserted that if the Government abolished drink, people would be morally better, more materially improved and happier. He laid the charge roundly at Government's door that for the sake of the revenue of about ten crores from all over India, Government was encouraging people to

get inebriated. Finally, he said, "One of the reasons why we want Swaraj is that we want to enforce complete prohibition in India. We can do it in about seven or eight years from the time we get power." Since this was not possible immediately he advocated the method of universal boycott of drink and of all human agencies associated with the drink traffic. He was fully aware that such a course of action was not easy to follow. It would involve going to jail. It would involve resistance to Government orders. It would mean fearlessly facing up the Excise officers, Police officers, Collectors of Districts and coming in conflict with the liquor contractors and their henchmen. It was enough that justice and morality were on the side of the people and Government was wholly in the wrong. It would seem that Tilak contemplated organized resistance on this issue by enlisting volunteers to fill the jails all over the country in 1908, thus anticipating Gandhiji by about two decades, but the trial for sedition forced on him in the same year nipped the movement in the bud. His colleagues and associates, not to speak of the mass of people, were not apparently prepared to keep pace with him. This subject was never absent from his mind since in the manifesto of the Democratic Swaraj Party which he published soon after the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms Act was passed, he included complete prohibition as an item in his programme to be enforced by the popular ministers under dyarchy.

During the year 1908 Tilak spoke frequently on the question of prohibition. One speech he made on a resolution on prohibition passed at the Poona District Conference held at Poona, with Rao Bahadur G. V. Joshi in the Chair. In this speech Tilak insisted that young people must be prepared to suffer for the cause in which they professed to believe. He deprecated the method of magic lantern shows and posters, although he conceded that they had their place in an educative movement. To give further indication as to the lines on which his mind was working in those days, the peroration in his speech may be reproduced here. Tilak said :

"The young generation must gird up its loins to liquidate the monster of drink. Young men must be prepared to fill the jails if they fall victims to the policy of the upholders of drink. They must be actively helped by their neighbours and relations. Your hatred of drink must be so powerful

that the misery of going to jail while fighting it must pale into insignificance. If a few people go to jail in the pursuit of their ideal, their fellowmen would surely benefit by it. Why, you must even be prepared to die for your ideal."

Government had passed orders under various Sections of the Penal Code prohibiting peaceful picketing and proceedings against those who deliberately broke the orders, were the order of the day. Civil disobedience had thus begun right in 1908. Since 1905, individual workers were carrying on movement against drink in various places in Maharashtra. Mr. S. G. Lavate, a saintly patriot carried it on in a missionary spirit for a number of years before the organized campaign in Poona as well as afterwards. It became very live after the Poona District Conference. People began to take pledges, caste panchayats resorted to fines and ostracism against those who would not give up drink and it seemed as though it would become a very widely spread movement very soon.

In Belgaum, Mr. Gangadharrao Deshpande and his friends succeeded in enforcing a total boycott of liquor shops which were kept open but not a drop was sold. Warlis, Kolis and Katkaris of Thana and Kolaba Districts also enforced a severe boycott of country liquor booths. In Ahmednagar District, all castes and communities including Christians and Mussalmans joined the movement, Mr. Balasaheb Deshpande having taken the lead. In Poona it naturally became most powerful. Even the peaceful and persuasive propaganda of the Temperance Association was found effective. A shop at Khed was closed because of want of customers. Volunteers from all lanes and roads and *mohullas* formed themselves into bands and picketed the shops. They entreated the addicts not to enter the shops and most often they succeeded. Sometimes their appeals fell on deaf ears and drunkards abused them and insulted them but they bore it all with patience and forbearance. Dr. Bhajekar of the Bombay Temperance Association, Dr. Harold H. Mann, and Rev. Dr. MacNicol were convinced of their patience and peaceful behaviour and placed on record their appreciation of it. The campaign was extended to temples and mosques. Landlords who had rented their premises to the liquor shops were appealed to and they began to serve quit notices on the licensees.

All this caused a flutter in the dovecots of Excise officers. Policemen were posted at the shops and they began to take down

the names of the pickets. A sightseer was proceeded against and the City Magistrate fined him Rs 10/- for obstructing traffic. Liquor shopkeepers ran to the Assistant Collector, a Major Anderson. He was not concerned with police *bundobust*, but in his enthusiasm to crush the movement, he came to a shop and indulged in a scuffle with some volunteers. Mr. Vasudeo Krishna Bhave and Mr. Vaman Gangadhar Deshpande protested against this and remonstrated with Mr. Anderson. They were placed under arrest and released on bail at 10 p.m. At another place a volunteer asked Mr. Anderson if picketing was an offence. Mr. Anderson asked in return if the volunteers would tolerate a missionary picketing at a temple and dissuading people from going in for *darshan*! Some volunteers filed suits against Mr. Anderson himself but they were dismissed forthwith. Volunteers were proceeded against for rioting, unlawful assembly, obstructing traffic etc. but the aim of all this was to stop their picketing.

A deputation of the Temperance Association headed by Gokhale waited upon Mr. Carmaichael, the Collector of the District and he took a reasonable attitude by allowing picketing as a legitimate and peaceful method. But the police and the Abkari officers appeared to have different instructions since arrests of volunteers and their conviction in courts for this or that offence went on unabated. They were fined small sums in the beginning but Bhave and Deshpande were fined Rs. 100/- each, because Mr. Anderson himself was the complainant. Tilak took personal interest in these cases and paid the fines himself.

Sir George Clarke, who later became Lord Sydenham, had newly come out as the Governor of Bombay. An appeal was made to him to restrain the police and the Magistrate. But the Abkari Commissioner and the police had already made frightening reports of the picketing movement. The purport was that the British Government had ceased to exist in Poona. Tilak had complete control over the people. Picketing may be innocent in itself and Government could possibly afford to lose excise revenue but this might develop into a political movement of boycott of Government offices and even stronger movements. The Collector of Poona, Mr. Carmaichael once again invited Tilak and Kelkar for consultation but this led to

an animated conversation between the two according to Kelkar's report. Against this background, a public meeting was held at Poona on the Reay Market grounds to protest against Government's orders to stop picketing.

A resolution demanding withdrawal of those orders and allowing people free exercise of their right to persuade people to give up drink, was passed. Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar was in the Chair. Gokhale was to have presided over this meeting or to have taken a leading part in it instead of Tilak, but he was to proceed to England the next day and so was unable to do so. He had, however, sent a letter to the President of the meeting in which he had expressed full sympathy with and support to the resolution that was proposed to be passed at the meeting. He had recorded his protest against Government's undue interference with the movement and appealed to it to take a resolute stand in defence of their legitimate right. He addressed a letter to the Governor also, warning him that the way in which Government was dealing with the movement was impolitic and unfair and Government's action would be much misunderstood but this appeal fell on deaf ears. Tilak said nothing new at this meeting beyond what he was writing in the *Kesari* and the *Mahratta*. The importance of the meeting lay in the fact that it was a fully rèpresentative meeting at which besides Tilak, Hari Narayan Apte, Ganesh Vyankatesh Joshi, Shankar Ganesh Lavate, Shaikh Usman Daud, Kamble, Rev. MacNicol and others spoke. A deputation of the Sabha also waited upon the Governor a few weeks later, but nothing came out of it. Government's stand was that picketing may be innocent in itself but it was only an ostensible garb to train people for self-assertion and rebellion. It was a Brahman instigation to others so that Brahmans should regain political power. It was a school to train intrepid fighters for Swaraj. In one word it was a political movement and not a movement for socio-economic reform.

The deputation which was to wait on the Governor of Bombay was to consist of Dr. Bhandarkar, Tilak, Rev. Dr. MacNicol and others. It was called on July 6, 1908. In the meanwhile, Tilak was already arrested on June 24, 1908. The Governor, Sir George Clarke expressed general sympathy with the temperance movement. Explaining Government's policy with

regard to the sale of liquor, he took exception to certain statements made by the members of the deputation and concluded by saying that though the rules made by the Association were unexceptionable, still it was impossible, owing to the differences in individual temperaments, to expect uniform and consistent observance of them. He reminded the deputation how even at Poona the rules failed to keep order and how therefore, their universal application was fraught with evil consequences. In conclusion he said, "Picketing is an interference with liberty, which in Poona, certainly would have the appearance of class persecution, that it would in many places inevitably lead to breaches of peace and to police prosecutions which we all wish to avoid, that it cannot permanently promote the object you have in view and that it may help to defeat that object. I sincerely hope, that you will not regard this as an arbitrary decision of an alien Government which does not sympathize with your valuable Association."

With such an attitude on the part of the head of the Bombay Presidency what chances were there for the anti-drink movement to succeed, when Tilak was no longer in the midst of the people and other associates of his in the anti-drink movement did not have his resoluteness of purpose and willingness to make sacrifices to any extent?

It is interesting to see, however, what Rev. Dr. MacNicol has to say about all this. Writing many years later, somewhere in 1925, he says:

"My connection with Mr. B. G. Tilak was slight and had mainly to do with an active agitation in the cause of temperance in which he took a leading part. Some of us who associated ourselves with him in this cause were considered to have been made use of by an astute politician for his sinister ends. We, poor innocents, had been led astray by a wily intriguer. I had never any reason to suspect that Tilak was guilty of any such duplicity. He always appeared to me to be genuinely concerned for the protection of his countrymen against intemperance. I remember, for example, when the agitation culminated in something approximating to a disturbance in the city largely due to the foolish action of a young civilian (Mr. Anderson) I found crowds of excited young men rushing through the streets to Gaikwad Wada (Tilak's residence). There was material there for trouble and hysteria was being automatically provided by their actions. But when the danger was pointed out to Mr. Tilak and he was urged to use his influence to get the excited men to go home instead of going to Gaikwad Wada he at once did so and, needless to say, he was immediately obeyed. Mr. Tilak's policy may have been right or may have been wrong, but every

one who knew him was aware that he himself was a man of high personal character and one as averse as any one could be to methods of violence and anarchy. His power lay in his nearness to the people and his understanding of their point of view, as well as his intense pride in his people's past. He was not an idealist and perhaps from the point of view of the foreign ruler, he was the less dangerous on that account. He sought what he thought were practical ends by what seemed to him practical means and it might have been the path of wisdom on the part of the Government in his case, as in the case of others also, to have condescended to treat with him and to come to an agreement with him as to how to adjust each other, their policy and people's demands."

Dr. Harold H. Mann, who later became Director of Agriculture to the Government of Bombay has also recorded his impressions of Tilak of those days in the following words :

"I went to Poona in the year 1907. Before I went there, the name of Mr. B. G. Tilak was very familiar as one of the more advanced of the national leaders, but I first came in contact with him during the intensive temperance movement in the early part of 1908. Then we sat together on the Committee of the Poona Temperance Association and from the first it was the magnetic quality of Mr. Tilak's personality that specially impressed me. If he came into a room, even though I had not seen him, his presence was evident at once and it is by the strength of his personality that I shall always remember him, even more than by his wisdom in the discussion or wide knowledge of public affairs that he showed. Next to this, it was the unbending courage which he exhibited which impressed me very much indeed, for during the whole of the agitation, when some others stood aside Mr. Tilak never budged from the position we had taken from the beginning of the picketing movement....I shall never forget Mr. Tilak. He seems to me one of the two or three strongest characters that I have met in my life and knowing him even as little as I did, I can understand the devotion with which he was followed and the influence which he had. His influence will remain with me ever as a vital factor in my life."

In a speech made on June 7 1908, at a mass meeting of Bombay's working class population at Curry Road station compound in Bombay, Tilak is seen in his full colours as a democrat, as a real man of the people. A speaker at this meeting observed that even Brahmans had started drinking under the British regime and had thus set a bad example to the other castes. Tilak took his cue from that speech and said that every Brahman who indulged in drink deserved the greatest condemnation and said as far as drink was concerned they should not listen to anyone, whether it was a Brahman, the Government or the Almighty Himself. "Even if God appears before you incarnate and tells you to drink, spurn His counsel and boycott Him." He then went on to refer to Lord Morley's utterance that

drink was another plague and demanded that just as inoculation was being assiduously canvassed to eradicate the bubonic plague, Government ought to help every effort to eradicate drink. Instead of that it was prosecuting pickets on fictitious and untenable charges and sending them to jail. He denounced the drink revenue and the misleading propaganda by a Collector of a district that drink was an antidote against physical exhaustion. Sound sleep was the only best and natural restorer of energy, he said and advocated active and ceaseless propaganda until drink was a thing of the past. He asked the workers in the mills, the docks and the railways and the other factories to establish anti-drink committees and fight against all allurements by interested parties. He also quoted Lord Kitchner who had then advised British soldiers to abstain from drink and asked them to take a pledge not to touch liquor. Only two weeks later he was placed under arrest for his second sedition trial and his plans to promote a nationwide prohibition movement were effectively obstructed. It is a pity none was found at that time to continue his work with the same vigour, perseverance and circumspection and it was left only to free India to adopt prohibition among the directive principles of its constitution and to make it a reality in a few years' time.

That he had no faith in the bona fides of the Government as regards enforcement of prohibition almost from the beginning of the anti-drink movement in Maharashtra has been recorded in a casual conversation which took place between him and Mr. Iyengar, a Madras Government official who called on him on December 4, 1905. This Mr. Iyengar began to praise Government for its efforts against the spread of drink. But Tilak roundly told him that it was one of the Government's big pretentions — as a matter of fact the Government was ceaselessly making efforts to augment its revenue. He referred to Elphinstone's report, previously alluded to, and pointed out that by taking a partisan attitude on behalf of the liquor contractors, Government practically forced people to drink. Government's only concern appeared to be to augment income he said and pointed out how Government was making efforts to popularize India's opium in China and making the Chinese opium-addicts. For what? Only to augment revenue. He condemned this as morally unjustifiable even though it meant money into India's

coffers. It would seem that like Gandhiji he wanted educated Indians, teachers, professors and medical practitioners to carry on active propaganda against drink from door to door.

CHAPTER XX

ADVOCATE OF SWADESHI

The Swadeshi movement was at its highest during the days that followed the Bengal partition. It had then assumed the role of a political agitation and therefore the boycott aspect of the movement was more emphasized in those days. But in essence and in original conception it was a movement of self-help and self-respect and it aimed at being only constructive. Speaking once in those days about the movement Gopal Krishna Gokhale said on February 9, 1907 at Lucknow, i.e. after the break-up of the Congress at Surat that:

> Swadeshism at its highest is a deep, passionate, fervent, all-embracing love of the motherland and that this love seeks to show itself, not in one sphere of activity only, but in all: it invades the whole man and it will not rest until it has raised the whole man."

He then proceeded to deal only with the economic aspect of Swadeshism and quoting Ranade, pointed out that:

> "The industrial domination of one people by another attracts much less attention than the political domination of a foreign people. The industrial domination is less visible and does its work in a more insidious manner. The disadvantages of political domination lie very much on the surface. We see a foreign race monopolizing all power and authority and keeping the people in a state of subjection. These are facts which we observe and feel every day of our lives. Human feelings often matter more to humanity than human interests and when your feelings are hurt in various directions, as in a state of subjection, their thought fills you night and day and makes you think constantly that you are living under a foreign domination. On the other hand, the industrial domination of one people by another may come in an attractive garb. If, as has been the case with India, this foreign domination comes in the shape of more finished articles — especially articles that administer to the daily wants of a community — you unconsciously welcome the domination, you fall a victim to its temptations and its attractiveness. It is only when the evil grows beyond certain limits, that your attention is drawn to it. This is precisely what has happened in the case of India."

In the same speech Gokhale observed that the industrial domination of India by England was the most deplorable result of British rule. The early days of the East India Company's rule were as bad as bad could be from the standpoint of India's industrial system. Deliberate steps were taken by the East India Company to destroy the industries of the people to make room for western manufacturers. This was England's policy not only towards India, but America and Ireland also. America got rid of it by shaking off England's domination altogether. Ireland struggled to do the same, but did not succeed for a very long time and India suffered the worst under the operation of this policy. The object aimed at by the East India Company was to reduce India to the level of an agricultural country producing raw materials without factories to manufacture the same. This was the first stage in the industrial decay. The second stage began when England forced on India the policy of Free Trade. England's own policy for centuries had been that of protection and by that policy, she had built up her vast industrial system. But after it had done its work, she decided to give up that policy in the forties and fifties of the last century, mainly to set right the abuses to which protection had given rise. England has always depended on foreign countries for most of her raw materials and she has been supplying manufactured articles practically to the whole world. This is the situation in spite of Germany and America and Japan having become her close competitors later in the present century. It was therefore to the advantage of England that there should be no import or export duties as the result of such duties was to add to the cost of the articles supplied to foreign countries. But forcing this policy of Free Trade upon a country circumstanced as India, was bound to produce results of a disastrous character.

Our products were all hand products ; we did not have anything like the organization, skill or enterprise of the West. Steam and machinery and electric power were unknown in the country. Our industries were, therefore, bound to perish as a result of competition to which they were exposed and as a matter of course the introduction of Free Trade in India was followed by rapid destruction of such small industries as had existed in this country and the people were steadily pressed back more and more to the one resource of agriculture. There

was no need to deplore this destruction of such indigenous, small industries as were there, had the Government followed the policy of starting others in their place or assisting the citizens of this country by encouraging the growth of factories. Because as Frederick List preached in Germany, the destruction of handicrafts was an inevitable stage through which an industrially backward country must pass before such a country could take its rank with those which used steam power, electric power and machinery of a highly developed character ; but in Germany the State intervened, adopted a policy of protection by erecting tariff walls, subsidies and other judicious measures with the result that Germany soon became a manufacturing country and entered into rivalry with England for the capture of world markets. This is what America also did with similar results. The result of England's policy in India of Free Trade was quite the opposite and whatever industrial progress India achieved during the British regime was achieved in spite of this policy. In the absence of the State doing anything in India for its industrial progress, it became the duty of the people themselves to afford such protection and the Swadeshi movement. therefore, became a patriotic duty of Indians. in the absence of political power, to regulate tariffs, give subsidies and take other similar measures.

Indian patriots, whether Nationalist or Moderate, did not differ on this point. All who gave any thought to matters of India's trade, commerce, agriculture, mineral and forest wealth and industry were unanimously of this view. Ranade was the acknowledged exponent of this thought and Dadabhai, Romesh Chandra Dutt, Digby, Gokhale spoke or wrote in the same strain and Tilak held the same views. The difference between all of them and Tilak notably was that Tilak took immense pains to spread these views among the vast masses by propaganda in the language of the people while others restricted their expression to the English language. He also took active steps to translate these views in practice by promoting Swadeshi industrial activity by associating himself with such ventures as the Swadeshi Co-operative Stores and the Paisa Fund Glass Works. His associates and disciples like Messrs. Shiralkar and Karandikar started a match manufacturing factory at Karad. He gave active guidance to a match

manufacturing factory at Ellichpur in Berar. He took interest in the manufacture of paper also. But his most notable contribution was his incessant writings in the *Kesari* during 1905 and 1908 not only for what was called only economic Swadeshi or "honest Swadeshi" by Lord Minto but also boycott which was adopted as a political weapon by the Bengalis. He justified boycott as perfectly legitimate and said that it must be directed against Britain. He openly preached that such goods as we could not do without and which could be ordered from countries other than Britain must be ordered from those countries in order to make the British understand that this campaign was deliberately meant against them. This was not to the taste of Gokhale and Mehta and they did not even want the boycott to be extended beyond Bengal as if the partition of Bengal was only a provincial question and the rest of India should only be content with expressions of lip sympathy with the Bengalis. During this period Tilak advocated both economic and political Swadeshi with such vigour that the Swadeshi movement came to be looked upon as a seditious, revolutionary and subversive movement and people taking Swadeshi vows were looked upon by the police and Government officers as seditious people.

Essentially and in intent from the beginning, however, the Swadeshi cult was a cult of self-reliance, self-help and self-respect, directed towards industrial regeneration of the country. At least in Maharashtra, the idea was not novel. Lokahitavadi, alias Rao Bahadur Gopalrao Hari Deshmukh, who was even Ranade's senior, was the first to awaken people to their duty in this behalf. His exhortation to the people was: "No foreign article should find entry into this country. Only such goods as were produced here should be purchased and consumed. We should use only such cloth as is made here, however coarse it may be." In the *Kesari* dated 8-1-1907 we come across a reference to the effect that in 1846, one Shankar Shastri Gokhale and one Bhaurao Wadekar of Poona had published a book on the revival of indigenous industries. But the credit for giving a strong impetus to the spirit of Swadeshi, undoubtedly goes to Ranade. He delivered two lectures on the subject, one in December 1872 and another in February 1873 in which he expounded how British trade and administration were exploiting India's wealth in various ways. At least one heart was

moved to action by the impressive addresses of Ranade and Ganesh Vasudeo Joshi alias Sarvajanik Kaka formed a company to promote Swadeshi products. He himself used clothes made out of yarn spun by himself and woven on Swadeshi handlooms in his own house. He even appeared in courts clad in those coarse clothes and attended Queen Victoria's durbar in the same apparel. In the same spirit a notable public man of those days, Rao Saheb Vishwanath Narayan Mandlik is also said to have attended the meetings of the Bombay Governnor's Council in similar white Khadi clothing. But Ranade's greatness lies in advocating a policy of protection to Indian industries by the Government and as long as it did not come, adoption of the Swadeshi "religion" by Indians. When the countervailing excise duty on cloth produced by Indian mills was imposed, in the interests of British piecegoods manufacturers, in spite of the opposition of the Industrial Conference which annually passed resolutions and considered papers calculated to demand help for Indian industries, there were protests in India from everywhere. This Industrial Conference was also due to Ranade's great interest in this subject with which the late Rao Bahadur Mudholkar and C. Y. Chintamani were associated for long. The *Kesari* dated 4-2-1896 has recorded the protests made at public meetings held at Bombay, Poona, Satara, Ahmednagar, Nasik, Amraoti, Talegaon, Sholapur, Jalgaon, Mudhol etc. against this duty and people in Maharashtra were exhorted to take to indigenously produced cloth only. The wave of Swadeshi not only brought into existence Swadeshi cloth shops in most urban centres but about a dozen textile mills also in a short period of four months. The Sarvajanik Sabha had published and distributed hundreds of printed forms of a pledge whereby a signatory agreed to use Swadeshi cloth and other Swadeshi goods also as far as possible. This was Gokhale's favourite propaganda under Ranade's guidance.

The message of Swadeshi with boycott as its aggressive side was popularized most in the whole of Maharashtra by Tilak and S. M. Paranjpe through the Press and the platform. There was no town or village in Maharashtra where this message did not reach during 1904-1908. It reached schoolboys and undergraduates. Bonfires of foreign cloth were made and it was in one such incident that Vinayak Savarkar was asked to leave

the Fergusson College Hostel by Dr. R. P. Paranjpye, who was then Principal of the College. He was also fined Rs. 10/- for unruly behaviour while advocating boycott actively. Minds of the people were aflame in those days. A Patil of Yeotmal, called Gunwantrao was sentenced to three years' rigorous imprisonment for snatching and burning a foreign saree from a man in the street as recorded by the *Kesari* dated 12-7-1910. Students of the High School at Thana were rusticated, because they held a meeting to discuss Swadeshi. A bitter controversy raged between the guardians of the students and the government which conducted the High School. Writing on this incident on 13-3-1906, the *Kesari* advised the aggrieved persons to take their question even to the British Parliament as it involved encroachment on rights of personal liberty. A Swadeshi bazar was opened in Tilak's own compound on June 12, 1906. More than 50 stalls of Swadeshi goods were there and more than 20,000 people paid visits to the bazar. A similar Swadeshi fair was held in Bombay at Dadar where 36 stalls exhibited Swadeshi articles. A big Swadeshi exhibition was held at Pandharpur at the time of the Kartiki Fair on September 25, 1906. Tilak and Paranjpe addressed the pilgrims on Swadeshi. The Chief of Miraj was in the chair. Women did not lag behind. A meeting was held at Gaikwad Wada on 9-12-1906 where essays urging boycott of foreign goods and use of Swadeshi goods were read. A number of prostitutes at Nasik also held a meeting and took the vow of using only Swadeshi articles; they went further and boycotted drink and drunkard customers, according to the *Kesari* dated 6-3-1906. The whole of Maharashtra was agog with the Swadeshi slogan. Theatrical companies staged plays on Swadeshi. Popular enthusiasm remained unabated in spite of repressive measures by the Government. Quite many people gave up sugar because no Swadeshi sugar was available; they took only *gur*. Students of a school at Khed in Poona District refused to take sweets distributed by the Commissioner of the Central Division in memory of his visit to the school because they were made out of foreign sugar. The teachers of the school were fined Rs. 10/- for this impudence of the boys. Students of the Rajaram College of Kolhapur refused to answer questions in the answer books because they were made of foreign paper. They tore off the books and left the examination hall. They

were caned six straps each for this indiscipline. That was not all. So respectable a person as Prof. V. G. Vijapurkar, a common friend of Gokhale and Tilak, was dismissed from service, because he was alleged to have instigated the students to behave like this.

Such incidents could be given endlessly from the files not only of the *Kesari* but other newspapers of those days in English and the Indian languages. These are enough to show how greatly the people were taken up by the Swadeshi movement. The credit for this chiefly goes to Tilak and his *Kesari* and to Paranjpe and his *Kal*, at least in Maharashtra. The agitation that Tilak carried on was fully in conformity with his insistence on adoption by the people of the Swadeshi cult, *even at a sacrifice*. He fought for the inclusion of these words in the resolution on Swadeshi at the Calcutta Congress and he carried the day with Dadabhai's approval. The *Kesari* and the *Mahratta* were full with propagandist and constructive matter from week to week, and it is necessary to explain how the constructive and permanent aspect of the movement was attended to by Tilak, apart from appeals and exhortations to follow hundred per cent. Swadeshi, even when he knew that it was not practicable. He did not merely preach. In his case, practice and precept went together. He himself used only Swadeshi cloth. He gave up sugar at Banaras having taken a vow. He used Swadeshi paper for the *Kesari* and the *Mahratta* as far as possible. The *Mahratta* was invariably printed on Swadeshi paper during his lifetime. Candles, soap, matchboxes and sundry articles were Swadeshi in his household. Mention has already been made how he promoted fairs, shops, bazars. Sir Manmohandas Ramji was his colleague on the Board of the Swadeshi Co-operative Stores. He ordered machinery to experiment in producing *gur* and sugar from sugar-cane juice. Like Gokhale, he held that if Indians made up their minds to encourage Indian sugar as far as possible, India could soon be in a position to do without foreign sugar. If Government co-operated to raise the necessary tariff wall and procure expert help for sugar factories, India could produce all the sugar she needed and even export it. This estimate was quite sound, for after grant of protection to the sugar industry, India has actually realized this position today. Both Gokhale and Tilak apparently knew that the Deccan soil

was very suitable for growing sugar-cane and starting sugar plantations and factories, but practical steps were taken and results achieved only after the demise of both. One Mr. Sahasrabuddhe of Ellichpur once went to see Tilak. He was the proprietor of a match factory. Talking to him Tilak said :

"In our country, it would be better if small industries are started and scattered all over the country. Manufacture of match-boxes, for instance, must be undertaken in all provinces. Because, the produce must not be made more costly by incurrence of transport charges. After the Franco-German war, Germany grew industrially within 50 years by starting small industries everywhere. We have become dependent on others for such small things as pencils, pen-holders, pins, needles and so on. Why should Government not start technical schools and train our young men to manufacture these things? England will not lose anything by doing this, because she does not manufacture these articles. But Government does not desire to impart technical education to us. Match manufacturing must be possible here on a large scale with our forest wealth and other raw materials. There are now five or six match manufacturing works in India at Vyara, Kota, Telhara, Ahmedabad, Ellichpur and Karad. They should all combine and by forming an association procure their common requirements. Capital on a large scale is necessary and those who have money to invest will naturally look for security, but even they must come forward in a patriotic spirit and show a little enterprise, grit and originality."

He insisted on getting his *Geeta-Rahasya* printed on Swadeshi paper which was supplied by the Padamji Paper Mill in Bombay and the Reay Paper Mill at Poona.

In an article that he wrote in the *Kesari* dated 22-9-1903 on how to improve agriculture, he says :

"There have been efforts to improve the plantations of tea, coffee, cocoa and indigo but the agriculture of the common Indian peasant has remained wholly neglected. Improved methods of cultivation, improved seeds, manures and fertilizers are all Greek and Latin to him. Rural schools have no agricultural bias. Survey settlements have taken place twice since the establishment of the British raj and assessment has increased every time, but nothing has been done to grow two blades where grew only one. Taking the case of money crops, there is a complaint that long-staple cotton is not grown in India, but that does not mean it cannot be grown in Sind where the soil resembles the soil in the Nile Valley. If long-staple cotton can be grown in India — and it can be grown according to expert opinion — piecegoods of finer counts now imported from England will be a thing of the past, because our Bombay and Amedabad mills will do the job. There is, however, reluctance on the part of the British Government to encourage the cultivation of long-staple cotton. The same is the case with sugar. India must be able to grow all the sugar-cane she needs and manufacture all the sugar she requires. But this is a matter of planning and pursuing a well-considered policy of encouragement

and protection. A National Government alone will consider it its duty to achieve this objective. Similarly, rubber plantations must have at hand factories to produce rubber goods. Agricultural and industrial policy must work hand in hand. Industrial and tariff policy also must complement each other."

Tilak has equally eloquently and earnestly pleaded for technical education and commercial education on several occasions. Tilak's writings in the *Kesari* collected in four volumes of about 500 to 600 pages each, constitute a great liberal education even today and patriotic public workers, social workers and public servants can still look for inspiration and guidance in his writings. While propagating the Swadeshi cult, he did not merely have the consumer in his mind who was asked to purchase Swadeshi goods "even at a sacrifice". He had the primary producer, the merchant, the petty shopkeeper, and the money-lender also in his mind. His appeal was to everybody and particularly to the educated whose duty it was to give the benefit of their education to their less gifted brethren in other walks of life. Educated people have no money but they must give proper advice to men of money and inculcate on their minds that they also must make sacrifices for collective good. They could be persuaded to see that even if the whole State machinery operated in the interests of foreign industrialists and merchants, yet, native industrialists and merchants could considerably retrieve their position of disadvantage by recourse to scientific training of their workpeople and unity among themselves. They could send deserving men abroad for training in various crafts and arts and encourage them to start new lines of production. All these ideas he has embodied in an obituary article on the late Jamshedji Tata, the founder of the Tata House. It appeared in the *Kesari* dated May 24, 1904. Tilak said :

"How generous the late Jamshedji Tata was when it was a matter of encouraging scientific research is indicated by the fact that he has donated a sum of Rs. 30 lakhs in a single sum for the establishment of the Tata Institute of Science and Research at Bangalore. But no one should get away with the idea that his greatness ends here. He has never pushed himself in any political activity, perhaps because he was not inclined towards politics or he considered other activities more important than political activity. We do not hold that this was his shortcoming nor do we agree with a Bombay contemporary of ours in holding that it was a specially commendable characteristic of his. We hold that well-travelled, intelligent and wealthy businessmen and princes have different duties and functions to

perform from those of the leaders of the Indian National Congress and our view is strengthened by the study of the late Mr. Tata's career. And on account of this, we further hold that he has left an illustrious example for all wealthy businessmen and princes to copy. It is true that if a few people in India could be described as rich, they are such businessmen and princes. We fully realize that their number is not very large but the matter for extreme regret is that those few who are in a position to do something in the best interests of the country are not conscious of or alive to their duties in this behalf as the late Jamshedji Tata was. There are a good many people in Bombay who have amassed fortunes by their import and export trade by pocketing only the middlemen's profit. But among them, men are rare who think in terms of their country's interests. If making money is your only objective, you need not devote any attention to what commodities you are importing and exporting and whether by particular imports and exports your country is being enriched or impoverished. You are worried only about your commission and profits. Most businessmen carry on trade and commerce with utter unconcern towards everything else and thus become merchant princes. The late Jamshedji Tata did possess all the qualities of such merchant princes but what entitles him to the country's everlasting gratitude was one extraordinary quality of his. He did not merely carry on trade as a middleman like others. He was always absorbed in thoughts as to why there were more imports of foreign goods from year to year, he was anxious to find out whether some of the imported goods could not be efficiently manufactured in this counry and if there were any obstacles in our way, how they could be removed. Over and above all this, he was prepared to spend from his private purse for removing such obstacles. This was his great and uncommon characteristic and if this is imbibed by other wealthy merchants and princes, the days of penury and adversity through which this country is passing will soon end. It is the duty of learned men to find out what has led to India's economic deterioration and put down their findings in tracts, monographs and books and educate public opinion in that behalf. But men who have sufficient intelligence to follow these findings and who have the necessary means should not indulge in mere talk but do something useful in deed.

"If there is anything that men of means should learn from Tata's life and career it is this. The first thing is that he travelled all over the world and closely observed the conditions obtaining in the advanced nations and gathered correct information about their institutions and economic conditions. Tata did not merely depend upon books written by others; all his knowledge was personal and not vicarious. All his undertakings unmistakably show that the seeds and roots of them all are to be found in the deep and close studies he had made while travelling in the countries of Europe and America. He visited them with open eyes and an open mind and did not go out merely as a pleasure tourist. Take for example, the case of the cotton spinning and weaving mills. Many manufacturers have imported textile machinery from England in India, but there will be few among them who have devoted part of

their earnings to find out why long-staple cotton does not grow in India and what must be done to make its growth possible, as Tata has done. He had devoted much attention to find out whether the Egyptian variety of cotton could be grown in India. Had his efforts been crowned with success crores of rupees now pocketed by Manchester and Lancashire mill-owners would have remained in India and used for further growth of the textile industry, or some other industry. It is one thing merely to carry on business; it is another to find out how business itself could be made more prosperous, more helpful to all concerned. It is no exaggeration to say that the former kind of success has been achieved by most Hindu, Muslim and Parsee businessmen, but it is only Tata who can claim the latter achievement as singularly his own.

"This is only as regards the textile industry. But it must be mentioned that it was only Tata who attempted to start iron and copper mining in the Central Provinces. He was ready to raise one crore of rupees for that purpose but it is a misfortune of the country that in either of these enterprises, he received no encouragement whatever from the Government. The shipping companies which carried the grey piece-goods and yarn from India to China used to charge very heavy freight. The Indian mills were, therefore, unable to sell their products to China as cheaply as they wanted. As soon as Tata discovered this, he got in touch with Japanese shipping companies and tried to get easier freights and showed that the European shipping companies which held mail contracts in India and became rich on the money of the Indian ryots were working against the interests of their own patrons. Tata had to spend two lakhs of rupees for this purpose but the European companies had eventually to reduce their freights. Business leaders and industrial captains must be possessed of the same amount of enthusiasm, cleverness, shrewdness, sincerity, courage, patience, selflessness and generosity, perhaps they require it in a greater measure than the political leaders. Once, one is prepared to assume the leadership of a certain cause, one must be prepared to take all the risks and face all the difficulties and dangers such leadership involves. Tata had all these qualities and if he has not succeeded in carrying out all that he planned, the fault does not lie with him but with insurmountable circumstances. Had he been born in some Western country he would have wrought an industrial revolution but our misfortune is that his talents, his efforts, his genius were only very partially utilized for the benefit of this country."

This tribute to Tata by Tilak in an obituary article shows the range of Tilak's vision, his readiness to see the good points in others and his willingness to acknowledge the same without any reserve. All obituaries of great men done by Tilak show these qualities. Instances in point are obituaries of Ranade, Gokhale, Agarkar, Mehta, Spencer, Max Muller and Vivekananda.

That Tilak had kept a watchful eye on the development of the House of Tatas even after Jamshedji's demise is clear from

the fact that he heartily welcomed the Tata enterprise in the generation of hydro-electric power in the Western Ghats. Sir Dorab Tata had secured the necessary permit for starting these works and published a general statement of its prospectus in 1907. Tilak wrote in the *Kesari* in support of it saying that the Tata plans compared very favourably with similar works in Mysore State and expressed the view that supply of hydro-electric power to mills and factories in Bombay was a step in the right direction from the point of view of cheapening their products and in national interest. Although the Company, as originally intended was to be registered in England and a good deal of its subscribed capital was to be British, he did not object to it. Even with the help of British capital, the enterprise was worth having in India in his opinion, and he declared that its half indigenous and half British character was not calculated to do harm to India's national interests. He favoured import of not only foreign capital but also foreign experts to train Indians in various crafts and technical jobs. What a pity that none came forward to explain this view of Tilak when an agitation known as the Mulshi Satyagraha movement obstructed the progress of the Tata Hydro-electric Works for a few years and eventually discouraged the Tatas from taking up the Koyna hydro-electric scheme, which is now being carried out by the Government of Bombay at four or five times of what it would have cost them!

Tilak was in agreement with most of Gandhiji's ideas about Swadeshi which Gandhiji has expressed fully as his "final word on Swadeshi" before a Missionaries Conference at Madras on February 14, 1916. Had this text of Gandhiji's utterance been placed before Tilak and had he been asked to endorse it, he would not have hesitated to do so, even while seeing that it would mean revision of some of his previous beliefs and utterances — so happy is its whole cnoception and direction. Full text of this could be found in the first volume of *Mahatma* by Tendulkar.

CHAPTER XXI

JOURNALIST : AUTHOR : SCHOLAR

Tilak used to describe his profession as that of journalist and author. He was associated throughout with the conduct of the *Kesari* and the *Mahratta* from 1881 to 1920. For some years he directly held charge of them and for a considerable portion of this period he was on the spot to see that they were conducted in accordance with his policy. From 1891, he became a proprietor of the papers. The papers were in no sense, mere newspapers. They were primarily viewspapers, vehicles of opinion, and whatever news they contained was carefully selected to be helpful to the views propagated in them. For a long while in India, there did not exist a newspaper industry as such and therefore it took some time for the class of managing editors, newspaper magnets and the professional journalists to spring up and grow. Most of the journalists were wholly or partly owners of their journals and they had some cause or some mission to pursue or even some axe to grind. Most public men in India, working in the service of some cause or other, were journalists at some time or other and Tilak belonged to this illustrious tribe. When he became a recognized party leader, he felt the need of daily newspapers. He was, therefore, found among the directors of the *Rashtramat* in 1908 and the *Democrat* in 1920. The first was short-lived and began its career just when he was sent to jail and the second never came into being.

As he looked upon the *Kesari* as his chief vehicle for propagating his views and as he wanted them to be disseminated as widely as possible, he took great care to see that it was cheap, within the reach of the village schoolmaster, the forest guard, and the village headman, besides the clerk, the petty shopkeeper and the mofussil lawyer. This objective determined its style. It had to be direct, simple, forthright. It must champion the cause of the underdog everywhere, it must fight against injustice everywhere, it must study public complaints and grievances from everywhere, it must expose oppressive officers, it must criticize fearlessly and frankly and it must make

constructive suggestions for the reform of the administration and society and thus always give a proper lead. In a word it must champion the people's cause in every sense. The *Kesari* has done this with courage. Its wisdom, tact or sense of fair-play might have been questioned on occasions, but never its courage. It was never accused of cowardice, not only in the days of Tilak, but even after him to this day, during its nearly 80 years' career. Though repeatedly requested to turn it into a daily, Tilak maintained it only as a weekly. It became a bi-weekly within a couple of years of his death after the machinery he had ordered in England had arrived and been fitted up and lately it is published thrice a week, with a Sunday edition and a magazine section. It is at present in the hands of a trust, the trustees being Messrs. J. S. Karandikar, L. B. Bhopatkar and J. S. Tilak. The last is Tilak's grandson. The first two trustees were Messsrs. N. C. Kelkar and D. V. Vidwans.

During Tilak's days Tilak and *Kesari* had become synonymous terms. The *Kesari* has been a citadel of national fight and has remained unstormed and impregnable even through three or four repressive campaigns and became a national asset. Many other newspapers succumbed to pressure from bureaucratic repression, sedition suits, demands of heavy fines and securities, but the *Kesari* was saved miraculously. Even then it faced several prosecutions for sedition and defamation until lately, but it always kept its head above water. At least once, as the story goes, the saving of its life was ascribed to wise and sound counsel given by the late Sir Mahadeo Chaubal who was Executive Councillor to Sir George Clarke that if the Government really wanted to have a hand on the pulse of the people without depending upon the servile informants in the C.I.D. and a class of respectable sychophants they must not kill the *Kesari*. The counsel was apparently respected because not only was the *Kesari* left untouched till Tilak returned from Mandalay, but Sir George Clarke even tried to make friends with N. C. Kelkar, who was its editor in Tilak's absence. He was unable to win Kelkar over, in whom he found only a cold, correct and businesslike gentleman, even though possessed of engaging, suave and urbane manners. Tilak's style greatly differed from Kelkar's, but that of Khadilkar approximated to his, though the content of them all was the same.

Tilak was invariably plain, blunt, aggressive. He hated any literary garnish and padding up. There was no place for "if", "when", "although" and such words in his writing. It was reason fused and made red-hot with passion. It reminds one, even today not of a cloister or an academy, not of a music hall or a ball-room, but of the battle-field. Tilak's written words, straight and pointed, whistled like an arrow through the air and hit the target. Those who were the subject of his attacks were mortally afraid of him, whether they were the Bureaucrats, the Moderates, or the Anglo-Indians. He did not expect any considerable amount of awakening to a sense of self-respect, self-reliance and self-confidence among the people except by such writing. His instructions to his assistants reveal the secret of his direct but homely style. "Imagine that you are speaking to a villager and not writing for university people. No Sanskrit quotations and no frightening statistics. Don't scare away the reader by quoting figures. Keep them to yourself. Make sure of your facts yourself. What you say must be as clear as day-light and the meaning must never be obscure." The *Kesari*, as a consequence, became so popular that any newspaper was and still is referred to in the countryside as *Kesari* by the ignorant. Any printed sheet for them is *Kesari*. For some years the *Kesari* was published in Hindi also from Banaras and there was a Gujarati edition also in Bombay for a few years.

The case of the *Mahratta*, however, is different. From the beginning it was only looked upon as a means of conveying information about the thoughts and movements of the Chiplunkar-Agarkar-Tilak group to select and English-reading people from other provinces and the members of the governing class in India. So its field became immediately circumscribed. Its circulation has never gone over 3,000 copies and it never went below 1,000. It has never made any profit and its deficit is met by the *Kesari*. Yet its value was undeniable and Tilak or after him, the trustees of the Kesari-Mahratta Trust never thought of discontinuing its publication. Indeed Tilak has made it a condition of the trust that it must never be closed down. This shows the value he attached to this mouthpiece of inter-provincial communication and conveying the working of his mind to the powers that be. The functions of the two papers having been thus conceived and defined by him, the

Mahratta has always been looked upon as less important and on that account it suffered sometimes and somewhat in its efficiency, not so much in the days of Tilak and Kelkar as later. Tilak was self-luminous from the beginning but Kelkar came to be noted as an important individual by himself because of his editorship of the *Mahratta* continuously from 1896 to 1918, when he ceased to be editor, because he was required to go to England as a member of the Congress and Home Rule League Deputations. The *Mahratta* besides brought a number of newspapers in exchange from India and abroad as also books and Government publications for review and that was considered an important indirect advantage by Tilak. Weekly English journals of views and opinions have never fared so well and never claimed any big circulations at least in western India and the case of so well-conducted journals as the *Indian Social Reformer* and the *Servant of India* are quite pertinent. Both of these have now ceased publication. Yet as a well-presented review of events of the week with intelligent comments and a forum for expression of opinion in the English language, for purposes of a good record, if for nothing else the *Mahratta* is considered a valuable journal and since it has to exist perpetually, may well serve a useful purpose even in future.

On the work of the conduct of the *Kesari* and the *Mahratta* Tilak brought to bear an intellectual and scholarly equipment of a very high order, indeed a rare order. His profound knowledge of Law, Sanskrit, Philosophy, Science, Politics, Economics and his command over both Marathi and English were extraordinary. His memory was amazing. He would ransack his cupboards and find out any obscure paper or note made years ago about a particular subject whenever needed. He had no memory for words, but for points contained in the words. Quotations, extracts, references he would find at a moment's notice. He was very jealous about preserving his library intact and although he would be serviceable to any one with any book in his possession, it was never allowed to be removed from his house. As a journalist doing his work and loving to do his work in one of the undeveloped Indian languages, he found it necessary to find out suitable equivalents for many

English terms and outlandish ideas. But he always rose to the occasion and enriched the Marathi language. Such words as Responsible Government, Imperial Federation, Passive Resistance, Despotism, Limited Monarchy, Budget, Decentralization etc. did not easily lend themselves to translation. The responsibility of coining suitable Marathi equivalents fell on Tilak, and it was very interesting to find this all India leader, discussing occasionally with his assistants possible equivalents to difficult political terms. The word bureaucracy baffled him for a number of years. He continued to translate it by " Adhikari Varga" for a long time, but he was far from pleased with that expression. It was in the course of a speech he was making on Home Rule, that he suddenly chanced to use the word " Naukarshahi ". He was so delighted with this accident that after the conclusion of the meeting he called a few friends of a literary bent of mind together and shared the joy of having hit upon an extremely nice word for being added to the Marathi vocabulary. It may be pointed out, however, that it is neither Marathi, nor Sanskrit, originally, derivatively or formatively. It is a combination of two words Naukar and Shahi both of which are Urdu or Persian and purists of the Raghuvira or Savarkar School, if left to themselves, may banish it from not only Marathi but Hindi and also the official language of India to be and blame Tilak for not being Swadeshi to that extent, although his joy at its discovery was akin to that of some very important achievement. Tilak's service to Marathi journalism is very great indeed. What the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, originally in Bengali, and later on in English, was to Bengal under the editorship of Shishir Kumar and Motilal Ghose, the *Kesari* was to Maharashtra. It is well known that Tilak and Motilal looked upon Shishir Kumar as their master in this field.

The city of Poona was Tilak's headquarters from the beginning and the conduct of the *Kesari* and the *Mahratta* his main occupation, But supposing he had made Bombay his headquarters and directed all his activity from there, he would soon have been compelled to turn both the papers into daily newspapers. The business atmosphere in Bombay would have compelled that step and the need that Tilak felt of daily newspapers during the Home Rule propaganda and later would never have

arisen and yet his propaganda would have been equally effective and over a much larger area. During the Home Rule campaign Tilak did not suffer much from lack of an English daily newspaper because, the *Bombay Chronicle* in Bombay, the *New India* in Madras and the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* in Calcutta completely supported him. Yet, he had agreed to serve on the Board of Directors of the *Democrat* and direct its policy on the eve of his death. Had the *Kesari* and the *Mahratta* been in Bombay, he might have thought of turning them into dailies. But that never happened. This is how geography, location of one's abode and neighbourhood so effectively affect the course of events. The *Kesari* and the *Mahratta* would have been as influential as the Madras *Hindu* and the *Swadeshamitram* for instance, had Tilak been in Bombay. His stay in Bombay would have differently affected his activities and he would have been a powerful factor in moulding Bombay's life along different lines. Yet what he did achieve even from Poona is not inconsiderable. Only in the " might have been " just imagined, he would have been far more effective than he was and that too, much more early.

Tilak's interests in research and scholarship in his leisure also need not have suffered. Life in Bombay might have been costlier from the beginning and he was not in a position to afford it when he left the Deccan Education Society and took over the papers. Perhaps this idea of transferring headquarters to Bombay never crossed his mind and it is no use considering the possibilities of this probable situation. He actually lived in Poona and was perfectly at home there in the midst of all difficulties and crises in his life. All his original, scholarly works were taking shape in his mind or brain while in Poona and in the midst of controversies and preoccupations. His everyday life was hardly more conducive or favourable to literary and research work than his life in jail. Because it was perpetually a life of storm and stress and it is amazing how he could concentrate at will his mind on patient and elaborate research. His first work, the *Orion* was planned and written in the midst of the social reform controversies. The *Acrtic Home in the Vedas* was completed and published when Tilak was buried up to the neck in the Jagannath Maharaj Adoption Case and when a deep-laid conspiracy was afoot to strike at the very basis of his

political and social position and his moral character. It is this uncommon self-control, peace of mind, equanimity amidst misery and obloquy that prove his title to something far higher and greater than the honour of mere political leadership or high scholarship. Here he shows the stuff of which seers and saints and sages are made. Indeed, a prophetic note in his utterances is discernible since he was completely acquitted in the criminal proceedings started against him in connection with the Tai Maharaj Case. Originality and versatility were the characteristics of his genius. He planned many works in Mandalay Jail, but completed only one there. The *Orion* and the *Arctic Home in the Vedas* took back the Vedas to 6000 B.C., a claim which western scholars were at last forced to accept. The *Arctic Home in the Vedas* proves that the cradle of the Aryans was not the Caucasus mountains, but the effulgent region of the North Pole. Both these volumes have suggested new viewpoints and have compelled Sanskritists and archaeologists to revise their estimates regarding the early history of the Aryan race. His commentary on the Geeta establishes a new and convincing theory of Karma-Yoga, but he does not claim that he was entirely original in propounding it. He has given credit therefor, to Swami Vivekananda, Brooks of the Theosophical Society and Prof. Radhakrishnan while writing about this point in his preface to the *Geeta-Rahasya*. These books are not mere compilations. They strike a novel line of thought and research. His intellect like Ranade's was original and creative and not merely assimilative like that of Telang or Gokhale. In the *Arctic Home in the Vedas*, for instance, Tilak has given quite new and extremely convincing interpretations of nearly eighty intricate spots in the Rigveda, besides throwing light on more than twice that number. These spots had baffled the students of the Vedas from Sayanacharya to the most recent Sanskritist and research scholar in Europe and America. The Vedic mythology explained by Yaskacharya downwards on the Storm or Dawn theory, had presented several knotty problems to the end of the last century, but it was Tilak who established the theory of " Cosmic Circulation of Aerial Waters " by means of which the legends of Indra and Vritra, of Saptavadhri and of Aditi and her seven flourishing and one still-born son, of Surya's wheel and of Dirghatamas, became fully intelligible.

These studies filled his mind with a thousand and one new and interesting ideas regarding the evolution of Hindu religion and philosophy. He was eager to develop these ideas and incorporate them in two or three volumes, but he had no hope of doing it unless he was " once again sent to jail for another six years " as he once dryly said. His short but suggestive article on the Khaldean and the Indian Vedas strikes out a new line of investigation not only in comparative philology but in the history of ancient Asia as well. The Mahabharata and Rigveda were subjects of his constant meditation. The *Orion* and the *Arctic Home in the Vedas* established his reputation as a research scholar and author in the Western world of learning and scholarship.

In the course of his Vedic studies, Tilak found that in spite of the initial valuable help which the comentators give, it is better to carry research work in ancient literature unfettered by the occasionally wrong lead given by the authorities so called. It was only when Tilak rejected Sayanacharya on the one hand and Prof. Max Muller on the other, that he could make valuable contributions to the interpretation of the Vedas. He tried the same method in respect of the Bhagavadgeeta. As has been explained by him in his preface to the *Geeta-Rahasya,* he was first introduced to it during the last illness of his father, when Tilak was just 16 years of age. Almost from this very first perusal of the Lord's Song, a doubt haunted his mind. The Shankaracharya had pronounced that the Geeta had preached Jnana, unqualified by Karma. Tilak thought it could not be so, because he was unable to reconcile the fact that Arjuna was moved by Krishna's counsel to action, to strike, from which he was repelled at the beginning. All commentators are silent on this point. As a matter of fact, most of them have entirely let alone the first chapter of the Geeta and started their commentaries from the 11th verse of chapter II. Tilak laid aside his commentators and read the Geeta repeatedly without the help of any commentary. He came to the conclusion that the Geeta was not a book of cold philosophy, but a guide to everyday life to all human beings, a treatise on the science and art of Karmayoga. He meditated a great deal, discussed the finding with a number of scholars and whether they agreed with him or not, he was convinced that his

contention was the correct one. He decided, therefore, to put down his finding in the form of a well-reasoned book of commentary on the Geeta. He had made up his mind on this point as far back as 1902. While returning from the session of the Congress at Calcutta he stopped for some time at Nagpur and Amraoti and at both places he gave public lectures explaining the message of the Geeta as he had seen it. He said it was a treatise on ethics, a science to teach man his duty whenever he found himself in conflicting situations. When he was confounded as to what was his paramount duty and a lesser duty and when predicaments of such character tormented his mind, the Geeta was a sure guide. He developed this point almost completely in all its ramifications right then. But the anti-Partition agitation came and Tilak found himself completely absorbed in politics. He did not know when he would find the necessary time to record his findings with a proper argument in a book. But in July 1908 he was sent to Mandalay for six years and there was enforced leisure. He utilized it to the fullest extent in spite of indifferent health.

In a letter written from Mandalay Jail, after completing the manuscript he says :

"About the Geeta, I have finished what I call *Geeta-Rahasya*, an independent and original book investigating the purpose of the Geeta and showing how our religious philosophy is applied therein to the solution of the ethical problem. For, my view of the Geeta is that it is a work on ethics — not utilitarian, not intuitional, but transcendental, somewhat on the lines followed in Green's *Prolegomena to Ethics*. I have compared throughout, the Geeta philosophy with the Western, both religious and ethical, and have tried to show that our system is, to say the least, not inferior to any of the Western systems. This *Rahasya* is made up in 15 chapters with an appendix devoted to the Mahabharata and discussing its age etc. It will, I think, fill about 300 or 350 pages. To this a translation of the Geeta, according to my view of it, is yet to be appended and I am now engaged on this translation, which is rather a light task. I believe, it will be found to be an entirely original book like the *Orion*; for, so far as I am aware, no one has ventured on such a path before in translating or commenting on the Geeta, though I have had this view of the Geeta in mind for about the last 20 years and more. I have used all the books that I have here with me, but there are references to works, not with me here and as these are quoted from memory, they will have to be verified before publishing the book. Kant's *Critique of Pure Reason* and Green's *Prolegomena to Ethics* are the main English authorities for my book which is based on the *Brahmasutras* and the Mahabharata and it treats in brief the Hindu philosophy of active life."

The book when published made into a ponderous volume of 856 pages and its first edition of 6,000 copies was sold out in a fortnight, the second and third editions also were quickly sold out. It has been translated into Gujarati, Hindi, Telugu, Tamil, Kannada, Bengali and English.

A small book called *Vedic Chronology* and *Vedanga Jyotisha,* posthumously published by Tilak's sons contains his stray articles and tracts. One such is his tract on "Khaldean and Indian Vedas" contributed to the *Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume.* It was originally a lecture on this subject delivered by Tilak on December 6, 1904 as one of the series of lectures organized by the Graduates' Association, K. R. Cama presiding. He supplemented what he then said by what his later study taught him and produced an article. He sent copies of this article during his stay in London to Dr. A. H. Sayce of Queen's College, Oxford and Dr. T. G. Pinches. It is interesting to see that while acknowledging receipt of this article one of them addressed Tilak as "Dear Prof. Tilak". "A Missing Verse in the *Sankhya Karika*" is another interesting article which he contributed to *Sanskrit Research* Vol. I in October 1915. In Tilak's opinion, this is the oldest work now available on the Sankhya philosophy. Tilak points out in this article that there was a consensus of authority for the view that the Sankhya Karikas are 70 in number. If we exclude the last three verses which do not belong to the doctrinal part of the text — they give us only the succession of the line of teacher and pupil — we have only 69 verses in the Indian (Gaudapada's) and the Chinese (Paramartha's) editions. One verse is missing. Tilak tries to trace the lost verse with his acute powers of deduction. The commentaries in the two editions contain a passage developing a refutation of the four possible causes of the world : Ishwara (God), Purusha (Soul), Kala (Time) and Swabhava (Nature). The commentator argues that the first two being *Nirguna*, cannot be the cause of the *Saguna* world and the last two being *Vyakta* cannot be subtler than the *Avyakta*, Prakriti. Obviously, this discussion should be based on some text. The 61st Karika contends that Prakriti is the cause of the world and there is nothing more subtle than that (*sukumaratara*). The comparative degree suggests that the author of the Karikas had in view other alternative

hypotheses. Besides, the commentator introduces the discussion of the four possible causes by the statement, "Tatra Sukumarataram Varnayati". (He describes the meaning of subtler.) From the contents of the commentary Tilak works up the verse:

> कारणमीश्वरमेके पुरुषं कालं परे स्वभावं वा ।
> प्रजाः कथं निर्गुणतो व्यक्तः कालः स्वभावश्च ॥

This is how Dr. Radhakrishnan appreciates Tilak's scholarship in his contribution to the *Eminent Orientalists* on Tilak, observing "Tilak's literary work is not the traditional distraction of an unemployed statesman. His natural aptitude had been in the direction of oriental studies and so we find in his work, instead of the discursiveness of the amateur, the solid learning and the keen insight of a trained scholar."

CHAPTER XXII

INMATE OF MANDALAY JAIL

During the period of a little over five years and a half in Mandalay Jail, Tilak was completely shut out from the outside world. No newspaper or magazine was allowed to reach him. His communication with the outside world was only through the monthly letter he received from home and the one that he sent home. Mr. D. V. Vidwans, his nephew and manager used to see him two or three times a year, but even then as in the monthly communications, nothing was said on matters except of a private and personal character and those relating strictly to business. His only companions were the two or three cooks who served him during this period. Once Mr. Khaparde went to see him and had two interviews with him in the presence of the jailor. Any interview with any one had to be in the presence of the jailor. So the correspondence between Tilak and his nephew, the interview that Tilak himself gave to the *Kesari* after his release and the reminiscences of a Mussalman warder and a Brahman cook that was given to him are the only but reliable sources of his life in Mandalay Jail. They provide a fairly accurate account of how Tilak passed his

nearly six years in enforced silence and loneliness. His rigorous imprisonment had been turned into simple and he was allowed to read and write. As a result of this concession, his magnum opus, *Geeta-Rahasya* was written which was later translated in most of the Indian languages and English.

How highly Tilak himself valued this concession ! In the course of the interview taken after his release, one of the questions put to him was : How did you pass your days in this exile ? He replied :

> " It would have been a tremendous hardship had no books been allowed to me. The outside world did not exist for me at all and for me it consisted of only the little room and the enclosure around it. Even about books, three different orders were made from time to time. Initially, all the books that I asked for were allowed to me after making sure as to what subjects they related. No book on current politics was allowed. All newspapers and magazines, whether in English or Indian languages or foreign or Indian were banned. Even if any one sent any to me, I never received any. For some time, only four books were allowed to be kept with me at a time. I protested to the Government of Burma against this and said that it was necessary to keep all the books with me as they were reference books and my course of writing would be impeded if they were not available whenever I wanted to look them up. My application was granted. By the time I left Mandalay, their number was nearly four hundred. They would not give me loose paper for writing. Only bound books with numbered pages were given. No ink and pen, but only pencils were given. No penknife was allowed and the pencils were mended for me by the jailor's peon. Ink and pen were supplied only when the monthly letter to Poona was to be written."

Some sixty of Tilak's letters written during this period have been preserved well by his nephew and his heirs. They constitute an excellent source to judge how Tilak spent his time. He was living the life of a sage, a recluse, an ideal Brahman immersed in the pursuit of knowledge. He was, for a long time, of the opinion that the philosophy and teaching of the Geeta lent itself to be interpreted as a specific system of thought. He wanted to test his belief and prove it so as to be acceptable to the body of learned men. To that end, he studied the philosophies of oriental and western thinkers. He was of the view that one who wanted to study the Geeta, the Mahabharata, the Vedanta and the Rigveda, must study the works of the German savants and research workers in the original. So, he began to study the German language with the

help of self-teachers. In a short while he mastered it enough for his purpose. He was able to read German books. In a letter written on 2-9-1910 he says, "I read Weber in the original. I could read only about five pages an hour. But how delightful was the experience! I felt that after all my being in jail was to some purpose." He studied French in the same way. He secured a copy of Hugo's French Grammar from the Jail Superintendent himself. It did not take very long for him to be able to read Buddhist books in Pali which, he said, was only deformed Sanskrit. It was not only the Geeta on which his mind was working. He thought of writing a treatise on Hinduism, Indian Nationalism (the story of its aspects or phases), Pre-epic History of India, the Shankara Darshan (Indian Monism), Provincial Administration, Hindu Law, Principles of Infinitesimal Calculus, Life of Shivaji and Khaldea and India. This is indeed a formidable list. It was under the spell of a learned discourse by Tilak on an archaeological topic which Mr. M. R. Jayakar heard once which led him to make the following poignant remarks:

> "The greatest tragedy in a foreign-governed country is that such scholars, owing to their absorption in day-to-day politics, cannot give to the world the best results of their thought. I have often felt that his (Tilak's) proper place was in a scholastic sanctuary, where he would have, like Einstein and Lodge, made immense contributions to the store of human knowledge in the directions in which he was an adept. Although a great popular leader, his intellectual manner was that of a scholar — short, terse, even at times very brusque, marked by a desire to communicate and impart knowledge, an enthusiasm in mentioning incidents, coupled with a great capacity, at times, for taciturnity, an unquenchable desire to know; all this was just the antithesis of a popular hero. The Lokamanya was a great paradox. On many occasions, he seemed in his conversation to be a complete iconoclast in social and religious matters."

Similar was the reaction of the late Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar of the *Swadeshamitram* and the *Hindu* on a similar occasion. It so happened that Tilak and Rangaswami returned by the same ship to India. He says:

> "Lokamanya was persuaded to give a talk but he insisted upon addressing on a non-political subject and we asked him to tell his audience something of the epoch-making researches he had made regarding the Arctic Home in the Vedas. He readily agreed and his audience, full of Europeans of quality, were wondering what they were going to pick up from the abstruse discourse that would be made. Nevertheless, they gathered in

full strength at least to try and know what the power of speech of the slim man was, that kept so many administrators and authorities in awe and fear as against the millions of his fellow countrymen that adored him. Mr. Tilak began punctually at the appointed time and in an absolutely unconcerned matter-of-fact way. Without preliminaries and apologies of any kind, he began to expound to his audience, archaeological, geological, historical and philosophic secrets that lay within the compass of the Vedas. In clear, short and simple sentences he unfolded the tale of the Vedic man's Arctic Home to an audience that found the mysteries of research solved with so little effort. There was not a single personal note in the discourse, although the Lokamanya described the logical processes and the lengthy researches by which he had arrived at conclusions that then seemed to his audience so simple and self-evident. He traced first of all the Greek tradition of Orion and also the Hindu tradition as to the *Mrigasheersha*. He demonstrated their identity and referred to the mathematical calculation by which time a year began with the Sun in the constellation of Orion which must be somewhere before 4000 B.C. Carrying his researches further as he did during the days of his captivity in Burma, he showed how this deductive conclusion was confirmed by the latest discovery in geology and archaeology. The theory of the original ancestral home of the Aryan race being in the North Pole was also confirmed by the astronomical phenomenon which, he said, was recorded in the Vedas and in the Mahabharata and which is distinctly polar in character. The six months' day and six months' night spoken of in these sacred books and the continuance of the dawn for two months as described in the Yajurveda, pointed clearly to this Arctic Home and he referred to the evidence of Geologists and Archaeologists on this matter. He also demonstrated by mathematical calculations how the astronomical phenomena thus disclosed should take us to a period at least 4000 years before Christ. The Lokamanya went from point to point, from conclusion to conclusion with the precision of the mathematician that he was, without notes and references of any kind, because he had not brought any with him at all. The audience by this time became intensely interested and spell-bound. No wonder, at the conclusion thereof, the U.P. I. C.S. Commissioner that presided paid a glowing tribute to the scholar that had enlightened them with such wealth of learning and simplicity of diction. From that day forward, Lokamanya Tilak was the cynosure of all thinking Europeans on board the ship and it was not an unfamiliar sight to see him engaged with one or other of them in earnest conversation about many things, scientific, literary and political."

His notes in Mandalay Jail reveal that he was contemplating the revision of both the *Orion* and the *Arctic Home in the Vedas* and with that end in view had jotted down the names of a few reference books. Names of two new chapters are also mentioned. But active political life after his release never gave him the necessary respite.

The facilities given to him and the enforced regulated daily routine seem to have preserved Tilak's health well on the whole. The Burman heat made life unbearable to him and once he applied for transfer to Andamans where he thought he would fare better. His application was rejected and giving way to despair he exclaimed, " Well, it seems to be a Divine ordinance that I should die as a captive here." But generally speaking he maintained normal health during these nearly six years. Small complaints arose off and on but they did not last. The real trouble was his diabetes. For the first two years and a half, it was under control but thereafter became a source of constant trouble. Medical treatment would not help. He experimented with his diet. He gave up eating rice, wheat and pulses and concentrated only on *sattu* or wild wheat and with the consent of the jail authorities only *puris* made of this grain became his main diet and it was found beneficial. Supplementary diet was milk, curds, ghee and fruits. During summer he used to take bath twice a day and used only cold water. How unbearable Burman heat was to Tilak may be gathered from his remark in a letter written home in April 1914. He said, " I hope I am going through this furnace for the last time." Tilak was not an early riser. His reading often extended to early hours in the morning and he was given to burning midnight oil as a matter of routine. But at Mandalay, he had to sleep early under compulsion at 10 p.m. and so he became an early riser. He used to recite some Sanskrit hymns and psalms and contracted the habit of quiet, undisturbed meditation for an hour or so. Then he answered nature's calls and tea was served. After that he took to reading or writing till 10 a.m.; then he took his bath. At Mandalay he performed the Sandhya which he had given up for long and recited the Gayatri incantation, which is a prayer to the Sun. After meals, he again took to reading or writing and at about 2 p.m. he had his afternoon tea, or sherbet or milk. Again there was about two hours' devotion to reading and writing and at 5 p.m. he had to take meals according to the jail rules. At 6 p.m. his cell used to be locked. This hour he utilized for enlightening his companion, the convict cook, with stories from religious, mythological or historical literature. He devoted a quiet hour to meditation again before going to bed. Only once for a couple of months

Tilak was removed to Mektilla which he said in one of his letters was a derivative of Mithila, the city of Rajayogi Janaka and he cracked a little joke saying he was wondering whether he would get his Seeta by which he meant restoration to freedom! During June and July 1909 he was kept at this place because cholera had broken out in Mandalay. His cook Kulkarni also accompanied him and it would seem he liked this place better because it was much less warm than Mandalay.

Tilak had trained himself to shut out his mind against any thoughts regarding his family, his newspapers, his country's condition and public life while there and as one acting like a strict disciplinarian over himself, he concentrated on reading and writing, but when the date for receiving a letter from home or writing one home came, his thoughts repaired to all these matters. The Tai Maharaj case pursued him even there. Almost every letter of his had one common point, demand of new books. A good many letters contain inquiry about and directions in regard to the studies of Jagannath Maharaj and his sons. He had often evinced much anxiety about the health of his wife who was also a diabetic. His words meant for her were always consolatory and soft. Once Tilak wrote for her, "Misforture and we are at war. One of them must succeed in the end. If we are determined to come out victorious, we can do so." As a faithful, orthodox, Hindu wife, who had submerged her personality entirely in that of her husband, she lived in her own little family world, but she had full realization of the greatness of her husband and she certainly gloried in it and regarded it as her supreme duty to alleviate his suffering and lessen his numerous troubles to the best of her capacity with simple-minded devotion. She made a resolve to keep body and soul together till her husband returned but she had grown physically so feeble that at last she breathed her last on June 7, 1912. Tilak was telegraphically informed about it. Writing on June 8, 1912 Tilak said:

"Your wire was a very great and heavy blow. I am used to take my misfortunes calmly, but I confess the present shook me considerably. According to the beliefs ingrained in us, it is not undesirable that the wife should die before her husband. What grieved me most is my enforced absence from her side at this critical time. But this was to be. I always feared it and it has at last happened. But I am not going to trouble you further with my sad thoughts. One chapter of my life is closed and I am

afraid it won't be long before another will be. Let her last rites be duly performed and her remains sent to Allahabad or Banaras or any other place she might have desired. Carry out, literally, all her last wishes, if you have not done so already. The task of looking after the physical and intellectual development of my sons falls on you now, with greater responsibility; and I shall be still further grieved, if I were to find it, not properly attended to. I believe Mathu and Durgi are still there. They as well as Rambhau must have keenly felt the bereavement, especially at a time when I am away. Console them in my name and see that Rambhau and Bapu do not get dejected. Let them remember that I was left an orphan when I was much younger than either of them. Misfortune should brace us up for greater self-dependence. Both Rambhau and Bapu should therefore take a lesson from this bereavement and if they do that I am sure God will not forsake them. As regards her things and valuables, make a list thereof and keep them with you under lock and key, till my release or till you hear next to the contrary from me, in the meanwhile. Above all face the situation courageously yourself, for there is no one else, on whom the children can depend in this critical state. May God help you all, is all that I can wish and pray for from this distant place."

Other letters refer to his anxiety about his library being carefully preserved, his concern about the conduct of his two papers and the necessity of Kelkar and Khadilkar working in co-operation even if there were temperamental differences between the two, so long as they owed allegiance to the Kesari-Mahratta Institute and the principles Tilak was preaching. It appears that some high officials of Government were in a mood to commute Tilak's remaining sentence and release him about the time of the Coronation of King George at the end of 1911 on certain conditions but Tilak declined to accept those conditions. Sir Gangadhar Chitnavis of Nagpur has recorded a reminiscence in which he says that the King and Lord Hardinge, the Viceroy, were both in favour of releasing him but the Government of Bombay was opposed to the proposal. After return from England, Khaparde went to see Tilak at Mandalay and he had two interviews with him on November 24, 1910 in the presence of the Jail Superintendent, Mr. Tarapore, who was a very sympathetic officer and apparently knew what an august person he had for his prisoner. Khaparde wanted Tilak to know about the efforts that were being made for his release but he could not even refer to that subject in the interview. So he pretended to tell all about it to the Jail Superintendent so that Tilak also could hear it and no objection was raised by the jailor to this procedure. Similarly he took Khaparde to his

office from where he could see Tilak's cell, which Khaparde was very anxious to have a look at. Tilak said about this interview in a subsequent letter that his visit appeared to him "like a fond and sweet dream in his enforced solitary life. It lasted also for only a short while like a dream. He did not find in Khaparde his usual humour and wit and zest for life and he noticed that his hair had all become snow-white probably because he had to suffer numerous shocks of disappointment in regard to his efforts for his release in which he interested himself in his two years' stay in England, besides the work of appeal." In a letter written on January 3, 1912 Tilak says, "All hope about my premature release is now dashed to the ground and it is no use brooding over it. Let us now get reconciled to the fact. that I have yet to spend two and a half years here." As usual some books and papers were demanded by him in the same letter in pursuit of his studies.

Tilak began to write the *Geeta-Rahasya* in October 1910 and finished it in February 1911. This means that he took about five months to complete the manuscript. He was keeping fairly well till this time, but thereafter he began to feel weak and it appeared as though there would be a nervous breakdown. He began to feel its repercussions on his literary and intellectual output. Writing on February 1, 1914, he says, "I am now clearly aging, I have lost some teeth and for lack of proper mastication, digestion suffers. I wrote out the manuscript of the *Geeta-Rahasya* in about five months in 1910. But last year (1913) I could not finish even two chapters of Vedic Chronology. I used to enjoy the cold weather, but now I cannot stand severe cold." The death of his wife apparently affected him much. There is a delicate and subdued reference to this, even in his preface to the *Geeta-Rahasya*. Although the manuscript had been completed the work of additions and alterations was a constant preoccupation till he came out. Even while he was in jail, men attracted by his scholarship and political preeminence often went to pay courtesy visits to Gaikwad Wada. One such was Mr. Myson Phelps. He stayed at Tilak's house for a few days in August 1911 and expressed a desire that he should be photographed with Tilak's photograph by his side, even though he had not the good fortune of having him by his side in flesh and blood. He said, "The great man's world-wide

fame and his antiquarianism brought me to India, especially to this part of the country. Your holy land has ever produced great men among whom we reckon Mr. Tilak. Men like him are born for the world's progress and not merely for their own land." Common people looked upon him as a saint or *avaliya* and Mahatma. In reality he was a Yogi who had not only digested but turned into his daily life the teaching of the Geeta, the teaching of disinterested work for the good of humanity. He not only preached it but lived it and left a living illustration of it by his own life. The Mussalman warder who worked for many years in Mandalay once said :

"I have spent my whole life here and seen many prisoners. But I have not seen the like of this prisoner. Everything about him in Mandalay got as it were a new lease of life, the trees which never bore fruits or flowers began to do so. I was taking the same care of them before as when Tilak Maharaj came here and lived and I am taking the same care of them when he is gone. But they refuse to yield any fruits or flowers now. Not only the trees but every animate and inanimate object here now looks so pale and lifeless and in mourning as if some one of their flesh and blood has left them. According to jail rules, I was not permitted to talk to him and I do not know who he was and where he came from."

This is the rendering of the poetic Urdu words this warder-cum-gardener spoke to Mr. J. K. Upadhye when he had gone to Mandalay and had an opportunity of seeing the place where Tilak was kept. Similarly his convict cook, Vasudeo Kulkarni has placed on record an account of his three years' constant association with him which reads like a fairy tale. In the course of this, Kulkarni says :

"Tilak shared all his food with me which was of a superior quality. What was supplied to me was distributed to the sparrows that used to frequent our wooden cell. Eventually, the sparrows became very bold ; they used to perch on his table, books and papers, gather around him when he sat down to take his food and sometimes sat even on his shoulders. Once the jailor came when there was quite a swarm of sparrows near him. He was surprised to see what he considered a miracle, because no bird or beast would be friendly with any human being in Burma, the reason being that the Burmese used to kill them and eat their raw flesh ! Tilak said, "I don't frighten the sparrows, nor have I any evil design on them. On the other hand, I feed them sumptuously. So they have become fearless and friendly. Even the poisonous snakes are not afraid of me, because I do not mean any harm to them.' "

To everything there is an end and so came to an end this solitary confinement of Tilak in Mandalay Jail. Tilak was expecting

release by about July 1914, and had sent back most of his books to Poona in May. On June 8, the Jail Superintendent went to see him and suggested to him that he should pack up his belongings. Tilak guessed that it was time for his removal from Mandalay, but apparently Government wanted to keep it a closely guarded secret as to when he was to be set free. There is a railway siding in Mandalay fort, where an engine and a carriage were kept ready and Tilak was deposited in it in the afternoon. This carriage was then joined to a mail train. Tilak had his Mahratta Brahman red turban with him, but he was requested not to put on his head-dress while travelling, because it was rather distinctive. Till he reached Rangoon, Tilak put on a cap and later some folded turban. At every station the carriage doors were closed. He was put on board the S. S. Mayo on June 9, when nobody seemed to have recognized him. The ship was bound for Madras, but until he reached Madras, Tilak was unable to make out where the ship was going. It had been decided before when it should reach Madras and therefore although it was capable of going faster it was run at only half its speed for two days. Tilak was taken charge of by five police officers at Rangoon who had come from Poona. Two constables from Rangoon also accompanied them. Most of them became sea-sick ; only Inspector Sadavarte and Tilak enjoyed the voyage. It was reported that there was some casual conversation between them and Tilak gathered some information about some events that had happened during the six years of his enforced absence from India. On June 15, Tilak and Party landed at Madras. Immediately, Tilak was taken to the Madras railway station. The mail for Bombay was ready. Tilak was seated in a second-class carriage which was reserved for him and his police party. All doors and windows were closed and in a few minutes the train steamed off. At every stop, the doors and windows were closed. The whole of June 16 was spent in speeding up in the direction of Poona and about midnight, it was in the vicinity of Poona. He was detrained at Hadapsar and released at his house at midnight.

Tilak's stay at Mandalay was the longest stay at a stretch at one place during his lifetime. What a contrast it was to be kept for such a long period in loneliness in a two storied room of 20′ by 12′ looking out upon an enclosure of a quarter of an

acre to the crowded arena of his nationwide activity, immediately previous to his prosecution ! It is awful to imagine what would have been his fate but for the number of books allowed to him. Tilak was a man of letters himself and he must have previously perused endless panegyrics on books and libraries by others but never before could he have realized it better than when he was in Mandalay. When he was jailed for the first time for 101 days in Dongri, he had Agarkar for his companion. What better companion could he have wished when the imprisonment was simple and when he was a young man of only 25 ? Both of them immensely enjoyed the delight of building many a castle in the air. During the second term of imprisonment he had a convict's work to do and though it was not hard labour, his health was much impaired on account of the jail diet. In the third term, the punishment of rigorous imprisonment was changed into simple and he was treated much better without any one's intercession. Even then, a term of imprisonment covering six years at the age of 52 was, in all conscience, more cruel than kind. Never was a more terrible euphemism uttered than when Justice Davar said that in the interest of the country which he professed to love, he should be sent out of it for some *little* time. Father Time in the abstract is so vast and long, in fact without beginning or end, and any conceivably big fraction of it could be termed as some little time, but it was mocking at mercy to regard six years as some little time. Quite many people justifiably feared that Tilak would not survive this imprisonment. But it was India's good fortune that although he had aged a great deal, he was fairly healthy and cheerful when he was released and soon took up the threads of his political activity and left this world only when he had not only a fitting successor in Mahatma Gandhi but one who excelled him in carrying on the fight for freedom of the country to a successful conclusion.

How Tilak's confinement in Mandalay was regarded by his close colleagues may be gathered from the article by Kelkar in the *Mahratta* for June 28, 1914, He says :

"The simple imprisonment in Mandalay was in some respects even worse than what the life in the Andamans would have been, at least so far as Tilak could imagine it. He had actually applied for his removal to the Andamans; so disgusted he was with the solitary confinement at Mandalay. He had many authors by his side to fill the vacancy of his

solitude. Imitating a well-known passage of Leigh Hunt, we may even say that though confined in a room of 20′ by 12′, Tilak could, if he liked, go out hunting with primeval Aryan warriors in the Rigveda, enjoy the superb glory of the Aurora with the Pole Star, busy himself with the ritual mysteries of the Vedic sacrificers gathered round their sacred *Vedis*; revel in the prospective clash of arms when the numberless armies of the Kauravas and Pandavas met on the blood-thirsty Kurukshetra field of battle: listen to the Song Celestial as it was delivered in the Divine accents by Krishna to Arjuna, or to be more matter-of-fact, take a tour round the world in company of the authors of the *Historian's History of the World*. But solitary confinement with no more enlightened company than that of a convict cook, proved a veritable file on which all the imaginable charms of book reading in solitude soon became threadbare and were eventually worn away leaving Tilak sighing for more elbow-room and greater freedom of movement."

Proceeding, Kelkar says:

"The cost of keeping the table for the dethroned French Emperor at St. Helena was, according to an English biographer a matter of dispute and we could not, therefore, complain if Mr. Tilak had to pay from his own pocket for a weekly shave, which incidentally cost one rupee. What is relevant is the solitary confinement Government imposed upon him, which did not allow him even the sight of the humanity in jail nor the slightest scrap of public news. The letters to him and from him had, of course, to keep strictly to personal and household matters; and while Government showed disapproval of the permission given to Tilak to read the Press Act especially sent to him, the letter of advice which he wrote in return with the jailor's permission to Kelkar was intercepted and never afterwards allowed to reach the latter's hands."

Luckily the mystery about the letter to which Kelkar refers can now be explained. A copy of the Press Act, which was sent to all newspapers was also sent to Kelkar as editor of the *Kesari* and the *Mahratta*. It was sent to Tilak as proprietor of the papers by Mr. Vidwans with a covering letter. A Captain Greig, who was then jailor looked upon it as a business letter and handed it over to Tilak. Mr. Vidwans had asked Tilak's advice as to how to conduct his papers in view of this Press Act. Tilak read the Act and gave his advice in his reply to Mr. Vidwans. When the jailor saw this, it dawned on him, that what was handed over to Tilak was not an ordinary business letter, nor was the reply a business reply. He, therefore, forwarded both to the Government of Burma, which in its turn despatched the same to the Government of Bombay. All this correspondence can be now studied from a well-preserved file in the Home Department of the Bombay Secretariat. The error

of judgment on the part of the jailor entailed his transfer from Mandalay, somewhere else. Tilak in his reply said :

> "The situation is not so hopeless as you seem to think. The Act applies to all. See how other papers similar to ours conduct themselves and shape your course accordingly, bearing in mind, however that your paper will be more especially watched. Anyhow, it will be your duty to keep within the limits of law, however stringent it may be. One can only make the best use of what freedom one has. I do not think you need eschew all views or current topics, but in order to avoid being misunderstood, you must confine yourself to facts and facts alone. In the case of measures, explain the scope, give the history and state in a logical form, its most natural consequences, without indulging in rhetoric or exhortations to Government or the public. In short, after a clear and succinct statement of the case, leave the people to judge for themselves."

This advice is such as any responsible professional journalist would have given in any situation and it passes understanding why the letter containing it was intercepted and indefinitely detained.

CHAPTER XXIII

BACK FROM MANDALAY

Tilak was back again in Poona on June 16, 1914 after spending six years in Mandalay Jail. During these six years, it was rumoured, strongly in particular in 1911, at the time of the Coronation of King George V, that Tilak's remaining sentence would be remitted and he would be released. The question was discussed in high level official circles, but Lord Sydenham, the then Governor of Bombay, strongly opposed the idea and some princes and politicians also were reported to be not in favour of such leniency being shown to him, before the expiry of his full term. After this, no one ever seriously thought that he would be released prematurely. Government had, however, its schedule prepared and so Police-Inspector Sadavarte was sent to Mandalay and on June 16, after midnight, he came with Tilak to Gaikwad Wada accompanied by Mr. Guider, D.S.P. He gave him to understand that Government had remitted some 35 days of the sentence and Tilak requested Mr. Guider to convey his thanks to Government for the same. The guard at the entrance would not open the door at that odd hour and Tilak had to explain that it was the master of the residence

himself who was knocking at the door to enter it after six years. The news immediately spread everywhere and people began to throng at Tilak's house. For the first three or four days, Tilak had nothing else to do but to keep seated and allow all to go near him, salute him and leave.

On June 20, a public meeting of the citizens of Poona was held at the Sarvajanik Sabha Hall to congratulate him on his safe return and to wish him health and long life. A number of individuals and institutions offered him verbal and flowery tributes. Tilak was visibly moved. He said:

"Happiness and misery are a whole world apart. If you get friends to share your misery, it decreases, but if you get friends to share your joy it increases. On seeing this concourse of people, my joy at my release has multiplied a thousand times. Many of you desired to have a word of greeting with me and some of you waited for hours together to listen to a word of greeting from me. I am sorry that they had to waste their precious time like this. But I am helpless. In the present condition of my health, it is not possible for me to indulge even in the exertion of talking. I am sure you will appreciate this and forgive me for my apparent rudeness.

"I am back after six years amongst you and I am gradually getting acquainted with the present situation. My first reaction was like that of Rip Van Winkle who slept for a number of years and found his world altogether changed. I was kept in such a rigorous seclusion by the authorities that it seemed that they desired that I should forget the world and be forgotten by it. However, I have not forgotten the people and I am glad to notice that the people have not forgotten me. I can only assure the people that separation for six long years could not diminish my love for them and that I am willing and ready to serve in the same manner and in the same relation and in the same capacity which belonged to me six years before, though it may be, I shall have to modify my course a little."

Public meetings to congratulate Tilak on his release, to welcome him back and to wish him health and long life were held in other places like Bombay and Nagpur also. The Press in India expressed the same sentiments. Suggestions were made to him by some that he should retire from active political life and devote himself to meditation and scholarly pursuits. But in his first public utterance he gave a clear indication that he would not rest on his oars. He only wanted to renew his acquaintance with the world and then resume his work just where he had left it. That was what he meant by "I am willing and ready to serve in the same manner and in the same relation and in the same capacity." It was already known that he

had completed a treatise on the Geeta in jail and one of the suggestions made to him was that out of jail also he should devote himself to similar works of scholarship and research towards which his natural and original inclinations lay. His reply was: "Literature and philosophy are only my recreation; my life-work lies quite in a different direction."

But, Government did not want to allow Tilak full freedom of activity. It was obvious that a new enthusiasm was created in the public mind by Tilak's release and his house had assumed for the first few days the appearance of a fair. Thousands of them went there merely to have a look at him and salute him. On June 25, the Government of Bombay issued a general order prohibiting Government servants and students to see Tilak. Police was posted at his place and every one who entered his house was asked his name and address. This order prohibiting Government servants and students to see Tilak was not confined merely to Poona; it applied to the whole Bombay Presidency. While executing this order, some Collectors behaved with astonishing indiscretion. One of them was the Collector of Belgaum. Mr. D. V. Belvi, who was then a well-known High Court Vakil and a member of the Legislative Council made a courtesy call on Tilak. On his return to Belgaum the Collector sent for him and asked him if he had gone to Poona to see Tilak. He replied in the affirmative. Thereupon the Collector asked him if he did not know about the Government's order. Mr. Belvi said that he did not know that the order applied to High Court Vakils and members of the Legislative Council. He would think of what to do when Government passed an order to that effect. This order was really observed more in its breach, because Tilak's house was being far from deserted for quite many days, but to backbiters and mischievous informants, it afforded a fine opportunity of reporting anybody's name to the police as a caller on Tilak. The Kolhapur Durbar also issued a general order of this nature, in somewhat stricter terms. It would appear that Government was very anxious to curb popular enthusiasm and to save the people from Tilak's influence which it considered quite undesirable. But it could not stop public meetings in advance because people were going to shout "Tilak Maharajki Jai" and express their respect and admiration for him in other ways. Yet Government

tried every means. One person was arrested once for having shouted the slogan given above and was fined a big sum. The Ganpati festival of the year was soon due and for fear that it might be utilized by Tilak for a campaign of mass awakening, the District Magistrate of Poona issued a proclamation under the District Police Act on the eve of the festival putting a ban on all cries of Jai except that of God Ganesh. All songs and recitations except those passed by the police were prohibited. Pictures and portraits of those convicted for sedition were also not to be exhibited as decorations in the festival *pandals* and such persons and their relatives were not to be honoured by garlanding them. Bhajan parties and *melas* were also not to be stopped anywhere and no one was to address them. All of this shows what tremendous care was being taken by Government to prevent every public demonstration of reverence and admiration for Tilak. Mr. Montford, District Magistrate of Poona wrote a private letter to Tilak requesting him in the name of Government not to participate in the Ganpati immersion procession of the year and if he did not agree, he was to serve an order on him to that effect. It suited Tilak very much to comply with this request in the state of his health and he agreed not to participate in the procession, making it clear that the understanding was for that year only.

Government might have considered it a point of prestige to issue such orders but Tilak felt that he was being denied the common rights of a free citizen. He wrote to Lord Crew, Secretary of State for India that the harassing police surveillance should be removed at once. He also wrote to Mr. Keir Hardy, M.P. explaining to him the whole position in detail. He received a reply immediately from the Secretary of State, saying that he had called for a report from the Government of Bombay and another communication would soon follow. In the meanwhile, a world event of great consequence happened. It was the world war I which broke out on August 4, 1914. It placed Great Britain in great difficulty and the British Government was naturally anxious to enlist sympathy and support from all possible quarters. Government surely was not afraid of any revolt or uprising in India. Had it been so, it would not have sent abroad most of the British and Indian troops, but it did want all sympathy and help and support

and cessation of even ordinary political activity. It was suggested to Tilak that the general order of June 25 would be withdrawn if Tilak was agreeable to make a suitable gesture towards the Government. Tilak always believed that England's difficulty was India's opportunity, and although he always proclaimed his loyalty to the British Empire, he did not want it to be a one-way traffic so far as India was concerned. India must make political progress even in the midst of Britain's difficulties. That was his general attitude. A conference between him and the Collector of Poona led to the public statement which was made by Tilak on August 27. It was a declaration of loyalty, which put an end to the official boycott of Tilak : As soon as it was published, Government withdrew the general order of June 25. The Secretary of State was informed accordingly and Lord Crew in his turn informed Mr. Keir Hardy that Tilak, having made an expression of loyalty and friendship, was restored to his full civil liberty. The text of the declaration as published in the form of a letter to the editor of the *Mahratta* is as follows :

" Sir,

" In view of the exceptional circumstances of the present time, I have to ask you to publish the following in order to remove any possible misunderstanding as to my attitude towards the Government at this juncture. I have already given expression to these views when addressing my friends the other day at the Ganpati gathering at my house. But, feeling that wider publicity to them is advisable, I am addressing this letter to you. A couple of months ago, when I had an occasion to address those who came to congratulate me on my safe return to Poona, I observed that I was very much in the position of Rip Van Winkle returning home after a long sleep in the wilderness. Since then I have had opportunities to fill up the gaps in my information as to what has occurred during my absence and I took stock of the march of events in India during the past six years. Let me assure you that in spite of the measures like the Press Act upon which, however, it is not necessary for me to dilate in this place at any length, I for one do not give up the hope of the country steadily making further progress in the realization of its cherished goal. The reforms introduced during Lord Morley's and Lord Minto's administration will show that Government is fully alive to the necessity of progressive change and desire to associate the people more and more in the work of Government. It can also be claimed and fairly conceded that this indicates a marked increase of confidence between the rulers and the ruled and a sustained endeavour to remove popular grievances. Considered from a public point of view, I think there is a distinct gain and though it may

not be unalloyed, I confidently hope that in the end, the good arising out of the constitutional reforms will abide and prevail and that which is objectionable will disappear. This view may appear optimistic to some, but it is an article of faith with me and in my opinion, such a belief alone can inspire us to work for the good of our country in co-operation with Government.

"There is another matter to which it is necessary to refer. I find that during the six years of my absence an attempt has been made in the English Press here and in England, as for example, in Sir Valentine Chirol's book, to interpret my actions and writings as a direct or indirect incitement to deeds of violence, or my speeches uttered with the object of subverting the British rule in India. I am sorry that the attempt was made at a time when I was not a free citizen to defend myself. But I think, I ought to take the first public opportunity indignantly to repudiate these nasty and totally unfounded charges against me. I have, like other political workers, my own differences with the Government as regards certain measures and to a certain extent even the system of internal administration. But it is absurd on that account to speak of my actions or my attitude as in any way hostile to his Majesty's Government. That has never been my wish or my object. I may state once for all that we are trying in India as the Irish Home Rulers have been doing in Ireland for a reform of the system of administration and not for the overthrow of Government. I have no hesitation in saying that the acts of violence which have been committed in different parts of India are not only repugnant to me, but have, in my opinion, only unfortunately retarded, to a great extent, the pace of our political progress. Whether looked at from an individual or a public point of view, they deserve, as I have said before on several occasions, to be equally condemned. It has been well said that British rule is conferring inestimable benefit on India not only by its civilized methods of administration but also thereby bringing together the different nationalities and races of India, so that a united nation may grow out of it, in course of time. I do not believe that if we had any other rulers except the liberty-loving British, they could have conceived and assisted us in developing such a national ideal. Everyone who has the interest of India at heart is fully alive to this and similar advantages of British rule; and the present crisis is, in my opinion, a blessing in disguise inasmuch as it has universally evoked our united feeling and sentiments of loyalty to the British Throne.

"England has been compelled by the action of the German Emperor to take up arms in defence of a weaker State, whose frontiers have been violated in defiance of several treaty obligations and of repeated promises of integrity. At such a crisis, I firmly hold, that the duty of every Indian, be he great or small, rich or poor, is to support and assist His Majesty's Government, to the best of his ability. No time in my opinion should be lost in convening a public meeting of all parties, classes and sections in Poona, as they have been elsewhere to give an emphatic public expression to the same. It requires hardly any precedent to support such a course. But if one were needed, I would refer to the proceedings of a

public meeting held by the citizens of Poona so far back as in 1879-80 in regard to the complications of the Afghan War, which was proceeding at the time. That proves that our sense of loyalty and desire to support the Government is both inherent and unswerving and that we loyally appreciate our duties and responsibilities under such circumstances.

Yours etc.,
B. G. Tilak."

In anticipation of his restoration to complete freedom, Tilak had begun to make some semi-public appearances. He presided, for instance, at the lectures of Messrs. S. M. Paranjpe and J. S. Karandikar during the Ganpati festival and from September 19, he gave four discourses on the teachings of the Geeta. With reference to Tilak's manifesto, Sir Valentine Chirol said in England that since even Tilak had declared his loyalty to the British raj, there was no need to reform the existing political set-up, conveniently forgetting that Tilak had made a clear reference to the Irish movement for Home Rule, saying that the Indian movement was similar to that. During the months of October and November, a good deal of correspondence and negotiations and conferences of an informal character were going on with Congress leaders and his followers regarding re-entry, into the Indian National Congress. Mrs. Besant took a leading part in these negotiations. It may be noted that even after the break-up of the Congress session at Surat and in spite of all that took place there, Tilak was in favour of a united Congress of both the Moderates and the Nationalists as related before. He returned to the subject after his release. Like Mrs. Besant, Surendra Nath Banerji, Bhupendra Nath Basu, Madan Mohan Malaviya and Gokhale were also keen that both the Nationalists and the Moderates should come together again. Only Sir Pherozeshah Mehta was consistently against such a union. But in spite of his opinion, efforts for the united Congress were afoot on the eve of the Congress session of 1914 which was to be held at the end of December at Madras. Mr. Bhupendra Nath Basu was to preside over it.

Mrs. Besant accompanied by Mr. Subba Rao Pantalu went to Poona on December 7, 1914 and began her talks with Gokhale and Tilak. Gokhale was not keeping well during those days. Mrs. Besant was staying at the Servants of India Society. Tilak

once made a call on her and paid a visit to Gokhale also. Negotiations about the terms on which Nationalists should be admitted in the Congress were completed. Armed with a statement of Tilak and the draft resolution prepared on the subject by Gokhale, Mrs. Besant reached Madras, a few days before the session of the Congress. But it would appear that Sir Pherozeshah Mehta and Mr. Dinshaw Wacha did not approve of the course adopted by Gokhale, Surendra Nath Banerji, Bhupendra Nath Basu and Pandit Malaviya, with the collaboration of Mrs. Besant and under their pressure or because, he himself thought it fit to do so, Gokhale wrote a letter to Mr. Bhupendra Nath Basu, President-elect of the Madras Congress. It was marked "confidential" and apparently intended for the guidance of the President. The conditions agreed to for the get-together were that the Nationalists should accept the creed of the Congress and such public bodies of the Nationalists as would accept that creed should be allowed to elect delegates for the Congress session. Both parties should abide by whatever resolutions the delegates passed by a majority. This is how the whole position was understood by Mrs. Besant, Mr. Subba Rao, Gokhale and Tilak. After Mrs. Besant and Mr. Subba Rao left, Gokhale went to see Tilak at his residence and advised Tilak not to enter the Congress because they would not be able to get on together. He appears to have taken this attitude because Mehta and Wacha pulled him up and also because, he felt compelled to change his mind in the light of what report Subba Rao orally made to him about his two-hour talk with Tilak. Tilak said that the Congress was nobody's monopoly. He would prepare the country, build up public opinion, enter the Congress and would also endeavour to influence its decisions. It was after this talk between Tilak and Gokhale that the latter wrote the confidential letter to Mr. Bhupendra Nath Basu. Gokhale found that Tilak's opinions had not undergone any change whatever and it was not possible to bridge the gulf that always divided the Moderates and the Nationalists. Why should they not work on their respective lines instead of coming together and carrying on perpetual dissensions? They could always co-operate on matters they agreed even while maintaining their separate political organizations.

It was in such a frame of mind that Gokhale wrote this confidential letter. In the controversy that followed, it was made much of because it was marked "confidential", but the relevant part of it has been made public in the biography of Sir Pherozeshah Mehta by H. P. Mody. Gokhale writes:

"When Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and I and others urged at Calcutta three years ago that the right of electing delegates should be restored to public meetings held under auspices which guaranteed the acceptance of Article 9 by those who took part in the meetings, we were under the impression that our Extremist friends in the different provinces had by that time seen the error of their ways and had come to realize that the only political work possible in the existing circumstances of the country was on the lines of the Congress; that they wanted quietly to return to the Congress fold but that considerations of self-respect stood in their way, as they did not like to apply for election to those whom they considered to be their opponents; and that, it was therefore desirable so to relax the rigidity of our rules as to make it less humiliating to these countrymen of ours to rejoin the Congress. We were also swayed in our attitude by the extreme desirability of taking an early opportunity to heal the breach in public life that had resulted from the split of 1907, so that the rising generation of the country should not have to grow up under the baneful tradition of that breach. And this was really my view of the matter *till last week*, and I was prepared to do what lay in my power to bring opinion round to it in the Congress, short of course, of breaking with those whose lead I have followed or with whom I have worked all these years.

"My hope was that if we enabled the seceders by such relaxations to come in, they would, having seen the impossibility of political action on any other lines, co-operate with us in furthering the programme of the Congress by present methods. That hope has, however, been shattered. Mr. Tilak had told Mr. Subba Rao frankly and in unequivocal terms that though he accepts the position laid down in what is known as the Congress creed, viz., that the aim of the Congress is the attainment by India of self-government within the Empire by constitutional means, he does not believe in the present methods of the Congress, which rest on association with Government where possible and opposition to it where necessary. In place of that, he wants to substitute the method of opposition to Government, pure and simple, within constitutional limits — in other words a policy of Irish obstruction. We on our side are agitating for a larger and larger share in the Government of the country — in the Legislative Councils, on the municipal and local boards, in Public Services and so forth. Mr. Tilak wants to address only one demand to the Government here and to the British public in England viz., for the concession of Self-government to India, and till that is conceded, he would urge his countrymen to have nothing to do with either Public Services or Legislative Councils and local and municipal bodies. And by organizing obstruction to Government in every possible direction within the limits of the laws of the

land, he hopes to be able to bring the administration to a standstill and compel the authorities to capitulate. This is briefly his programme and he says that he wants to work for its realization through the Congress, if he and his followers are enabled to rejoin it or failing this by starting a new organization to be called the National League."

This extract from Gokhale's letter shows that he was convinced that Tilak's entry in the Congress would only be a signal for the renewal of the old struggle. As far as Pherozeshah Mehta was concerned, his biographer says, "To Pherozeshah, with his unerring judgment on men and measures, this exposition of the aims of the Nationalist leaders did not come as a surprise. He had throughout kept them at an arm's length, uninfluenced by any sentimental considerations in favour of a united Congress. And he was determined that so long as matters rested with him, he would save the Congress from being captured by the other side." Similarly, Tilak was equally clear in his mind that the differences as to methods, mentality and immediate efforts to be made in pursuance of the final objective of all Indians, as between the Moderates and Nationalists, were fundamental and eternal. Writing in 1908, before he was sent to Mandalay on "Where Is the Real Difficulty in Bringing the Two Wings of the Congress Together ? ", he said, "We can leave aside for a moment the dispute regarding the final objective, viz. Swaraj or freedom. But the real problem is how to avoid the inconsistency and conflict that must arise from time to time whether we have to adopt the method of sweet reasonableness or resistance or obstruction." In the same article he said a little earlier, "Leaders like Sir Pherozeshah who have worked along certain well-defined lines for 25 to 30 years, would never be prepared to ask people to follow obstructionist methods while dealing with Government. Their way is of self-respect and independence, but necessarily of reasonableness."

So, when the Madras Congress met and Mrs. Besant proposed the amendment throwing open the doors of the Congress to the Nationalists on the strength of her negotiations with Tilak and Gokhale at Poona and the documents she had, signed by Gokhale and Tilak, Mr. Bhupendra Nath Basu referred to the confidential letter Gokhale had sent him and said that Tilak had openly avowed his intention of adopting boycott of Government and obstructionist methods of the Irish if and

after he entered the Congress. Mrs. Besant immediately wired to Tilak asking whether he advocated boycott of Government. The text of the telegram was: "Moved amendment. Debate adjourned. It is said by opponents you favour boycott of Government. I say you do not. Wire which is truth. Reply prepaid." Tilak replying said, "I have never advocated boycott of Government. Prominent Nationalists have and are serving in municipalities and Legislative Councils and I have fully supported their action both privately and publicly." This telegram was read to the Subjects Committee by Mrs. Besant whereupon Mr. Bhupendra Nath Basu expressed repeatedly his regret for having charged Tilak with something he did not advocate, relying on Gokhale's confidential letter. The result was that the whole question of compromise was left to a Committee which was to report to the Congress of the next year. The Bengali leaders wanted to hold the next year's Congress at Calcutta to see the compromise proposal through, because they were very keen on admitting the Nationalists into the Congress, but Pherozeshah Mehta and Dinshaw Wacha had the Congress session of 1915 held in Bombay. They also wrote to the Bengali leaders to say that they were stabbing the Moderates in the back and thus proving themselves disloyal to their principles. Pherozeshah Mehta dismissed the plea of a united Congress put forth by Nationalist and Moderate leaders of Bengal with characteristic clear-headedness, courage and candour. He said:

"I cannot help saying that there is a great deal of mawkish sentimentality in the passionate appeals for union at all costs. For my part, I think it is most desirable that each set of distinct convictions should have its separate Congress. To jumble them up in a body confuses the real understanding of the extent to which opinion really tends in one direction or another, and it is not possible to make out what are the dimensions of cleavage and differences of opinion existing on any particular question. It is, therefore, desirable that persons holding nearly the same opinions and principles should organize themselves into bodies, where they can expound them and lay them before the public in a clear and consistent form. The public then could have the issues clearly before them and their deliberate judgment can declare itself by the growing favour, they would accord to any particular association. For God's sake let us have done with all inane and slobbery whine about unity where there is really none. Let each consistent body of views and principles have its own Congress in an honest and straightforward way and let God, i.e. truth and wisdom judge between us all."

This letter addressed to Bhupendra Nath Basu was widely published and subjected to a good deal of adverse comment. *Amrita Bazar Patrika* which was avowedly partial to Tilak and his party, condemned it in unequivocal terms, but even the *Bengalee* of Mr. Surendra Nath Banerji was constrained to record a protest in the following words :

" Sir Pherozeshah Mehta has described the desire for a united Congress as mawkish sentimentality. We regret that he should have used this language in relation to a widespread and deep-seated sentiment which inspires the political world of Bengal. We regret it all the more, as coming from one who has numerous friends in Bengal and whose tact and judgment in dealing with delicate public questions is so well known. Bengal feels that a sectional Congress is not a National Congress and that a sectional Congress has no right to speak in the name of the nation. If the non-conventionalists are willing to accept the creed, and fight under the constitutional standard for the attainment of the goal which is perfectly constitutional, their exclusion from the Congress would be unjustifiable and there is no reason why their legitimate demands should not be systematically considered. The spirit which we condemn in the Government is not the spirit that we should foster in the bosom of the Congress. Sir Pherozeshah Mehta's language is strong, unconciliatory and too masterful to suit the democratic temper of those who have been brought up amidst the traditions of the Congress and free public life of our province. But this is only a matter of style about which the writer must please himself."

All this was said by Pherozeshah Mehta and objected to by Surendra Nath Banerji not on the eve of the Madras Congress but two years earlier. Yet Pherozeshah's attitude always was to keep the Nationalists at an arm's length and monopolize the Congress. After the Congress there was a fierce controversy about Gokhale's confidential letter in which hard words were used by Tilak's *Kesari* and Gokhale's paper *Dnanaprakash*. In the midst of this controversy, Gokhale died and a few months later, i.e. on November 5, 1915, Pherozeshah also died and none else held, perhaps with the exception of Wacha and Samarth very strong views regarding throwing open the Congress doors to Nationalists. The report of the Committee appointed at Madras to consider the question of compromise terms was discussed at the Bombay Congress over which Sir Satyendra Prasanna Sinha presided and a partially satisfactory solution was arrived at. " Public meetings convened under the auspices of any association which is not of less than two years' standing on 31st December 1915 and which has for one of its objects, the attainment of self-government by India on colonial lines within the

British Empire by constitutional means" were recognized and Nationalists could send their own delegates to the Congress without looking up to the Moderates for patronage. Tilak decided immediately to accept wholeheartedly the halting concession. Next year the Congress met at Lucknow, where Nationalist delegates attended in large numbers and it became clear from the proceedings that Tilak had succeeded in capturing the Congress in that very session.

Letters were written by Tilak and Gokhale to the Press as part of the controversy over this question of admission of Nationalists to the Congress on certain agreed terms. The only point for consideration is whether Gokhale had sufficient justification for revising his opinion in favour of admission of the Nationalists to the Congress after having approved of the statement of Tilak's position as put down by Mr. Subba Rao and passed as correct by Tilak and Kelkar, after Gokhale's interview with Tilak and what he refers to as Mr. Subba Rao's reaction to talks with Tilak as orally reported to Gokhale. All that Gokhale was really concerned with was: What was Tilak's attitude towards Congress and Government when the compromise proposal was being discussed. It was beside the point to say what he had said during the Bengal Partition agitation or in 1908 on the eve of his prosecution for sedition or what he would do ten years thence. Tilak's loyalty declaration was before him and that was sufficient for the purpose of considering the question of admission to him and his party to the Congress under the formula he himself had drafted. But apparently he was influenced by what Pherozeshah Mehta and Dinshaw Wacha thought about the question to such an extent that he thought it fit to back out of his commitment. It is preposterous that he should want to bind Tilak as to what he should do years afterwards in a changed situation. Had an attempt been made in the compromise proposal to commit Tilak to faith, for instance, in the Divine Dispensation of the British connection and resort to no militant and obstructionist tactics on constitutional lines in the Parliamentary field in any event, or even to passive resistance to get specific grievances redressed, Tilak would not have entertained the compromise proposals for a moment. There is no getting away from the conclusion, therefore, that Gokhale betrayed a lamentable lack

of stability of mind, an undue sense of loyalty to Pherozeshah Mehta's leadership as the wisest and calculated to serve the best interests of the country and an inexcusable want of faith in the bona fides of Tilak.

How anxious Gokhale was to bring about the compromise can further be estimated by an account published over his signature by Mr. S. S. Setlur whose letter in the *Bombay Chronicle* dated 18-12-1920 appears in that paper's city edition on the same day on which Tilak's reply to the letter of Dr. R. P. Paranjpye appears, in connection with the charges Paranjpye made against Tilak arising out of an address that was to be presented to Tilak after his return from England. It is after six years that Mr. Setlur came out with his account; but it is relevant and constitutes evidence against Gokhale's change of front, presumably under Pherozeshah's influence. In the course of his letter, Mr. Setlur says:

"Principal Paranjpye's attitude towards the Nationalist majority on this occasion (address to Tilak) would make Gokhale turn in his grave. This can be stated as certain by those who knew the pains he took in the stormy days of the Bengal embroglio not to identify himself with the anti-Nationalist Party who were so strong in Bombay under the leadership of Sir Pherozeshah Mehta. This is a fact known to me personally and to everyone who was in the inner secrets of the Bombay politics at that time.

"Just a fortnight before his death in connection with Mrs. Beasant's mission in Madras of bringing together the two parties that had separated in Surat, I had to see him at the Servants of India Society. After making me sit quiet and listen, notwithstanding his weakness and the consciousness of approaching death, he made a speech for half an hour, in which he exhorted me to bring about union on the lines he mentioned. Those lines have been made public by Mrs. Besant in her speeches and writings at the time. The whole scene is vividly impressed on my mind. After he finished, I told him that the lines he had chalked out were 'fair to both parties', he exclaimed with vehemence, 'Will you then go to Mr. Tilak and get him and his advisers to accept the compromise?' When I said, 'I would immediately go there,' he burst out in a soliloquy, which he evidently did not intend for me, in these words: 'I know that there is not the slightest doubt that he (Tilak) will capture the Congress, sooner or later. That cannot be helped.' After this he turned to me and exclaimed, 'Do put my proposal before the more reasonable of his party and get him to accept it. Whatever may happen in future, let me go with the satisfaction that the split has come to an end.' I have stated about in his own words as nearly as possible, what then happened, although I cannot vouchsafe that every word is his. Most of them undoubtedly are."

Had matters rested where the Madras Congress had left them in the hands of a Committee which was to report to the next session of the Congress it would have been well for all concerned. But Gokhale's daily paper in Marathi, *Dnanaprakash* carried on a campaign of misrepresentation and even vilification against Tilak and Tilak replied to it in an outspoken and a cogently argued article with all the acumen of an aggressive advocate. The heading of the article in the *Kesari* may be adequately, if less vigorously, expressed by the phrase "Airs of Injured Innocence". Summing up his whole case, Tilak said :

"You may or may not admit the Nationalists in the Congress which is now your close preserve. But, pray, don't employ any confidential epistles to misrepresent what the Nationalists say and thus mislead Government. Both Tilak and Gokhale are now in the evening of their lives, for aught they are worth. What is the use of saying Tilak will capture the Congress if he enters it ? The National Congress belongs to the nation. It is neither Tilak's nor Gokhale's property. It is the Congress itself which will decide its own policy, not any one individual. Every Congressman has a right to place his views before the Congress, to persuade the majority to adopt those views and so long as they are lawful and constitutional, they cannot be shut out or suppressed. If after full deliberation the Congress accepts them, it is no use saying that the person who has put forward these views is a dangerous person or that he will capture the Congress machinery. To say so or to be afraid of such an eventuality is to regard thousands of intelligent persons as idiots and to place too much premium on one's own judiciousness and wisdom. Those who want to follow this way, are welcome to do so. But they should note it for certain that far from strengthening the Congress, they will weaken it and ruin it. The Nationalist Party does not want to do this and, therefore, it has fully and frankly expressed its views and has made no secret of them. It has given due notice to the Moderates that it will press its views on the attention of the Congress by all legitimate and lawful means and will always accept the majority decisions. The Moderate leaders of Bombay may not like the Nationalists, but people from all other parts of the country in the Congress do not dislike them and therefore the Bombay Moderates should not persist in foisting their views on all others. In any case, they should not make unfounded allegations against them as a party favouring boycott of Government and that too, stealthily and surreptitiously in confidentially written letters. You may not run if you cannot, but why do you pull the legs of others who can ? The Moderates in Bombay are not so foolish as not to understand that the Nationalists are as well-intentioned and as patriotic as the Moderates themselves, but they are always at the game of putting them down — may be due to timidity, lack of pushfulness, self-conceit, envy or a desire to monopolize the Congress machinery and its goodwill or even because of lack of farsightedness and ability to understand that dissensions between

Nationalists and Moderates are best exploited for denying political concessions to the country by the third party, viz. the British Government. The day on which they will realize this and stop activities calculated to arrest the march of the nation towards political progress will be a red letter day in our public life."

After Gokhale's death, the controversy regarding rejoining the Congress naturally subsided. A Provincial Conference of the Nationalists was proposed to be held at Poona. It was made clear that whoever would come as delegates to the Conference would be understood to have agreed to subscribe to the Congress creed. Tilak declared at this meeting that all that he was demanding was that delegates to the Congress should be elected by public meetings and if that demand was conceded, he was of the opinion that Nationalists should rejoin the Congress. The Conference was held on May 8, at the Kirloskar theatre, Poona, and Joseph Baptista was elected to preside over the Conference. In his address he expressed satisfaction that Tilak was back again in their midst, hale and hearty, and prepared to plunge again in his former political activity in the same spirit of patriotic service. He suggested that the world war in which Great Britain was involved was the proper time when India should demand Home Rule while helping the Government to prosecute it to a successful end. Finally, he pleaded for the coming together of the Nationalists and Moderates on the same common platform of the Indian National Congress and working in unity for India's political progress. Among the resolutions passed, the first referred to the war and was moved by Tilak. The resolution condoling Gokhale's death was also moved by him. One of the resolutions protested against the Bombay Government's ban on N. C. Kelkar's candidature for election to the Bombay Legislative Council on the ground that he was once sent to jail for 14 days for contempt of court. This clearly showed that Tilak was not for boycotting the Legislative Councils and wanted his close colleague like Kelkar himself to be returned to a legislative body. This was, incidentally a confirmation of what he communicated to Mrs. Besant telegraphically on this question at the time of the Madras Congress. A Committee of Messrs. Joseph Baptista, Tilak and D. V. Belvi was appointed to report to the next Provincial Conference to be held at Belgaum on the question of re-entry into the Congress.

The Home Rule idea placed before the country by Baptista was taken up by Mrs. Besant immediately and on September 25, 1915 she published in her *New India* the aims and objects and draft constitution of the Home Rule League for India. She also announced that Dadabhai Naoroji had agreed to be President of the League and that Sir G. Subramanya Iyer and Sir William Wedderburn had agreed to become Presidents of the Madras and London branches of the League respectively. All these men were once Presidents of the Congress, which clearly showed by implication that there was no antagonism whatsoever between the Congress and the Home Rule League. Mrs. Besant made it clear in this statement that since the Congress was proved in practice to be a body that was static, it was necessary to provide for dynamism by starting the Home Rule League for India. Tilak gave full support to the League idea and most of the Moderates except those of Bombay supported her. In December 1915, the Congress session was held in Bombay with Sir Satyendra Prasanna Sinha as its President as planned by Sir Pherozeshah Mehta but he was no more there to guide or influence its deliberations and a resolution favouring the coming back of the Nationalists into the Congress was passed. Mrs. Besant attended the session and moved an amendment to the resolution on self-government to the effect that the time had come for formulating a scheme of Home Rule for India on the lines of the self-governing colonies of the British Empire. She suggested this as a preamble to the resolution but Sir S. P. Sinha ruled it out of order as inconsistent with the objectives of the Congress. No Nationalist attended this Congress and yet some anxiety was shown by the Congress for welcoming them back to it and Tilak thought it was time for him and his followers to enter the Congress. It is noteworthy that the session of the Muslim League of that year was also held in Bombay side by side with the Congress through the efforts of M. A. Jinnah and it became apparent that Indian Muslims also wanted to join in the national effort for Home Rule. Jinnah later joined the Home Rule League for India and was elected President of the Bombay branch of the League. The country soon launched on a big campaign for Home Rule for India.

CHAPTER XXIV

THE GREAT HOME RULER

For a long time, Tilak had felt that the Congress must be turned into a propaganda machine that would work all the year round and not merely meet once in the Christmas week to pass a number of resolutions. Congress was committed to demand self-government on colonial lines. Home Rule was not far different from that and the phrase had the additional advantage of the association of the Irish agitation for self-government. A series of articles on the subject began to appear in the *Kesari* on the eve of the 1915 Congress session in Bombay. After the session, Moderate leaders like Mr. C. Y. Chintamani and Mr. Govinda Raghava Iyer went to see Tilak at Poona and delivered public lectures under his presidentship supporting the Home Rule League idea. They also said that the Congress constitution was amended to the satisfaction of the Nationalists and they should, therefore, join the Congress in large numbers. Mr. Sastri wrote an article in the *Indian Review*, commenting on Sir Satyendra Prasanna Sinha's presidential address and remarking that he ought to have made a demand for conceding complete self-government within a specified period of 25 or 30 years. Mrs. Besant published a well-documented book called *How India Wrought for Freedom*, which reviewed the efforts of the Indian National Congress for India's political emancipation. The book was replete with facts and figures. She also started a weekly and a daily English newspaper, called the *Commonweal* and the *New India*. Thus Mrs. Besant led the way in educative propaganda. All her followers like Mr. G. S. Arundale, Mr. C. Jinarajadasa, Mr. P. K. Telang, Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas, Mr. B. P. Wadia and others were also perfectly trained propagandists, equally powerful on the Platform and in the Press.

In Tilak's camp, there was a small but obstinate section which was opposed to the entry of Nationalists in the Congress. They thought it was a humiliation. They also thought that the association of the Moderates would do them and the country no good. They thought that the Moderates would be a constant

brake on their forward march. Tilak's own view was, first of all, never to split the Congress. Even at Surat he was not in favour of a split. His desire was that the same traditional and influential organ of Indian nationalism should be more progressive, more militant, more active—active all the year round. He never suspended efforts to make the Congress a united front again. Both Gokhale and Mehta were no more and all opposition to the entry of Nationalists led by Tilak into the Congress had vanished. Tilak was confident that, once in it, he would be able to turn it into a powerful vehicle of constitutional but militant Indian nationalism. At the beginning of 1916, therefore, he was busy with the programme of Congress entry and starting the Home Rule League. He wanted both the items on his programme to be discussed by his followers at the Bombay Provincial Conference at Belgaum, which was held on April 27, 28 and 29 under the presidentship of G. S. Khaparde. S. M. Paranjpe, B. S. Moonje, L. B. Bhopatkar and A. B. Kolhatkar were among those who did not want to rejoin the Congress and Kolhatkar who was editor of a very popular and well circulated Marathi daily newspaper in Bombay called *Sandesh* carried on an incessant campaign against the entry of Nationalists in the Congress. They felt Tilak himself had become a Moderate, that with age, his former spirit was broken. That is why he made the loyalty declaration and even organized a public meeting in Poona to vote an address of thanksgiving to Lord Hardinge who was due to retire as Viceroy and Governor-General of India. A month after this, the Conference at Belgaum was held to which the report of the Bal-Baptista-Belvi Committee in favour of entry into the Congress was submitted. Tilak invited every one to have his full say, in the correct, democratic way. Some of his followers were yet not convinced of the rightness of the course Tilak wanted to follow, but they decided to acquiesce in his wisdom. At last the resolution in favour of joining the Congress was unanimously passed and a Committee consisting of Tilak, Baptista, Khaparde, Kelkar and Belvi was constituted to take further steps in the matter. Mahatma Gandhi was present at this Conference as a delegate on a special invitation from Tilak and Gangadharrao Deshpande.

Khaparde who presided over this Conference reviewed in detail the development of the Congress organization and emphatically expressed the opinion that it must no longer remain a club of arm-chair politicians who would take to public work only to the extent to which their leisure permitted them. It must be an organization of at least a few whole-timers devoted to public and political work. Among the resolutions passed, one demanded facilities for a volunteer army and commissioned ranks for Indians in the defence forces. Another resolution pressed for release of political prisoners. An important resolution pertained to the question of preparing a Home Rule scheme. Accordingly, it was decided to start the Indian Home Rule League, though it was made clear that the Provincial Conference and the League had no organic relationship whatsoever. The two bodies would work separately and independently. A few members were enlisted on the spot. Baptista was elected President, N. C. Kelkar, Secretary and D. V. Gokhale, Assistant Secretary. A constitution was adopted and it was decided to open branches of the League all over the country. It was also resolved to prepare a Home Rule Bill and it was decided that public opinion in England should be educated in favour of such a Bill. All this happened between April 28 and May 1. Tilak delivered the first lecture on Home Rule for India at Belgaum. District and Taluka Political Conferences became the order of the day and a Conference of Home Rule Leaguers became a necessary adjunct of such conferences. On May 22, Mrs. Besant paid a visit to Poona and in her address to a mass meeting on Home Rule, she exhorted the people to follow the advice that Mr. Bonar Law had given to the colonies: Strike while the iron is hot. What she meant and expounded eloquently was that while the war was on, India must not slacken her efforts but press on. Tilak observed on the occasion that the days for making miscellaneous demands were over. Home Rule covered all their demands. It meant political power to implement reforms and so, that demand alone should be made on the British Parliament and the British public.

All this new life in the country was not relished by the bureaucracy in India. Securities had already been demanded from some journals because they were supporting the Home Rule movement. Some new victims were found; among them

was the weekly *Maharashtra* published from Nagpur, edited by G. A. Ogale, which was a staunch supporter of Tilak and his politics. On the same day that Mrs. Besant was lecturing in Poona, security was demanded from the press which was printing her *New India.* The order was served on Mrs. Besant as soon as she reached Madras on May 26. It was a small sum of Rs. 2,000/- and even for that one week's period was given. Mrs. Besant never suffered from lack of funds, yet a sum of Rs. 2,500/- was sent to her from Bombay as a token of active support to the cause she had espoused. The *New India* office was inundated with letters and telegrams of protest against Government's action. Protest meetings were held in important centres. Dr. S. Subramanya Iyer, former Chief Justice of the High Court of Madras, strongly criticized the operation of the Indian Press Act, contrary to all pledges and promises, given by Government spokesmen when the measure was being discussed in the Imperial Legislative Council and a man like Gokhale was inveigled into supporting it. Srinivasa Sastri also joined the general protest even though he objected to certain features of the Home Rule movement, but he made it clear that as long as the National Congress remained inactive, the Home Rulers could not be blamed for their legitimate activity.

A public meeting in Poona, presided over by B. S. Kamat, a prominent Moderate, entered a strong protest against the Press Act and the Indian Consolidated Amendment Act. Among the speakers were such Moderate leaders as R. P. Paranjpye, Prof. H. G. Limaye and Tilak's followers like S. M. Paranjpe, L. B. Bhopatkar and others. A similar meeting was held in Bombay over which Sir Dinshaw Petit, Baronet, presided. But Government was determined to discourage this new life in the country. Under the special powers which it had assumed during the war years, it began to enforce stricter measures. Mrs. Besant was ordered not to enter the limits of Bombay Presidency. The security of Rs. 2,000/- taken from *New India* was forfeited and fresh securities of Rs. 1,000/- from *New India* and of Rs. 5,000/- from the *Commonweal* were demanded. But there was an equally strong and stern reaction to all these moves. Mrs. Besant was proposed as President of the Congress. She issued a general appeal for branches of the Home Rule League being started all over the country from September 1. On

September 3, the Madras Branch was formally inaugurated and Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer proposed that the Home Rule League should be affiliated to the Congress. In this way all Home Rule Leaguers became Congressmen. A resolution passed on the occasion also said that there should be complete co-operation between the Indian Home Rule League started by Tilak and the Home Rule League for India started by Mrs. Besant. Accordingly there was an exchange of membership on a large scale. Mrs. Besant had filed an appeal in the Madras High Court for return of security that was forfeited both under the Press Act and the Charter Act. Both the appeals went against her but the Judges stated that they had to be guided by the Press Act provisions, which in their opinion were objectionable in themselves. The appeal under the Charter Act was intended to prove if possible that the Press Act was an unlawful law being repugnant to the Charter Act itself. C. P. Ramaswami Iyer represented Mrs. Besant but he did not succeed in his mission. Mrs. Besant's incessant and whirlwind activity, ably supported by all her colleagues became intolerable to the bureaucracy. She was interned in Madras under the Defence of India Act along with her colleagues Messrs. G. S. Arundale and B. P. Wadia, a few weeks later.

To return to Tilak's activities after the Belgaum Provincial Conference, he stopped at Satara for a day. On coming to Poona, he left for some quiet rest for his favourite resort, Sinhagarh. He was accompanied there by Khaparde. They came down to Poona by the end of May, because Tilak was invited as a special guest at Ahmednagar where a District Political Conference was held on May 31 over which Kelkar presided. Tilak delivered two lectures on May 31 and June 1 on the subject of Home Rule. These two lectures and the one delivered at Belgaum on May 1, the inauguration day of the Indian Home Rule League, were specially reported to Government by the Bombay Legislative Council stenographers. Government was apparently considering action on these speeches for nearly two months. It was freely said then that the executive council of Lord Willingdon, who was then Governor of Bombay, was divided on the question. The Governor himself was reported to be against it; he was pressing the Viceroy and his Majesty's Government to make a suitable announcement promising the

first instalment of political reforms. But whatever that may be, the decision to proceed once more against Tilak and charge him with sedition was taken. On July 22, a complaint against Tilak was filed before Mr. Hatch, District Magistrate of Poona, calling for action under Section 124A of the Indian Penal Code for these speeches. It was pointed out that twice before Tilak was convicted of sedition and yet he was indulging in seditious activity and was likely to do so for long, unless curbed. On presentation of the complaint, the District Magistrate issued a notice on Tilak on July 23 at 10-30 a.m. to show cause why he should not be bound over for good behaviour for a period of one year in a sum of Rs. 20,000/- in his own recognizance and in two sureties of Rs. 10,000/- each. He was asked to present himself before the District Magistrate on July 28. The hearing began on August 7.

Whether deliberately or in ordinary course, the Government chose a very suitable day for serving this notice. Tilak had completed sixty years of his life and there was going to be that very evening a function at his house at which it was planned to present him a congratulatory address and a purse of one lakh of rupees. Although no shouting from the housetops proclaimed this to the world, the word had gone round that Tilak's friends and admirers had planned something big and something that had not happened in the case of any popular leader till then. The present of a "show cause" notice by the District Magistrate of Poona could easily have been postponed for a couple of days, if Government had the desire to show that courtesy and decorum to a tribune of the people like Tilak. Tilak's friends, colleagues and admirers had met at an informal gathering and taken the decision that completion of sixty years by Tilak should be celebrated in a very special way. They considered it necessary, because it was their great good fortune that Tilak was restored to them after six years' jail life at Mandalay. Many feared that he would not survive his sentence. But not only he came back hale and hearty, but also he was his own old self in spirit and had not the slightest idea of retiring from the course of public service that he had adopted as a young graduate. They, therefore, considered it their duty and a proud privilege to extend to him all co-operation and help and to assure him that they were behind him in all his activity

in the service of the country. As a token of this sentiment, they decided to present a purse of a lakh of rupees to him. The time at their disposal when this proposal was finalized was only three weeks. They, therefore, decided to work in a number of important centres of Maharashtra and Karnatak through their own trusted emissaries and without making any newspaper announcement.

It was found only in three or four days that the idea was very enthusiastically taken up by thousands of Tilak's admirers and it met with a tremendous response. In two weeks it was found that half the amount was already collected from small and big, chiefly small contributions. The sponsors, therefore, felt encouraged to issue an open appeal and one was published in the *Kesari* for July 18, i.e. only five days before the presentation day. Even then the figure of one lakh was not mentioned. It was merely said that whatever collection would be there would be presented to Tilak. But it was found on July 23, that a sum of Rs. 87,336/- was collected and the rest of the balance was on its way. The grievance of the people was that the announcement in the *Kesari* on July 18 left no time for the readers of the *Kesari* in the interior of the country to send their subscriptions in time. Within a couple of days, the collections actually exceeded one lakh. The idea was broached on June 30 and by July 25, it materialized. This was an amazing feat for those who sponsored the idea and those who helped to make it a complete success. Not only money, but men from distant parts of Maharashtra and Karnatak began to pour in the city of Poona and for about a week Poona assumed the proportions of a place of pilgrimage. In the Gaikwad Wada compound, about 10,000 people were present — seated, standing, leaning against each other, craning their necks, putting up with discomfort and inconvenience when the congratulatory meeting began under the presidentship of Mr. Annasaheb Patwardhan. Besides leading men from all centres of Maharashtra and Karnatak, Tilak's intimate friends like Sir Manmohandas Ramji from Bombay, Dr. Chandulal Desai of Broach, Govindji Vasanji, and others were present. There were innumerable letters and telegrams, whose list was read to this meeting. The address of congratulation presented to him spoke in

eulogistic terms of his past services and expressed gratefulness of his followers. The last paragraph read as follows:

"Public-spirited workers like yourself are thoroughly disinterested and that makes difficult the task of repaying their services. But it is the duty of the people in any nation to be ready to make the repayment at some self-sacrifice, lest they should be called ungrateful; and we pray that you will be pleased to accept our small present at least to free us from the blame, if not for your own sake."

The following are extracts from the reply Tilak made to the congratulatory address:

"I am aware that any words which I can employ to express my heartfelt thanks for your address and gift can but inadequately express my feelings. The language of joy or emotion is always brief and in the nature of an exclamation and I pray you from the bottom of my heart to make up for any deficiency that my words may appear to reveal, so that like the gift which has grown little by little to such a stately sum, my words may, in your generous minds, grow to the full expression of my feelings.

"Even if I felt a certain embarrassment in accepting the address, I must formally accept it. But with the purse, it is a different matter. I do not know what I should do with the money it contains. I do not want it for my own sake, nor would it be proper to accept it for personal use. I can only accept it in trust to spend it in a methodical way for national work and I hope this proposal will meet with your wishes.

"The words of high praise that you have bestowed on me, in your address remind me of Bhartrihari's lines in the *Neeti Shataka*, which in English mean: How many good people are there who rejoice in their hearts by making a mountain of the particle of merit they find in others. To me, it is rather a proof of your generosity than merit in me.

"The national work that faces us today is so great, so extensive and urgent that you must work together with zeal and courage, greater than I may have been able to show. It is a task which is not one that can be put off. Our motherland tells every one of us to be up and doing. I do not think that her sons will disregard this call. Here, there is no room for rivalry, jealousy, honour, insult or fear. God alone can help us in our efforts and if not by us, it is certain that the fruit will be gathered by the next generation.

"May God inspire you with this high ideal and I pray Him to grant me life to see with my own eyes your efforts crowned with success."

Nobody took notice of the assault by Government in the midst of the rejoicings which the completion of 60 years by Tilak evoked and everybody behaved as if nothing had happened and that it was merely a matter of course. Some even pretended to welcome this as a sarcastic diamond jubilee present from Government. Even Tilak's friends thought that it

was not Government's intention this time to send him again behind the bars, but to silence him when the war was on and to curb the very active agitation started in favour of Home Rule for India. When the inquiry began before the District Magistrate of Poona on August 7, Tilak was present in the court and on his behalf, M. A. Jinnah, Joseph Baptista, R. P. Karandikar, P. R. Bakhale and Kaka Patil were present as counsel. On behalf of Government, Mr. Binning and Mr. Patwardhan assisted by the Government and complainant Guider made their appearance. At the outset, Jinnah requested the Magistrate to make clear which statements from which speeches were considered objectionable and Mr. Binning said that the speeches made by Tilak on the subject of Home Rule at Belgaum on May 1 and at Ahmednagar on May 31 and June 1, 1916 were generally considered objectionable as seditious and he proceeded to point out certain very objectionable statements also. He took care to inform the court that Government did not object to the demand of Home Rule as such but the manner in which Tilak demanded Home Rule betrayed disloyalty to Government on his part and were therefore seditious. Mr. Binning considered declarations of loyalty on the part of Tilak as a mere cloak to save himself from the clutches of law. He questioned Tilak's bona fides laying stress on isolated passages and pressed for his conviction. The District Magistrate placed reliance on the interpretation of Justice Strachey of the word disaffection as meaning absence of affection. "Looking at the speeches fairly, freely and without giving undue weight to isolated passages," the only impression produced on the mind of the Magistrate was that "Mr. Tilak wanted to disaffect his audience against Government" and because he realized that he could not carry his audience with him, he told them "that they were slaves, that their grievances remained unredressed, that the Government officials who were alien only considered their own interests of salaries and emoluments, which were opposed to those of Indians and they wanted to keep them in slavery on the pretext that they were not fit to rule themselves." Therefore, the Magistrate, under Section 108 of the Criminal Procedure Code directed Tilak to enter into a bond in a sum of Rs. 20,000/- with two sureties each of Rs. 10,000/- to be of good behaviour for a period of one year.

On August 23, an application for appeal was made before Judges Beaman and Heaton and hearing began on November 8, before Judges Batchelor and Shah. Messrs. M. A. Jinnah and Erulkar appeared as Tilak's counsel and Mr. Jardine for Government. The terms Government and disaffection were discussed threadbare. Jinnah argued that Government was a permanent institution, which did not mean the individuals which constituted it from time to time. Jinnah pointed out that Tilak's motives were never proved as being malicious. The Home Rule movement had never been objected to and Mr. Binning himself had made it clear in the lower court that it was not illegal or unconstitutional. Trying to change a system of administration could never be interpreted as hatred or disaffection. Justice Batchelor, from his remarks made from time to time, while Messrs. Jinnah and Jardine were arguing on either side, showed that he was taking quite a sympathetic view of Tilak's speeches and he was at pains to detect sedition. Mr. Jardine went on quoting isolated sentences from here and there and Justice Batchelor went on scrutinizing them and dismissing them as unobjectionable. Jinnah's defence was quite able but his task was rendered much easier by the attitude of the Judges. On November 10, both the Judges delivered separate but concurring judgments and set aside the Poona District Magistrate's order.

Justice Batchelor's judgment may be summarized as stating :

"There is not much dispute regarding the general import of Tilak's speeches and the English translations thereof. The prosecution's contention is that he used very intemperate language. But the use of such language in certain passages does not make it seditious. Justice Strachey interpreted disaffection as want of affection but I do not agree with such interpretation. The Full Bench of the High Court later authoritatively rejected this interpretation. I agree that mere frequent declaration of one's loyalty does not make one exempt from a possible charge of sedition. Tilak's speeches must be considered as a whole to determine his motive. A point has been made that the Civil Service is not the Government, but I do not accept it, because the Civil Service is the principal means through which the Government is carried on and if hatred or disaffection is created against it, it must be considered sedition. But apparently Tilak's motive or main objective does not appear to be to create disaffection against the Civil Service. He has been pleading for progressive political rights for the people and that in itself could never be seditious. I do not suggest that the demand of Swaraj under any circumstances will not be an offence, because the term Swaraj

could be variously interpreted but Tilak has made it very clear as to what kind of Swaraj he wants. His declarations of loyalty coupled with the interpretation he puts on the term Swaraj could not be considered as pretences. It is true that if even the effect of certain words is seditious, an offence is committed and there is no getting away from the fact that Tilak has used what may be called intemperate and even vulgar language. Taking Tilak's total argument into consideration, it is clear that he wanted to express disapproval of the system of government but he did not want to create hatred and disaffection. All that the court is concerned with is to see whether there was violation of law. It is absolutely clear that Tilak is intent on fulfilling his objectives through the British Parliament by appealing to the generous instincts of the British people and through their help and supervision. He does not object to the British Empire as a political institution, he only wants all its constituent parts to be strong and adhesive and therefore he wants the same kind of awakening in India as in other colonies. He has stated every now and then that there was to be no resort to extra-constitutional or illegal means for this purpose. All that he has said about the Civil Service is fair criticism or even unfair criticism but not defamation or denunciation. I, therefore, set aside the order of the District Magistrate."

Justice Lallubhai Shah wrote not only a concurring judgment but one that is even more broadbased and liberal. He said :

" It has been acknowledged by the prosecution that Swaraj and an agitation for its demand are not objectionable matters. The interpretation of disaffection as given by Justice Strachey is wrong and it has been rejected by a Full Bench of this High Court. There is some dispute regarding the meaning of the term Government. Mr. Jinnah has emphasized the difference between Government and Government officials. A department of Government or a set of officials cannot be called Government and their criticism is not criticism of Government. But if a number of departments and a large number of officials became the subject of attack, it may lead to causing of disaffection against Government, therefore, mere logical argument may not yield any solution of this matter. It is necessary to examine the specific set of circumstances under which criticism is made and what motivated it. It may be that a single department may be criticized and yet the way in which the criticism is made, may constitute an offence under Section 124A. On the other hand, the way in which even a number of departments is attacked, may not be found seditious. All that the court has to consider is whether Tilak's speeches under consideration constitute sedition and reading them as a whole, it appears that Tilak's object is to make a demand for Indians getting Home Rule, educating public opinion in support of the demand and enlisting membership for the Home Rule League. Tilak has not advocated any unconstitutional or unlawful methods in pursuit of this objective. It may be that statements like " the officials are alien " are objectionable but they do not matter in the context of the whole of the three speeches. The Prosecution Counsel pleaded that even if the charge of sedition was not held valid, it would be proper and legitimate to

demand sureties under Section 108 of the Criminal Procedure Code, but I do not agree with that view. It is necessary to prove sedition before any such demand could be made. The Section is quite explicit on that point. So far as the charge of sedition is concerned, the Section could be invoked only if the charge of sedition is presupposed or proved."

The entire Indian Press hailed the acquittal of Tilak and congratulated him and the Bombay High Court alike on that decision. He was overwhelmed with congratulatory letters and telegrams. His triumph was the triumph of the Home Rule cause. An attempt was made, in less than a fortnight of the decision of the High Court to lure Tilak into disobeying an order under the District Police Act by the District Magistrate of Dharwar. Tilak had gone on some private business to Gadag. People of that place got together in a big assemblage to do him honour when he was served with an order, prohibiting him to make any speech. It was served right in the meeting itself. The temptation to defy the order was great and a less astute or less far-sighted man than Tilak would have disobeyed it. As a matter of fact Tilak had no intention of making any speech, because he had gone to Gadag in connection with winding up the business of a certain mill there at the request of the liquidator of the Deccan Bank and in company of his friend in the cause of Swadeshi, Sir Manmohandas Ramji. But once he was there, the people naturally felt that the opportunity should be utilized for doing him honour. But by the time he and Sir Manmohandas arrived at the place of the meeting, it was found that a posse of policemen headed by Assistant Police Superintendent, Mr. O'garman, was there and that he had hounded out hundreds of people from there and even the platform was not in order. Tilak understood the whole situation. He told the organizers of the meeting to call the people together and make arrangements for the meeting. The police official came forward and handed the order of the District Magistrate issued under Section 42 of the District Police Act. It said that Tilak should not make any speech of instigation within Gadag Municipal limits. Tilak pocketed the notice and told Mr. O'garman that he had fully understood the restriction placed on him, but what business he had to disperse the people who had gathered together. He said he had oral orders to do so. Tilak said the notice served on him did not apply to offer of any *pansupari* and flowers and asked him if he was going to give a fresh order

to that effect. The Deputy Collector who was present there consulted the District Magistrate and said that the District Magistrate did not want anything more than thanksgiving and the whole ceremony must be finished quickly in five minutes. Tilak pointed out that seating properly the dispersed people would itself take five minutes. The officials agreed that the five minutes would be counted after the people were seated and the proceedings started. Mr. Alur, a Dharwar pleader congratulated Tilak on his acquittal and offered him *pansupari*, a cocoanut and garlanded him. Tilak spoke for about three minutes in which he thanked the people and said that Home Rule had been declared as fully just, right and legitimate and the people should lend their support by becoming members of the Home Rule League. Although a big speech was banned, Tilak was seen off at the station by thousands, and people illuminated temples and shops and houses and demonstrated to the District Magistrate that they were wholly behind Tilak. This incident shows that the bureaucracy's angle of vision towards Tilak had not changed. On his way to Poona, he stopped at Hubli and Belgaum also where meetings were held and branches of the Home Rule League established but there was no repetition of the Gadag incident at these places.

CHAPTER XXV

ON CREST OF HOME RULE WAVE

Even while the appeal in the third sedition case was pending, the Home Rule movement was going on. The idea never was to stop it, even if a security was ultimately demanded of Tilak. The only precaution that was taken was that propagandists of Home Rule were asked to write out their speeches before they were delivered to secure accuracy and precision in statement and argument. A series of lectures was deliberately arranged and Kelkar, Secretary of the Home Rule League delivered the first of the series on September 24, 1916 at Kirloskar theatre, Poona, under the presidentship of Joseph Baptista. On October 1, R. P. Karandikar delivered a similar lecture under the presidentship of K. P. Khadilkar. Mrs. Besant had started a similar campaign in Madras. Mr. S. J. Rai spoke at Calcutta,

with Surendra Nath Banerji in the Chair when he insisted that after the war, India must get what the Congress called Swaraj and what Mrs. Besant called Home Rule. On October 8, the U.P. Provincial Conference was held at Gorakhpur. C. Y. Chintamani presided over the Conference. He complained that along with Great Britain, even her colonies were getting a share in the domination over India and that must end at once by conferment of complete self-government on India. On the same day, Mr. R. G. Pradhan of Nasik delivered a lecture at Poona with Kelkar in the Chair and on October 15, Mr. H. K. Patwardhan, father of the well-known Patwardhan Brothers, Purushottam and Achyut, followed. Baptista published a comprehensive draft of a Home Rule Bill for India for introduction in Parliament through a private member, so that it was systematically and deliberately demonstrated that Government's direct or indirect assaults on the movement were not going to deter its sponsors from pursuing it.

On October 21, 1916, the Bombay Provincial Political Conference was held at Ahmedabad where both the Nationalists and Moderates were present in large numbers. Jinnah was in the Chair and this was the occasion when Mrs. Sarojini Naidu described him as the Ambassador of Hindu-Muslim unity. His speech was full of advocacy for the memorandum of the 19 elected members of the Imperial Legislative Council in favour of immediate political demands made therein. Among the signatories to this memorandum were Pandit Malaviya, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Srinivasa Sastri, Mazharul Haq. M. A. Jinnah, Ibrahim Rahimtullah, D. E. Wacha, Bhupendra Nath Basu and others. In November, the executives of the Congress and the Muslim League also prepared their memorandums. These two and Baptista's draft were submitted for consideration to the session of the Congress at Lucknow. All these evinced an encouraging similarity in opinion as regards the grant of immediate political concessions that Britain should make to India. Sir Krishna Govind Gupta, who was a member of the Council of the Secretary of State for India was elected a delegate by the British Committee of the Congress in London for the Lucknow Congress. He came to India at the end of November 1916 and delivered a lecture in Bombay in which he urged that the movement for demanding Home Rule must be made

in Britain itself with sustained vigour. On December 10, Mr. S. S. Setlur delivered a lecture in Bombay on Indian Home Rule, with Mr. Gokuldas Parekh in the Chair, under the auspices of the Bombay branches of the Bombay and Madras Home Rule Leagues when the lecturer who was a Nationalist and the President who was a Moderate, unanimously demanded Home Rule for India. Writing about these developments, the *Kesari* hailed Jinnah's utterances at Ahmedabad that all differences in the ranks of politically minded Indians had vanished and every Indian had become a Nationalist and a Home Ruler. As a clear demonstration of this may be pointed out the fact that the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee elected Tilak as a member of the All India Congress Committee and the Sarvajanik Sabha of Poona which was not affiliated to any Congress Committee had now the right as a public body to elect delegates to the Congress and delegates from Poona to the Lucknow Congress were elected by it. On the eve of this session, it appeared that the country was prepared to demand firmly complete Home Rule and a substantial part of it as an immediate concession from Great Britain.

The Congress at Lucknow had created tremendous enthusiasm among the people, one of the main reasons being that Tilak was going to attend it, for the first time after the Surat split. No less than 500 delegates went to Lucknow from Bombay and Maharashtra. Dr. D. D. Sathaye, a loyal follower of Tilak and a public worker of Bombay, thought of organizing a Congress Delegates' Special from Bombay to Lucknow and persuaded the railway authorities to accept the idea. Once it was settled that a special train was to leave for Lucknow, he was flooded with letters and telegrams for reservation of seats in the train from Bombay, Poona, Nagpur, Amraoti and other centres and all seats were booked, two days before the train was scheduled to leave. It was a splendid piece of organization in those days. Cards bearing names of those who had booked their seats were attached to the berths and the train was drawn in on a special platform. The Victoria Terminus assumed the appearance of a festive place. Flowers and festoons were not only given to the delegates by their near and dear, but they were hung all over the train by the enthusiastic delegates. The names of the stations where the train was to halt

were previously announced and that gave ample opportunity to people of those places to organize receptions. All stations were crowded beyond their capacity by people who were anxious to have Tilak's *darshan.* Lunches, dinners, teas and little harangues were appropriately fixed and all this meant unbearable tax on Tilak's not very satisfactory health.

Remarkable among all the receptions was the one at Bhopal, where 500 Muslims were present. The arrangements there left nothing to be desired. The train left Victoria Terminus on December 23 at 8-30 a.m. and reached Lucknow at about 11-30 a.m. on December 25. The tumultuous scenes at the station in the midst of the cries of "Tilak Maharajki Jai" could better be imagined than described. Arrangements had been made by the volunteers of the Congress and the police for Tilak and party being taken in a procession through the main streets of Lucknow. Tilak was seated in a motor car. It was besieged by such a pressing concourse of people that it was not possible for the driver to move it at all. In the midst of this confusion, some imaginative fellow punctured the tyres of the car deliberately, but instead of the culprit being detected and punished, he was hailed by the admiring crowd! A carriage was brought and instead of horses drawing it, it was drawn by volunteers in the midst of offerings of flowers and fruits and sweets. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya came to receive Tilak on half the way. He was also seated in his car next to him and the procession wended its way through the bazar to Chhedilal's *dharmashala* at about 2 p.m. Tilak ascended the terrace of the building and from there addressed a few cheering words. The gist of it was that the flag of Home Rule would be unfurled in their great and historic city the next day in the session of the Indian National Congress.

Ambika Charan Muzumdar was the President of this session and Pandit Jagat Narayan was Chairman of the Reception Committee. Welcoming the delegates the latter congratulated both the Nationalists and the Muslims on having joined the Congress. The President expressed great satisfaction at the fact that the Congress which had split up at the French Garden at Surat was united again in the Kesar Baug of Lucknow. He extended a hearty welcome to Tilak and his followers and expressed the hope that the whole country would

unite under the banner of the Congress. For the first two days, the All India Congress Committee was busy considering the draft schemes of Swaraj prepared by the Congress and the Muslim League. Both the drafts were then combined and a single one was produced which was later referred to in political discussions as the Congress-League scheme. Surendra Nath Banerji moved this scheme as a resolution of the Congress in the open session on the third day. The preamble to the main part of the resolution said that India was always fit for Swaraj but what the resolution demanded must be conceded immediately as the first instalment thereof. The resolution declared :

"Having regard to the ancient civilization of India, the progress made in education, and the public spirit shown, His Majesty, the King-Emperor should be pleased to issue a proclamation announcing that it is the aim and intention of British policy to confer self-government on India at an early date; that as a definite step in that direction, the Congress-League scheme should be forthwith granted; and that in the reconstruction of the Empire, India should be lifted from the position of a dependency to that of an equal partner in the Empire with the self-governing Dominions."

The essentials of the Congress-League scheme were the subordination of the executive to the legislature which was still to consist of a one-fifth nominated element and the Council of the Secretary of State was to be abolished. In the words of the historian of the Congress, Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, it was a poor show, judging by the rapid strides taken since then by the Congress and yet Government fought shy of it and pitted against it a scheme of their own in the form of the Montagu-Chelmsford proposals of political reform.

The Lucknow session was unique in many respects. Like the session in Bombay in the previous year it was largely attended. While the Bombay session had attracted 2,259 delegates, the Lucknow session was attended by 2,301 delegates, besides thrice as many visitors who filled the spacious *pandal* of the Congress to its utmost capacity. Formulation of a scheme of self-government and fraternization of the Hindus and Muslims were its distinct achievements. No less important was the union of the two wings of the Congress which had been separated since 1907. It was a happy spectacle to cast eyes upon for every patriot that Tilak and Khaparde were sitting side by side with Dr. Rash Behari Ghose and Surendra Nath Banerji. Mrs. Besant was there with G. S. Arundale and

B. P. Wadia. Among the Muslims were such men as the Raja of Mahammudabad, Mazharul Haq, A. Rasul and M. A. Jinnah. Gandhiji and H. S. L. Polak were also there. The Congress-League scheme which was passed by the Congress, was immediately approved by the Muslim League. The resolution on self-government was followed by another resolution calling upon various Congress Committees and other organized bodies and associations to start a propagandist and educative campaign throughout the country. These bodies and associations chiefly included the Home Rule League of Tilak and Mrs. Besant. The response to the Congress call was marvellous, because the branches of the Tilak and Besant Home Rule Leagues carried on a raging and tearing propaganda in favour of self-government for which Home Rule was only a synonym.

The Congress session at Lucknow was followed by a Conference of Home Rulers in the *pandal* of the Theosophical Federation. About 1,000 Home Rulers were present. Mrs. Besant presided over the Conference. Tilak made a speech at this Conference on the suggestion of Mrs. Besant. Reviewing the happenings at Lucknow he said :

"Two things of transcendental importance happened at Lucknow. One was that a definite demand of Swaraj was unanimously formulated. The other was that Hindus and Muslims made that demand with a united voice. There is a feeling in certain quarters that excessive concessions were made to our Mussalman brothers, but that was necessary to enlist their hearty support to the demand of self-government, whether that was right or wrong from the point of view of strict justice. We cannot progress without their help and co-operation. If they get more concessions and weightage, their responsibility for getting and preserving Swaraj will correspondingly and proportionately increase. If there is a tripartite struggle, two parties must join together to eliminate the third. In the tug of war with the British, the Muslims must throw their weight on our side. To demand fearlessly that we shall rule ourselves in our home is our immediate duty, of one and all of us."

Tilak's speech in support of the Congress resolution on self-government also bears reproduction as it was his first utterance from the Congress platform after the Surat imbroglio. The whole audience stood up to do him honour as he came to the rostrum and there was tremendous and prolonged cheering. He said :

"I thank you sincerely for the reception you have given me, but let me tell you that I am not foolish enough to think that this reception is given

to me personally. It is given, if I understand rightly, to the principles for which we have been fighting. The resolution which I wish to support embodies all these principles. It is the resolution of self-government. It is that for which the Congress has been fighting, for the last thirty years. The first note of it was heard ten years ago on the banks of the Hooghli and it was sounded by the Grand Old Man of India, Dadabhai Naoroji. Since the note was sounded, differences of opinion arose. Some said that the note ought to be resounded and echoed a thousand-fold and ought to be followed by a detailed scheme at once; there were others among us who said that it could not be done so soon and the tune of that note required to be a little lowered. That was the cause of dissension ten years ago and I am glad that I have lived these ten years to see that we are reunited in this Congress and that we are going to raise our voices together and put our shoulders together to push on this scheme of self-government. Not only we have lived to see these differences closed but also to see the differences of Hindus and Muslims closed as well. So we have now united in the United Provinces and have found luck now in this city of Lucknow. I consider this 31st session of the Congress as the most auspicious of all sessions.

"There are only one or two points on which I wish to address you. It has been said by some that we have yielded too much to the Muslims. I am sure I represent the sense of the Hindu community all over India and I say that we could not have yielded too much. I would not care if the rights of self-government are granted to the Muslim community only. I would not care if they are granted to the Rajputs. I would not care if they are granted to the lowest classes of the Hindu population, provided the British Government considers them more fit than the educated classes of India for exercising those rights. I would not care if those rights are granted to any section of the Indian community. Then the fight will be between them and other sections of the community and not, as at present, a triangular fight. We have to wrest these rights from a powerful bureaucracy, an unwilling bureaucracy. We have to fight against a third party and therefore it is very important that we should stand united on this platform, united in race, united in religion and united as regards all shades of different political opinion. We have forged this weapon of unity and that is the most important event of the day."

The Secretariat of the U.P. Government had issued a warning to the Reception Committee against any spirit of sedition in the Congress speeches and a copy of that letter was served on the President-elect as well, through the Government of Bengal. The Reception Committee gave a fitting reply to this gratuitous insult while the President treated it with the contempt that it deserved. Mrs. Besant was just then under orders of externment from Berar and Bombay and not unnaturally some developments were apprehended at the Lucknow session. But the wisdom of Sir James Meston, the Governor, averted all

complications. Sir James and Lady Meston with staff attended the Congress session and Sir James made a suitable reply to the welcome extended to them. It was rumoured at that time that Sir Valentine Chirol was also to accompany Sir James and relying on that rumour some Bombay delegates had planned to stage a hissing and hooting demonstration for him. When Tilak got scent of this childish project, he wrote out a circular in pencil in his own hand and sent it round asking Bombay delegates not to indulge in any such foolish pranks. He said he knew very well how to deal with Sir Valentine and his friends need not take it on themselves to oblige him in the way they were planning.

Mr. C. S. Ranga Iyer, who was then editor of the *Advocate* of Lucknow has recorded a recollection of Tilak. He says:

"Lokamanya Tilak in the Subjects Committee of the Congress was an interesting study. When the angry speakers were foaming on all sides, he was calm and undisturbed as a rock. There is only one other leader so calm and composed amidst the storms that blow now and again so furiously in the Subjects Committee and he is no other than Mahatma Gandhi (Mr. Iyer was writing somewhere in 1924). I remember the remarkable composure of Tilak in the Lucknow Congress when the Moderates and Nationalists, the Hindus and Muslims were unusually agitated — the Moderates over the forward step that the advanced politicians were taking and the Hindus and Muslims over the communal representation and the pact. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya was very much upset. He would not reconcile himself to the pact and the Hindu enthusiasts, who invaded his spare hours, were assured by him that if there was need and if it was proper, he would hold a huge demonstration against the Congress, i.e. if it surrendered itself to the Muslims. The leader of Maharashtra who was the most religious, the most learned in the Vedas and among the most orthodox of the Hindus (according to belief then current) would not listen to any argument against the pact. Not that he was enamoured of it himself, but if it would satisfy the Muslims, if it could bring them in the Congress, if it could replace their extra-territorial patriotism by Indian nationalism, the agreement was worth reaching. Tilak's attitude was the deciding factor in the Hindu-Muslim settlement, the last word on the subject as far as the Hindus were concerned. Pandit Malaviya's contemplated demonstration did not come off and he wisely lowered the flag and bent before the gale — though suspecting in his mind that the Muslims would only take the earliest opportunity to ask for more concessions."

After going through a number of private, semi-public and public engagements at Lucknow, Tilak started on January 1, 1917 for Cawnpore. A deputation of the citizens of Cawnpore was already there in Lucknow to prevail upon him to go to

Cawnpore. As soon as Tilak agreed to detrain at Cawnpore, telegrams were sent to Cawnpore for getting ready for Tilak's reception and within three hours required to reach Cawnpore, all arrangements were complete. Procession in a horse-carriage drawn by volunteers and burial under flowers were the features of the reception. Tilak was to camp at Seth Santoshchand's palatial residence in Rail Bazar. A lecture was arranged on the Parade Ground. Messrs. R. P. Karandikar and D. V. Belvi who accompanied Tilak reached the meeting-place earlier. Karandikar who had put on a Mahratta Brahman turban like Tilak's was mistaken for Tilak and in spite of continuous protest by him that he was not Tilak, people insisted on touching his feet ! Amused at the scene, Belvi said, "The Mahratta Brahman turban must hereafter remain Tilak's exclusive prerogative, if his friends, colleagues and companions are to be saved from predicaments like the one in which Karandikar found himself." Karandikar was relieved only after Tilak accompanied by G. S. Khaparde made his appearance on the platform. Rai Bahadur Vishwambharnath was voted to the Chair and an address in Sanskrit was presented to Tilak. Tilak addressed the audience in English. Though thousands present there did not understand the language, they maintained exemplary silence and they were content only to hear his voice. Tilak in his speech said :

"The labours of the Indian National Congress during the last thirty years have taught us to demand Swaraj. This demand has been formulated by our senior and experienced leaders and patriots who have grown grey in the service of the country. When we demand Swaraj what we mean is that we must be masters in our own house. We are willing to remain in the British Empire but we shall not tolerate any subordinate status. Our leaders spoke of self-government on colonial lines, because during the war they came to know that the colonies enjoyed equal status and were in reality fully self-governing, semi-sovereign Dominions. We have seen that for ourselves and we want that status. We are like tiger's cubs, brought up amongst a flock of sheep, but we have known now what we really are. Those who agree with us but are unable do much should at least offer prayers to God for our success."

From Cawnpore, Tilak proceeded to Calcutta. The reason for going to Calcutta was to meet Babu Motilal Ghose who owing to old age was unable to attend the Lucknow session of the Congress and had repeatedly written to Tilak that he was expecting death any minute and they would not be able to meet.

Tilak, somehow or other believed that such a calamity would not occur before he met him. But when he saw that Motilal Ghose did not attend the Lucknow Congress he decided to proceed to Calcutta to see him. He put up at his house and it was an event of great rejoicing in the Ghose family which consisted of eleven brothers and a sister. The eldest of them, Babu Shishir Kumar, was no more but the younger Ghose Brothers and Tilak looked up to him as their patriarch and preceptor. They had not met for seven long years and their heart-to-heart talks looked like never-ending. Tilak was unable to stay with the Ghoses for long. On January 5, he attended a reception at the Maharashtra Club. He assured Babu Motilal that he would take an early opportunity of seeing him again and proceeded to Nagpur. Tilak reached Nagpur on January 6. He stayed with Mr. Narayanrao Vaidya, a well-known Nagpur lawyer and Secretary of the Home Rule League, Nagpur branch. Tilak was later taken to the residence of Mr. Gopalrao Buti, the great banker of Nagpur. During his sojourn at Nagpur for two days, Tilak was treated to a number of receptions and *pansuparis* by private persons and public bodies. Notable among them were those from the Mahar community and the weavers of Itwari. A public meeting was held at Chitnavis Park over which Dr. Harisingh Gour presided. Among those present were the notable Moderate leaders of Nagpur including Sir Bepin Krishna Bose, Rao Bahadur Pandit and others. The majority of the audience consisted of the textile labour of Nagpur. Addressing this meeting Tilak said:

> "I perceive a great difference between the Nagpur of today and the Nagpur of ten years ago. There was no unity then; it is there now. The Anglo-Indian newspapers are frightened at the spectacle of Hindus and Muslims making the same demand of Home Rule. Men like Lord Sydenham are warning the British people that there is danger in India. They are saying that the Queen's proclamation is meaningless and the pledges given by the King-Emperor have no value. Whatever has been given to the Indians is already too much and they should be told once and for all that no more concessions would be made. We must draw only one deduction from this that we must carry on our agitation with redoubled vigour and remember that God helps those who help themselves."

The next day Mr. M. V. Abhyankar gave a dinner and Tilak and party started for Yeotmal, Mr. M. S. Aney's home-town. It so happened by accident that the Chief Secretary of C. P. and Berar Mr. Slocock came by the same train by which Tilak

was to leave and the crowds that had gathered at the station to give a send-off to Tilak made it impossible for that big official to find a way out and he was forced to witness the enthusiastic scenes at the station in honour of Tilak. There was repetition of the programme at Nagpur with some inevitable variation at Dhamangaon, Yeotmal, Akola, Darwha, Bori and Ladkhed. Even the station platforms wherever this train stopped for a few minutes were used for garlanding him and hearing a few words from his lips. At Darwha Tilak said very briefly that just as one need not buy railway tickets for each station when one buys a ticket from Darwha to Bombay, they need not make any other demands when they made the single, wholesale demand of Swaraj. When Tilak reached Murtazapur, people had made preparations to take him in a palanquin in procession. But this he sternly put down as atrocious. Tilak said at the public meeting at Murtazapur, "We tried to storm the fortress of Swaraj from various corners and directions but that was so much waste of effort and it is now decided to storm the main entrance, to capture the entire fortress of Swaraj. It is no use plucking leaves and buds and flowers and fruit if we want the tree itself. We must get at its bottom and even its roots." From here Tilak went to Akola where a sum of Rs. 250/- made from small collections was presented to him for the work of the Home Rule League. At the Akola public meeting, he reminded the audience that he had addressed them soon after the Surat Congress session and said :

"All the misunderstandings created by the Surat incidents are now cleared. But Government alone persists in misunderstanding us. That is why we could not meet for seven years. Now, even Government says it is in favour of granting us rights of Swaraj. The demand has been declared lawful and constitutional. But Government says we must use measured words while asking for Swaraj. It is something like asking one to eat a nut without cracking it by one's teeth. The Judge in Shakespeare's *Merchant of Venice* decided that the money-lender Shylock could have a pound of flesh from his debtor's heart but he would not allow a drop of blood to be spilt in that process. We have also to take Swaraj without hurting the bureaucracy and causing any loss to Great Britain. How that is to be done is the problem before us and all of us have to address ourselves to the task of finding a solution of that problem."

From Akola Tilak went straight to Poona and on January 28, 1917, a meeting of the Home Rule League Council was held and stock was taken of the work done till then. Six branches

were formed, three thousand members were enlisted and subscriptions and donations to the extent of Rs. 7,000/- were collected. It was also decided to appoint propagandists to spread the gospel of Home Rule and collect a fund for sending a deputation to England for educating British public opinion in favour of Home Rule for India. On the 29th, Aney delivered a lecture on Home Rule at the Kirloskar theatre, Tilak presiding. It is interesting to see how Aney dealt with the political questions of the day by allusions to mythological events. Aney said :

"It seems that there is a cycle of progress every ten years. Our aspirations mark a milestone and our efforts to realize them grow proportionately. Like the Dominions which now show signs of age, India also is feeling that she has come of age. In our mythology we read the story of the King Bali who performed the Vishwajit sacrifice and he became ready as a great donor to give to others whatever they wanted and Vishnu, in the incarnation of Vamana, went to ask for land which would be covered by his three steps. Similarly when Great Britain becomes ready after the successful termination of the war for distribution of presents, we must be ready for asking Home Rule. Just as Shukracharya came in the way of Bali making the gift that Vamana demanded, Meston, Morris, Curtis & Co. might come in the way of Britain but they would meet with the same fate that Shukracharya did. Vamana gave the assurance that he would play the role of the protector of the nether world. Similarly we would pledge ourselves for the protection of the whole of the British Empire."

Aney till then was only a leader of his district, highly respected for his public services to the peasantry and his work in the Yeotmal District People's Association was a model for any constructive social worker to follow. What position he occupied in later years is well known.

Tilak's papers, the *Kesari* and the *Mahratta* were concentrating on the Home Rule propaganda and his colleagues and followers were using the platform for the same purpose. In Madras, Government sought to place all kinds of restrictions on the activities of Mrs. Besant and her followers, but that only helped to spread the agitation for Home Rule to the remotest corners of the country. Home Rule Leagues were established all over the land. Lord Pentland's Government in Madras promulgated an order restraining students from taking part in political agitation which was reminiscent of the Risley Circular in Bombay during 1907-08. Mrs. Besant was called upon to furnish security for her press and the papers, daily *New India*

and weekly *Commonweal*. Altogether she deposited Rs. 20,000/-. Because of the war, Government had assumed special powers and they were being used in a special way. After Mrs. Besant had furnished security somewhere in June, it was forfeited within three months in September. She was also ordered not to enter Bombay and the Central Provinces. The Punjab also kept her out. A similar order was served on Tilak also by the Government of the Punjab. It was even insulting as its wording showed, because it said, "Government is informed that Bal Gangadhar Tilak, the Chitpavan Brahman of Poona, intends to visit the Punjab and endanger peace and public safety by his behaviour. So he is advised that he should not enter the Punjab. If he violates this instruction he will be liable to three years' imprisonment and fine." This proclamation was made under the Defence of India Act on February 13, 1917. Apparently, Government felt very sour at the successful tours of Tilak after the Lucknow Congress from place to place. As a matter of fact, Tilak had no intention at all at that time to enter the Punjab. As coincidence would have it, a copy of the proclamation was served on him on the same day on which he was appealing to young undergraduates of Poona to join the Indian Defence Force as common soldiers. For, on the same day (February 17) a public meeting was held at Kirloskar theatre with Principal R. P. Paranjpye in the Chair, to appeal to young men of India to join the army and among the speakers were leading members of the Moderate and Nationalist Parties. Tilak said at this meeting :

"Ever since the Indian National Congress was started, we have been making the demand for arming India and giving commissioned ranks in the army to suitable Indians. But Government has turned a deaf ear to our demand all along. In the event of invasion of India by a foreign power, Britain does not hesitate to take Japan's aid but she would not train Indians to defend their motherland. But the Arms Act is to be amended on February 21 and Indians are going to be given this new right of serving in the army. Young Indians must take full advantage of it. When we demand self-government, it is implicit in our demand that we demand the right of defending our frontiers militarily. We must not insist on too many conditions to enlist as volunteers. Hitherto only Anglo-Indians, Parsees and native Christians could offer themselves as volunteers but now all Hindus and Muslims also can do so. Young undergraduates must not think that in undergoing military training, they are wasting a year of their educational career. Today we are getting this opportunity because there is the war on, but it will depend on us whether to secure

them for all time or not. It should not be difficult to raise a volunteer army of 20,000 from Maharashtra and Karnatak."

Tilak also contributed an article to the *Kesari* for February 27 on the same subject and on the same lines.

In a few days, Tilak was also prohibited to visit Delhi. The order served on him stated that he had already been in Delhi once, while in reality he had never gone there. All these orders showed that Government had no faith in Tilak's bona fides. On the one hand, Government was carrying on a recruiting campaign and on the other, it was placing restrictions on Tilak's activities which were calculated to promote the same objective. But Tilak went on with his work undeterred. On March 2, a mass meeting was held in Bombay at Shantaram's Chawl Maidan, over which Tilak presided. A message from Mahatma Gandhi sent to this meeting was read out which exhorted people to join the army. Only three days before, the Commander-in-Chief of India had made not a very encouraging speech while introducing the Arms Act Amendment Bill. But Tilak refused to be discouraged. He said, "We must utilize whatever opportunity we get of shaping and influencing our future. You have to work hard and risk your life in the army. Yet, it is in your and the country's best interests to do so. Once people who have received military training begin to fraternize with the other people, Government is bound to be affected by that spectacle. If some day in the future, you expect to get Home Rule and commissioned ranks, join the army right now." Among other speakers at this meeting were Sir Manmohandas Ramji, Horniman and Khadilkar. Tilak and Manmohandas declared that their sons had already volunteered and that made a great impression. About 800 people enlisted themselves among whom were many university graduates. It is amusing to record here that Khadilkar who made a vigorous appeal at this meeting for recruitment, was prevented from doing so at Belgaum where he had gone for the same purpose. He was served with an order that he should not incite the people and abet committing breach of peace. But the meeting was held and Gangadharrao Deshpande said all that Khadilkar wanted to say, perhaps more vigorously than he would have done. Similar speeches were being made all over the country by men like Surendra Nath Banerji, Motilal Ghose, Sivaswami Iyer, G. A. Natesan, Kasturi

Ranga Iyengar, Nilkanthrao Udhoji, M. S. Aney, B. S. Moonje, Narayanrao Vaidya, Bepin Chandra Pal, C. R. Das and others. But no Magistrate objected to their speeches. This inconsistency in the behaviour of Government officials was indicative of the confusion in their minds and lack of proper guidance from the central authority which probably had not decided upon a well-defined policy then.

In the beginning of April, Tilak went to Calcutta to attend the meeting of the A.I.C.C. which was to consider the question of arranging a deputation of leading Congressmen to go to London and also hold a session of the Congress there. Surendra Nath Banerji, Rash Behari Ghose, Bhupendra Nath Basu, Madan Mohan Malaviya, Krishna Govind Gupta, Raja of Mahmudabad, Tej Bahadur Sapru. Srinivasa Sastri and C. P. Ramaswami Iyer were to form the deputation. The British Committee of the Congress tried hard to get Mr. Austin Chamberlain, the Secretary of State for India to make a pronouncement of policy regarding political reforms and grant of commissions to Indians in the army but he would do nothing. A small conference was held in London on May 8, 1917 at which Sir Satyendra Prasanna Sinha was present. It was the deliberations of this body that led to the countermanding of an accredited deputation from India. Tilak went on a tour of Karnatak, straight from this Calcutta meeting of the A.I.C.C. even without stopping at Poona on the way. He attended the Belgaum District Political Conference on April 12 over which R. P. Karandikar presided. Tilak had to go through the usual procedure of being taken in a procession and addressing a public meeting. His address this time was couched in philosophical terminology. The gist of it was that efforts for the cause one espoused was the paramount duty of every conscientious human being and therefore any feelings of obligation to him on the part of the people for his constant efforts for securing Swaraj for India were superfluous. On April 13, he attended a Conference of the Maratha community held to promote education among the Marathas organized by one Mr. Balvantrao Mane, a Belgaum leader of the Marathas. Addressing this Conference Tilak said :

" It is Government's duty to spread education. But Government is afraid that if people receive education their aspirations will grow and they will

demand self-rule and so it is tardy in its efforts. If we get Swaraj and if I am somebody in it, I promise that I shall at once introduce universal, free and compulsory primary education to begin with. If you want this, you must develop your strength and compel Government to concede what you want."

It would be easily seen how he was entirely taken up by the single idea of work for Swaraj. Addressing another public meeting at Belgaum he said :

"I was prosecuted for a lecture on Home Rule in your town which was my first speech on the subject. So I am afraid of speaking here again! But I must get over any such fear in order to tell people that they must become fearless and speak out. It is because we fearlessly carried on our propaganda that there are 6,000 members of the Home Rule League now. People are still afraid of the C.I.D. but the time for such fear is gone. We now propose to go to England and knock at the door of Parliament and demand Swaraj. I was formerly against sending deputations and described it as a policy of mendicancy in the words of my friend Bepin Chandra Pal. But now the times have changed. We have built up our strength and forged unity of Hindus and Muslims. Mr. Gokhale was asked a few years ago in England wherever he went: What about the Muslims? No such question will be put to Mr. Sastri when he goes to England on our behalf to demand Home Rule. We have to bring pressure on the British from here and from the English soil itself."

At a meeting held under the auspices of the Home Rule League, Belgaum branch at Chikodi with D. V. Belvi in the Chair, Tilak said if he wanted Rs. 5,000/- for the Home Rule League, even a single individual might have given that sum; but he was anxious to have a rupee each, from 5,000 people because that meant that as many people were anxious to have Home Rule. From Chikodi, Tilak was taken to Nipani which is a centre of sugar-cane and tobacco cultivation. Khadilkar was the main speaker at Nipani, but Tilak also had to say a few words. He said :

"I seriously object to people calling me Mahatma and Bhagwan. I am an ordinary human being like you. Perhaps the only difference between me and others is that I am determined to share all I know with others. Books contain all knowledge, but they cannot walk up and talk to people. Men can. I know and remember that during the hey-day of the Desais of Nipani, young men volunteered with their own horses and rations to join the Peshwa armies but today, young men run away in the forests, when recruiting officers arrive on the scene. Nipani produces best quality tobacco, but for best cheroots we have to look up to Egypt. This must stop and Swaraj can put a stop to these things in a very short time

because the will to stop them will be there. Where there is a will, there is a way."

On return from the tour of Karnatak by the 15th of April, the movement for enlistment of members and holding the first annual Conference of the Indian Home Rule League began in right earnest. It was decided to hold the first annual Conference at Nasik on May 17 and 18, because the Bombay Provincial Political Conference was to be held there under the presidentship of Srinivasa Sastri and a Social Conference also with M. R. Jayakar in the Chair. Sastri's address to the Conference was a powerful and spirited dissertation on Home Rule but the proceedings were practically conducted by Kelkar on his behalf, because they had to be mostly through the medium of Marathi. Joseph Baptista moved the resolution on Swaraj and Tilak seconded it. After this Conference, the Home Rule League Conference was held at the same place, when its President, Baptista, reviewed the work of the year. He said :

"I have not come across even a single Englishman who objected to the words Home Rule. But some of us object to it and advance the argument that some undesirable associations with that word may be unwelcome to Britishers. Are we prepared to give up the slogan of "Liberty, Equality and Fraternity" because it is associated with the French Revolution ? We use the words Home Rule to denote in an easy way the content of rule by ourselves and not to threaten people with bloodshed. If we say Swaraj, it reminds some people of complete independence; if we say Home Rule it reminds others of boycott. What are we to do then ? Is it not enough that our agitation has been declared lawful ? Hundred years ago, no one would have been able to say how India should become self-governing. But now we can make reasonable proposals. The British Empire today is a federation of Great Britain and her colonies and Dominions. India can similarly be an equal member of the Empire as a self-governing dominion."

After Baptista's speech, the Secretary submitted the report of the year's activities. It showed that 14,128 members were enlisted among whom 42 per cent were Brahmans, 43 per cent non-Brahmans, 309 Mussalmans, 11 Parsees and 67 women. The collection from membership fee amounted to Rs. 9,000/- and donations to Rs. 6,000/-. About 5,000 letters were received and an equal number of letters were sent out. Speeches were delivered in all districts by leaders and local men. Six booklets in Marathi and two in English were published, 47,000 copies out of 75,000 printed were sold. The three speeches of Tilak on Home Rule which were the subject of the proceedings for sedition were published as a booklet of which 3,000 copies

were sold. The booklets were published in Gujarati and Kannada also. Mrs. Besant and a number of her leading followers enlisted themselves as members of the Bombay Home Rule League and Tilak and his followers joined the All India Home Rule League of Madras. Thus there was perfect co-operation between the Tilak and Besant Leagues. Reports of branches were also submitted. A new class of members known as life-members was provided for and the fee for it was fixed at Rs. 100/-.

In his concluding speech at this conference Tilak said :

" It is because the Home Rulers went in large numbers to the Lucknow Congress that it became easier to get the Swaraj resolution passed. The Congress does not make any arrangement for implementing its resolutions but the work of the Congress is our work also and if only Congress allows us to do it, it is quite enough for us. In the coming year, there must be 50,000 people on the rolls of the League and as many rupees collected. We have to do some substantial work in England. We demand status of equality with the self-governing dominions, so we must show the same organizing capacity and make similar sacrifices in pursuit of our cause. We must maintain a proper organization in England and that would be an expensive business. The Madras and Bombay Home Rule Leagues are of one mind altogether. The two organizations are different because, their media of propagation of the common cause are different languages. Some people have suggested that the Leagues should undertake social and industrial activity, but that is not the business of the Leagues. They have come into existence for the specific work of demanding only Home Rule. That is the one thing that propagandists have to demand and it is only for securing Home Rule that members join the League. Beyond fearlessly standing for this demand, nothing more is obligatory on members. It is desirable that they should be ardent lovers of Swadeshi, but we do not make it a condition of membership. It is desirable that all Home Rulers should be teetotallers but we do not make that also a condition. All that is expected of a member is that he must demand Home Rule for India without any equivocation and he must ask nothing less than that."

Thus, while the movement for Swaraj was gathering strength every day and in every province and an effort was being made by popular leaders to couple the demand of self-rule with self-defence, the Government of India issued a resolution at the end of May whereby it was regretted that the scheme of the Indian Defence Force did not succeed for lack of co-operation from the popular leaders. Government's attitude in this behalf was all along insincere and confused. The rules of entry into the army were more discouraging than encouraging. Army officers made their best to keep the popular leaders at an arm's

length. If help was offered by them it was thankfully declined, if not spurned. The demand for commissioned ranks to deserving and educated persons was not sympathetically considered, nor was any encouraging announcement for the future made. On the other hand those who exhorted India's young men to join the army in spite of all discouragement as a patriotic duty were served with notices under the Defence of India Act. Yet Government blamed popular leaders for the failure of the cause of recruitment. The crux of the problem was that Government did not want any politically minded or patriotic people to join the army at all. The Government wanted only mercenaries who were just able-bodied to serve as cannon-fodder. Such recruits were being enlisted as usual by the recruiting officers and the civil officers and Indian Princes were collecting funds for the war through their usual oppressive methods. While the pretention was always that the Government did not object to the Congress resolutions, any permanent or perennial activity in favour of those very resolutions and political awakening among the people which organized them for sustained action was distasteful to the Government and repressive measures to put down such awakening were a pet and patent method of the bureaucracy. Action against Tilak had failed but it was now tried against Mrs. Besant. Yet, Mr. Lloyd George, the British Prime Minister was proclaiming self-determination from the housetops and mentioning India side by side with the self-governing dominions while making pronouncements of political importance. The question of Irish Home Rule was being seriously tackled by the British statesmen but that was due to pressure from America, which gave Britain clearly to understand that unless the Irish question was settled, America would not extend a hand of help. Not a small proportion of Americans was of Irish origin and it was quite influential in American politics. There was none to take up India's cause in the same way. On the other hand, repression of the movement for Home Rule seemed to be Government's policy. Lord Pentland had the honour of taking action against Mrs. Besant now.

On June 15, Mrs. Besant, Mr. G. S. Arundale and Mr. B. P. Wadia were served with a notice to choose one of the six places where they would have to live in internment. Coimbatore and

Ootacamund were the places chosen. But with the internment of the leaders the Home Rule movement only grew more popular. It was at this stage that Jinnah joined the Home Rule League and was elected President of the Bombay branch. Members of the Bombay bar like Bhulabhai Desai, M. R. Jayakar, K. M. Munshi, Vibhakar, Vimadalal and a hundred others joined the Bombay branch of the League. Mrs. Besant, however, continued to contribute to the *New India* and the *Commonweal* even from her internment, despite Government orders and surveillance. P. K. Telang went over to Madras to take up the editorship of the *New India*. A. Rangaswamy Iyengar of the *Swadeshamitran* who later became editor of the *Hindu* was assisting in the conduct of the daily. Horniman and Kelkar went to Madras for a few days to help Telang, obviously to demonstrate their sympathy and fraternal feelings in a public manner. C. P. Ramaswami Iyer was devoting his time and talents to the work of organization of the Home Rule campaign as well as journalism. Before the internment of Mrs. Besant Lord Pentland had given a warning in his address to the Madras Legislative Council that immediate responsible government which Indian leaders were demanding was an impossible concession to make. Whatever reforms Great Britain might introduce after the war would certainly fall short of the demands of the leaders. Knowing all this, if they persisted in demanding only Home Rule and nothing but Home Rule, a situation with dangerous possibilities might develop. Responsibility for such a situation would be entirely theirs, he thundered and gave the further warning that they should not entertain and encourage false hopes. Indian politicians might be sincere and honest in their views, but their expression amounted to condemnation and even villification of the officials and respect for law and order tended to be undermined. Saying all this he gave the threat that all legitimate measures to meet the situation would be taken and he appealed to "wise, sensible and reasonable people" to co-operate with Government.

This speech met with a protest from no less a person than Dr. S. Subramanya Iyer who publicly said that he was once a High Court Judge and a devoted Congressman and knew what responsibility in politics meant. He challenged Lord Pentland to proceed against him and hundreds like him who demanded

Home Rule. Sir Subramanya Iyer's lead was followed by thousands and they offered to be prosecuted for demanding Home Rule. Mrs. Besant was reconciled to being interned, but she would not give up her stand of demanding Home Rule. She addressed an open letter to the people asking them to keep the Home Rule flag flying under any circumstances and went to see the Governor of Madras. Action was taken against her under the Defence of India Act but no specific charge against her was made. She demanded to know what her offence was so that she could offer her explanation. But the Governor would not discuss it. He only said that she must cease all her Home Rule activity and even offered her facilities for leaving for England and staying there as long as the war lasted. Mrs. Besant said that she was only implementing the Lucknow Congress resolution with vigour and on his own word, he was not against Congress. Lord Pentland thanked her for showing the text of the Lucknow Congress resolution but insisted on saying that she must stop all her political activity, whether that was lawful or unlawful. Mrs. Besant indignantly left his presence saying that no useful purpose would be served by continuing that kind of conversation.

The conversation between Lord Pentland and Mrs. Besant was then reported in the Press. His attitude was altogether unreasonable and if unreason was to rule in the name of law, people were prepared to set that law at naught. In other words, a form of passive resistance seemed to be in the offing. Tilak issued a general appeal to all to support the single demand of Home Rule, forgetting all other differences in a crisis like that. That appeal went home. Meetings began to be held in important centres to protest against Lord Pentland's attitude and more and more people enlisted themselves as members of the Home Rule League. Thousands of people signed a statement whereby it was proclaimed by the signatory that he would adhere to the Lucknow Congress resolution and support the demand of Home Rule. The signatory also pledged himself to take all the consequences of this stand even if it was declared unlawful by the Government. C. Y. Chintamani, editor of the *Leader* of Allahabad, became a member of the Home Rule League and appealed to all Congressmen to do likewise. Surendra Nath Banerji, Jinnah and Bhurgri signed the statement referred

to above. Chintamani wholly endorsed Tilak's appeal for unity between the older Congressmen and younger Home Rulers saying that the British bureaucracy disliked both. The Home Rulers would be repressed first and the Congressmen next. Their small difference about the degree of emphasis that might be laid on complete grant of Swaraj would be exploited against both.

At such a juncture was held a joint meeting of the All India Congress Committee and the Council of the Muslim League at Calcutta. It was on July 28, 1917. The resolutions it passed are clearly indicative of the political trend of the day. Its first resolution was one bemoaning the death of India's Grand Old Man, Dadabhai Naoroji. A small deputation consisting of Messrs. Jinnah, Sastri or Ramaswami Iyer, Sapru and Wazir Hassan was appointed to proceed to England, contingent on Sir William Wedderburn's advice, in the middle of September to explain to the British public the general situation in India and to promote the scheme of reforms adopted at Lucknow. On the question of adopting passive resistance, both as regards its principle and working, in carrying on political work, it was resolved to request the Provincial Congress Committees and the Council of the Muslim League to consider its advisability and to send their opinion to the General Secretaries within six weeks. The joint sitting also recorded its strong protest "against the high-handed action of the Government of Bengal in prohibiting the public meeting which was to be held in Calcutta under the presidentship of Dr. Rash Behari Ghose, to protest against the internment of Mrs. Besant and Messrs. Arundale and Wadia and trusted that the people of Bengal will use every lawful means to vindicate their rights." A reasoned statement regarding the situation was prepared which pointed out how here in India, Lord Chelmsford, referred to the recommendations of the "Nineteen Memorandum" as embodying "revolutionary proposals" and recommended repressive measures on the ground that "German intrigue was at work". Soon afterwards, the Government of India sent round a circular regarding the policy to be adopted *vis-a-vis* the popular agitation for self-government. The "Master's Voice" was echoed in the pronouncements of Sir Michael O'Dwyer in the Punjab and Lord Pentland in Madras. The former declared that the

changes proposed for political reforms would be as revolutionary and subversive as those of the Gadar emissaries. What irritated Government was that while Delhi and Simla were sending secret despatches regarding reforms, the Congress and the League and certain members of the Supreme Legislative Council should have over-reached them, the last sending up a memorandum publicly and the first two formulating a whole scheme of self-government. These provincial Governors did not see the impolicy of openly telling the public that the reforms would be of a minor character. Then, the statement protested against the internments and asked as remedial measures for (1) an authoritative pronouncement, pledging the Imperial Government in unequivocal terms to the policy of making India a self-governing member of the British Empire, (2) for immediate steps to sanction the scheme of reforms jointly framed, (3) for publication of official proposals and (4) for the reversal of the repressive policy. The main portions of this statement were cabled to Sir William Wedderburn, the Secretary of State for India and the Prime Minister on July 30. Sir William immediately cabled back to say: "Had interview with Secretary of State. I feel justified in urging you earnestly exercise patience. Will telegraph further when situation becomes clearer."

The proposal for adopting passive resistance was seriously considered by various provincial Congress Committees in the months of August and September. While Berar considered it advisable, Bombay, Burma and Punjab advised postponement in view of Mr. Montagu's proposed visit to India. U.P. considered it advisable in the existing situation. Bihar thought that a date must be fixed within which the release of the Home Rule internees as well as of the Ali Brothers and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad should be demanded; Bihar would intensify the demand by repeating it from different platforms and "redress failing, the public men of the province shall betake themselves to actively preaching passive resistance to the people and be prepared to suffer all sacrifices and privations that it may involve." The Madras Provincial Congress Committee approved of the idea on the 14th of August 1917 in a resolution which considered it "advisable to adopt the policy of passive resistance in

so far as it involves opposition to all unjust and unconstitutional orders against the carrying on of constitutional agitation and also against the prohibition of meetings constitutionally and peacefully conducted to protest against the unjust and unconstitutional orders of internment and against the repressive policy of Government." It was further resolved that a sub-committee be appointed to formulate and report within a fortnight on the practical steps by which effect may be given to the resolution of passive resistance that was adopted. Sir S. Subramanya Iyer renounced his knighthood as a protest against Mrs. Besant's internment and that of her co-workers and addressed a letter to President Wilson which was carried personally by Mr. and Mrs. Hotchener. Among those who declared their readiness to resort to passive resistance were besides Dr. Subramanya Iyer, Kasturi Ranga Iyengar, editor of the *Hindu*, C. P. Ramaswami Iyer and a host of others. Passive resistance was catching on.

Mahatma Gandhi was adopting passive resistance just at this time in another connection. For long, there was a dispute between the white planters of indigo in Champaran District of Bihar and their indentured labourers. Gandhiji was requested by Bihar leaders to look into the grievances of the plantation workers and complying with it he left for Motihari soon after the Calcutta session of the A.I.C.C. The next day, the District Magistrate served a notice on him under Section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code asking him to leave at once for fear of breach of peace. Gandhiji's reply was that he knew his responsibility very well and he was not going to obey the Magistrate's order. He was free to take whatever steps against him he thought fit. Gandhiji's readiness to suffer for disobeying an order which went against his conscience, i.e. to offer passive resistance, succeeded tremendously and the Government of Bihar later withdrew the order against him. A Commission to inquire into the conditions of the plantation workers which even the Congress had demanded at Lucknow, was appointed and Gandhiji himself was appointed as one of the members of the Commission. Thus passive resistance was fast coming into vogue and capturing the imagination of the people. When lawful and constitutional means failed, peaceful and legitimate

means which connoted something much more, had to be employed and passive resistance was one such form of it. Even the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee which was fighting shy of it, ultimately accepted it, Gandhiji, Tilak and Chandavarkar having collaborated to produce the draft resolution.

Indeed, the almost unanimous election of Mrs. Besant as President of the next session of the Congress at Calcutta was also an illustration of passive resistance by the entire nation, because it was an eloquent demonstration of protest against Government's policy of keeping her under detention, when people wanted her to be free. Yet time was not quite ripe for its general adoption because of a change in the general situation, the main factor of which was the pronouncement, on August 20, 1917, regarding "Responsible Government as the goal of British policy in India" by Mr. Edwin S. Montagu who had just then become Secretary of State for India. About a month before, Joseph Baptista and Ramaswami Iyer, respectively representing Tilak and Besant Home Rule Leagues had been sent to England to carry on Home Rule propaganda there, because none of the deputationists of the Congress had done so, for one reason or other, or just because they did not know what to do. Baptista and Ramaswami Iyer were commissioned with the task of popularizing and explaining the Congress-League scheme to the British public.

CHAPTER XXVI

IN WAKE OF MONTAGU'S DECLARATION

Mr. Montagu's announcement of August 20, in the British Parliament was obviously an attempt at appeasement of India. World events as much as the tempo of the movement in India had brought the Government round. The Mesopotemian campaign had gone wrong and Mr. Austen Chamberlain, the Secretary of State for India was mercilessly criticized by Mr. Montagu for the muddle which had resulted from an inadequate supply of men and materials from India. In the course of a Parliamentary debate, Mr. Montagu characterized the Government of India as ' far too wooden, far too iron, far too inelastic and far too antediluvian to subserve its purposes in modern times." The consequence was Mr. Chamberlain's resignation and Mr. Montagu's appointment as Secretary of State for India. Shortly after assuming office, Mr. Montagu announced :

> " The policy of His Majesty's Government, with which the Government of India are in complete accord, is that of increasing association of Indians in every branch of administration and the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to progressive realization of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire. They have decided that substantial steps should be taken in this direction as soon as possible."

Mr. Montagu went on to say :

> " I would add that progress in this policy can only be achieved by successive stages. The British Government and the Government of India on whom the responsibility lies for the welfare and advancement of Indian people, must be the judges of the time and the measure of each advance and they must be guided by the co-operation received from those on whom new opportunities of service will thus be conferred, and by the extent to which it is found that confidence can be reposed in their sense of responsibility. Ample opportunity will be offered for public discussion of the proposals which will be submitted in due course to Parliament."

As a practical token of trust in the people, he removed the racial bar which excluded Indians from the King's Commissions in the army.

Within a month of this announcement, that is to say, on September 17, Mrs. Besant and her colleagues were released.

Before this happened, she was nominated by most of the Provincial Congress Committees for election as President of the year's Congress which was to be held at Calcutta in Christmas week as usual. She was hailed at every station from Ootacamund to Madras. On October 5, her 71st birthday was celebrated everywhere and resolutions of congratulation and gratefulness were passed from a hundred platforms. It would have been a good gesture from the side of Government if the Ali Brothers and Maulana Azad had also been released. In a public meeting held in Bombay on October 3, with Bhulabhai Desai in the Chair, Tilak said, " Government has not proved the charges it has made against the Ali Brothers nor has given them a hearing. On the one hand Government gives a certificate to the Muslim community for loyalty and on the other it keeps under detention their trusted leaders without trial." This sentiment was later echoed everywhere. At the same meeting it was decided that a petition for Swaraj should be made and it should be signed by as many adult citizens of India as possible. The idea behind this proposal was to convince the British public and Parliament by an impressive demonstration that it was not only the vocal leaders, but the masses also, that were demanding Home Rule, which for the time being meant the Congress-League Scheme of self-government passed by the Lucknow Congress. On October 6, a joint meeting of the All India Congress Committee and the Council of the Muslim League was held at Allahabad and it was decided to send a deputation to the Viceroy and the Secretary of State for India with a representation in support of the Congress-League scheme. Baptista who had already left for England as a spokesman of the Home Rule League for explaining the scheme to the English public reached London in the middle of September and had already started his work of establishing contacts and addressing meetings. Both Tilak and Mrs. Besant were present at the joint Congress-League meeting. On his way to Allahabad, Tilak stopped at Broach, where Mr. Haribhai Amin had taken the lead in starting a branch of the Home Rule League. The meeting there was so crowded that four different speakers from four corners had to speak simultaneously. After the Allahabad meeting the first Sholapur District Political Conference was held at Pandharpur over which N. C. Kelkar presided. Although

Gandhiji had no hand in drafting the Congress-League scheme he greatly popularized it in Gujarat by securing for it thousands of signatures which was later presented to Mr. Montagu.

In November the Gujarat Political Conference was held at Godhra under the presidentship of Gandhiji. Tilak attended it as a distinguished guest. About 1,500 delegates and about ten thousand visitors attended this Conference. The commencement of the Conference had to be slightly delayed until the arrival of Tilak. Gandhiji spoke a few apologetic words about the delay, for which he said he was not responsible and added humorously that they were demanding Home Rule and it should not matter if they got it 45 minutes later! After the Conference, a meeting of the Home Rule Leaguers was also held which was addressed by G. S. Khaparde in Gujarati. A resolution on loyalty to the King-Emperor was suggested by somebody, but Gandhiji tore it up and said, "It would be vulgar to pass such a resolution. So long as we do not rebel, we must be taken to be loyal. If any questions are asked as to why no loyalty resolution was brought before the Conference, tell them frankly that it was all Gandhi's doing." This shows how the emphasis was being laid on essentials and non-essentials were being dispensed with. Tilak delivered a speech in Marathi on Home Rule, but the people listened to it with rapt attention. He paid a warm tribute to the work of Dadabhai Naoroji while referring to his indictment of British rule. He referred to the reverses of the allies and said, "India's heart should have been touched; until that was done, it was not possible to expect great help from India. The people wanted self-government not only for their benefit but for the sake of the Empire also." Tilak declared, "In any struggle or crisis, a contented, self-governing India is the greatest and surest asset of the Empire. A strong wave of democracy is passing all the world over and even the British Government has hailed the Russian Revolution as the first great triumph of the present war. Lord Sydenham's contention that we in India take advantage of Britain's troubles to agitate for self-government is not correct. We have been agitating for it for over thirty years. All over the world self-government is on the anvil and India alone cannot be expected to sit still."

In the closing months of the year 1917, Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford had been touring the whole country, receiving deputations and granting interviews everywhere. Mrs. Besant said to certain friends towards the end of 1917, "We must support Mr. Montagu. The Moderates everywhere repeated the statement and added that Mr. Montagu could do nothing if he was disowned by the Extremists in India as well as the diehards in England." Apparently his mission was to consult the conflicting interests in India and formulate draft schemes for the consideration of Parliament in England. The so-called Montagu-Chelmsford Reform scheme was worked out in every detail by March 1916. Lord Chelmsford was a major in the army in the territorial force in India when the order of his appointment as Viceroy of India reached him. He went to England in March 1916, when he was shown the complete scheme ready-made which was to be associated with his name. This fact was revealed to Congress leaders in India in 1934, many years after Tilak died. Mr. Montagu had seen the Congress-League scheme. He had no idea of accepting it, but he went on hearing what leading men and deputations had to say. What he really did during these interviews was to pitch upon his future ministers, executive councillors and others. He wanted to be sure of the men who would work his scheme. This was behind the chorus of remarks made here and there in the early months of 1918, viz. "We must support Mr. Montagu" which led to the secession of the Moderates from the Congress to form the Liberal Party. Taking any such position when the Congress and the country with the consent of the Muslim League were committed to the Congress-League scheme was showing impatience and readiness to be taken in by the mere announcement of Mr. Montagu. But apparently, Mr. Montagu had inspired too much confidence in some Indian hearts.

At such a juncture, Tilak sounded a note of warning. He said Mr. Montagu's declaration must not cause any confusion in the ranks of the Indian leaders. Until the Government's scheme of reforms was published, the Congress must stick to the Lucknow Pact, which had received the unanimous support of the people. He argued that there was time enough to decide, after the Government published its report on constitutional reforms, whether the Congress-League scheme should

be modified or not. The resolution of the Calcutta Congress on self-government was a complete triumph of Tilak's view. He had tried in vain at Lucknow for insertion of the time-limit idea, but at Calcutta, he succeeded on that point also as will be seen presently.

Mr. Montagu started receiving the deputations of the various political institutions and public bodies from November 17. The Congress-League and the Home Rule League deputations waited on him on November 26. Montagu invited Tilak and Mrs. Besant for special personal interviews. On November 29, Mr. Montagu proceeded to Calcutta for similar work. He reached Bombay on December 22 and went through a similar programme. In all, Mr. Montagu was met by 110 deputations and he granted interviews to 330 persons. Of the 110 representations and memorandums, 35 supported entirely the Congress-League scheme, 27 demanded something more than what the Congress-League scheme demanded, 24 memorandums made some specific demands for certain communities or organized bodies like Chambers of Commerce and Industry, Trade Union Congress etc. but they were not opposed to the Congress-League scheme. Only 24 memorandums ranged themselves in opposition, four of which were presented by Anglo-Indian associations and five by British Chambers of Commerce and Industry. Some of them had come into existence, simultaneously with Mr. Montagu's landing on Indian shores. On his way back to Poona, Tilak delivered speeches in a number of places. While touring he received a message from Baptista in which he informed Tilak that Mr. George Lansbury, leader of the Labour M.Ps. in Parliament had assured him complete sympathy and support of his party in India's cause of Home Rule. In a letter dated October 24, 1917, Baptista said that he had accompanied Mr. Lansbury to six important centres and spoken on Home Rule and that he was attending the annual conference of the Labour Party as the Indian Home Rule League's representative.

At the joint meeting of the A.I.C.C. and the Muslim League executive held on July 28 of the year, it was Tilak who first suggested that the best retort that the nation could give to Government's repressive policy and detention of Mrs. Besant

was to elect her as President of the 32nd session of the Congress at Calcutta. His suggestion was immediately taken up and Mrs. Besant was nominated by all Provincial Congress Committees.

Mrs. Besant's presidential address was an elaborate thesis on self-government. She said, "India today stands erect, as no suppliant people; her hand is stretched out to Britain in friendship, not in subservience; in co-operation, not in obedience. The war that has entered in its fourth year has for its true object the destruction of autocracy and the establishment of the God-given right to self-rule and self-development of every nation. Autocracy and bureaucracy must perish utterly in East and West." Her summary of military and mercantile problems was comprehensive as well as detailed. In effect, she demanded "A Bill during 1918 establishing self-government in India on lines resembling those of the Commonwealth on a date to be laid down therein, preferably 1923, the latest 1928, the intermediate five or ten years being occupied with the transference of the Government from British to Indian hands, maintaining the British tie as in the Dominions." At the end of the address, she gave copious extracts from Bernard Houghton's *Bureaucratic Government* and a detailed Bill regarding village government. The Calcutta session was attended by 4,967 delegates and 5,000 visitors.

After recording the grief of the Congress at the passing away of Dadabhai Naoroji and A. Rusul of Calcutta, India's loyalty to the throne and welcome to Mr. Montagu, the session proceeded to ask for the release of Mahomed Ali and Shaukat Ali who were under detention since October 1914. A resolution urged as usual the necessity and justice of adequate provision for giving military training to Indians and while expressing satisfaction at the removal of the racial bar against admission of Indians to the commissioned ranks of the army and the appointment of nine Indians to such ranks, expressed the hope for a larger proportion of commissioned posts to Indians and urged improvement in the pay, prospects and equipment of Indian soldiers. The Congress reiterated its protest (a) against the wide and arbitrary powers conferred by the Press Act of 1910 upon the Executive, (b) the Arms Act, and (c) the treatment and disabilities of Indians in the colonies. It asked for the

complete abolition of the system of indentured labour and a Parliamentary Commission to inquire into the working of the special coercive legislation restricting freedom of speech, writing, association and meetings and the use of the Defence of India Act for similar purposes. The appointment of the Rowlatt Committee announced on December 10 of the year was condemned because the avowed object of the appointment was "not to give relief but to introduce fresh legislation arming the Executive with additional powers to deal with alleged revolutionary conspiracy in Bengal." By the same resolution, Congress expressed alarm at the extensive use made of the Defence of India Act and Regulation III of 1918 and in view of the widespread discontent on account of the indiscriminate operations of the Act asked for a general amnesty to all political prisoners. The main resolution was that dealing with the question of self-government and ran as follows:

> "This Congress express its grateful satisfaction over the pronouncement made by His Majesty's Secretary of State for India on behalf of the Imperial Government that its object is the establishment of responsible government in India.
>
> "This Congress strongly urges the necessity for the immediate enactment of a Parliamentary statute providing for the establishment of responsible government in India, the full measure to be attained with a time-limit to be fixed in the statute itself at an early date.
>
> "This Congress is emphatically of the opinion that the Congress-League scheme of reforms ought to be immediately introduced by statute as the first step in the progress."

Tilak was the most dominating figure at the Calcutta Congress. The Montagu declaration had, in a way, created great confusion in the leaders' minds. Tilak succeeded in holding the Congress to its moorings. The session of the Muslim League which was simultaneously held at Calcutta also passed a similar resolution. The Raja of Mahabudabad presided over it. He said in his address, "The interests of the country are paramount. We need not tarry to argue whether we are Muslims first or Indians. The fact is that we are both and to us the question of precedence has no meaning. The League has inculcated in the Muslims a spirit of sacrifice for this country as much as for their religion." Mrs. Besant who presided over the Calcutta session was not inclined to be a nominal and a decorative President of the Congress like her predecessors. "With

Mrs. Besant, the presidentship of the Congress was not a passing show or a three-day festivity. It was a day-to-day responsibility and in that view Mrs. Besant was the first to claim the presidentship of the Congress throughout the succeeding year. The claim was not new but its enforcement was not known in the previous history of the Congress. At the very first meeting of the A.I.C.C. held immediately after the Congress on December 30, 1917, the question of raising a permanent fund for the Congress was considered and every Provincial Congress Committees were called upon to appoint a working committee for carrying on educative and propaganda work in India and in England. The months that followed were months of incessant activity especially in Madras. Lakhs of pamphlets explaining the Congress-League scheme were published and circulated and a million signatures were obtained in its support and presented to Mr. Montagu when he visited Madras.

For Tilak also, it was a year of constant activity and moving from place to place. On January 26, the Poona District Conference was held at Lonavala over which M. R. Jayakar presided. This was the beginning of his association with public life in Maharashtra proper. Until then he was known only as a distinguished citizen and an advocate of Bombay, as an educationist in early life, who became Home Ruler in 1916. He had a reputation for being a very fluent and fascinating speaker in English. Tilak attended this Lonavala Conference, addressed a public meeting and started on his famous tour of Berar on February 5. It lasted till 20th of February. Mr. B. G. Khaparde, eldest son of G. S. Khaparde was his constant companion in the tour. For these 15 days, he was constantly on the move, either in train or motor car. Tilak, who was a diabetic, and was not keeping well, had to put up with almost an unbearable strain in this tour and it was only his will-power that sustained him. He had to address even three or four times a day, big or small gatherings. But he went through it ungrudgingly. The tour began from Bombay on February 4, where the coal merchants gave him a reception. Sheth Morarji Gokuldas presented him a purse of Rs. 5,711/-. Gandhiji was present on this occasion. The next stop was at Khandwa where Tilak spoke on Home Rule under the presidentship of Mr. Hari Das Chatterji,

an old leader of the place who recalled a similar meeting in honour of Swami Vivekananda in 1892. Tilak spoke in broken Hindi at this meeting. From here Burhanpur, Bhusaval and Malkapur were covered in a day. At Malkapur, a purse of Rs. 4,000/- was presented. After leaving Malkapur, Tilak gave up the railway journey and boarded a car. Since then it was all road journey. The pilot car was in charge of Veer Vamanrao Joshi of Amraoti. The next stop was at Buldhana where a small purse by women was given. From there the programme at Khamgaon was gone through where a purse of Rs. 6,700/- was presented. A remarkable event at this place was that a poor Brahman who followed the priestly profession gave his insurance policy of Rs. 500/- to the Home Rule League.

On February 9, Tilak and party reached Nandura where a purse of Rs. 1,000/- was handed over to Tilak after he had addressed a mass meeting. The next stop was at Jamod. He proceeded to Shegaon where a shoe-maker gave him Rs. 2/- and Tilak engaged himself in conversation with him for a few minutes. At Telhara a purse of Rs. 1,700/- by the citizens and another of Rs. 300/- by a women's association were given. On February 10, he went to Akot where a purse of Rs. 4,800/- was presented. On February 11, Tilak went to Akola where a purse of Rs. 4,300/- was kept ready and his party proceeded to Washim. A purse of Rs. 3,500/- by the citizens was given to him and a gift of 108 two-anna pieces by an old woman was a peculiar presentation. The next halt on February 12 was at Pusad and thence at Karanja, where a sum of Rs. 3,000/- was presented. On the 13th, Tilak and party went to Murtazapur where a purse of Rs. 2,500/- was given. A Sanskrit pandit spoke in Sanskrit and presented poems in Sanskrit in which Tilak was praised. From here Tilak went to Pulgaon by train where a purse of Rs. 700/- was given, and a Lingayat of that place donated the silver *shiva-linga* on his person as an offering to the Swaraj movement. From Pulgaon, Tilak and party proceeded to Arvi where a purse of Rs. 7,000/- by the citizens and a sum of Rs. 600/- by the local women's association were given. From Arvi, Tilak returned to Pulgaon on the 15th and proceeded to Wardha. After a few hours' stay he went to Chanda where he addressed a public meeting, Mr. Gangadharrao Deshpande

being in the Chair. The Chanda Municipality presented an address of welcome and a sum of Rs. 6,000/-. From there he went to Wani which was the original place of Mr. M. S. Aney. He was given a purse of Rs. 3,000/- at Wani. From there, the party stopped for a few hours at Pandharkawada where a purse of Rs. 3,700/- was given. From here Tilak went back to Waroda where the motor car was dispensed with and he was taken in procession in a bullock-cart. A purse of Rs. 2,500/- was presented. From here Tilak proceeded to Wardha where a mass meeting was fixed for the 18th. Here a purse of Rs. 5,100/- was presented.

At Wardha, the party was split up. K. P. Khadilkar went to Bombay. D. V. Gokhale was sent to Calcutta. V. G. Joshi and Gangadharrao Deshpande went to Amraoti and Tilak was taken in their custody by the Nagpur people. After Wardha, Shindi was next station for Tilak where a joint purse of Rs. 2,760/- by the people of Shindi, Hingni and Selu was presented. From Shindi, Tilak proceeded to Nagpur. Leaders of Umreth and Katol waited there for him. He went to Umreth by making an alteration in his programme where an address and a purse of Rs. 1,600/- were given to him. At Nagpur, plague was raging and so arrangements for a meeting were made outside the town and a purse of Rs. 9,000/- was presented to him. The same night, i.e. 18th of February, he proceeded to Katol where, 14 people became life-members of the Home Rule League by paying Rs 100/- each. After that he went to Mohapa and thence to Bhandara. He did not reach this place according to the printed programme and therefore nobody came to receive Tilak and party. Instead, they had to inquire about their host, one Mr. Gokhale who was a lawyer! After 11 at night, a meeting was to be addressed in a theatre where a play was already being staged. But when the news spread that Tilak had arrived, all the audience left the theatre and the play was stopped in the middle. The next day, Tilak addressed a meeting in the *pandal* which was being erected for the Bhandara District Political Conference and a sum of Rs. 4,500/- was presented to him towards the expenses of the Home Rule League Deputation which was shortly to leave for England. On February 21, Tilak returned to Nagpur and had a day's quiet rest.

A meeting of the A.I.C.C. was to be held in Delhi on February 23 and Tilak was anxious to attend it. But he was under a ban which prohibited him to enter the Punjab and Delhi. A special permission was given to him when he met Mr. Montagu as a member of the Home Rule League Deputation and in his personal capacity. In the hope that he would get a similar permission now, he wired to the Chief Commissioner of Delhi but in vain. He sent a telegram to the Home Member of the Government of India and the Viceroy also, but no permission was given. The meeting of the A.I.C.C. was going to consider the question of sending a deputation of the Congress to England, but instead it had to send a deputation to the Viceroy to urge cancellation of the order of exclusion from the Punjab and Delhi that was served against Tilak and Bepin Chandra Pal. The deputation met the Viceroy without any result. Lord Chelmsford and Mr. Montagu were expected to issue their report on constitutional reforms in a few days and the A.I.C.C. therefore resolved to have a special session of the Congress at Allahabad or Lucknow, soon after the publication of the report and to send a deputation to England after the special session. Tilak, meanwhile resumed his tour. From Nagpur he went to Dhamangaon where he was given a purse of Rs. 2,000/-. From there he proceeded to Varangaon where a purse of Rs. 3,000/- was given. From there he entrained for Bombay and reached there on February 24. In all his meetings during this tour, he spoke only about two subjects : Immediate necessity of Home Rule for India and that of India's young men joining the army. He always treated the question of defence of the country by its own nationals with the right to Home Rule, yet Government treated his speeches as a discouragement to recruitment ! After this tour Tilak went only to Sholapur on March 19 to address a Home Rule meeting and he was given a purse of Rs. 9,000/-. Mr. Montagu had very nearly completed his work of receiving deputations and granting interviews. His plan was to take all the documents to England and write his report there. Tilak, therefore, decided that for some time more, England must be made his place of activity. He had still invitations from all parts of India to tour them, but he declined them all for the time being. Baptista, who was in England, was also urging him to go to England as soon as possible in connection with the

Chirol case. He applied for passports for himself and the Home Rule League deputation and on March 23 he left Poona to leave for Ceylon from where, he was to board a steamship for London. He was given a hearty send-off by the citizens of Poona city and cantonment. An address and a purse of Rs. 11,300/- were given to him.

On reaching Bombay, a similar programme awaited him. He attended a conference which was held under the presidentship of His Highness, the Maharaja of Baroda to consider measures to ameliorate the lot of the depressed classes. A meeting was held at the Marwadi Vidyalaya, where the Marwadis in Bombay gave him a purse of Rs. 15,000/-. Sheth Jamnalal Bajaj took prominent part in it. On March 25, about 50,000 textile workers of Bombay gave him a reception. A purse of Rs. 1,000/- which contained 16,000 one-anna pieces contributed by 16,000 workers, from 40 mills, was presented to him. Gangadharrao Deshpande presided over the meeting. He recalled the fact that the workers of Bombay had made great sympathetic demonstrations when Tilak was sentenced to six years' jail. Gangadharrao urged that the workers must make a similar sympathetic demonstration in support of Tilak. Mr. S. R. Bomanji gave a party in Tilak's honour at China Baug. B. G. Horniman collected Rs. 75,000/- at this party by going round with his hat in hand. An ingenious person took Tilak's signature on the handbill of this programme and it was auctioned for Rs. 500/-. There was a women's special meeting also at China Baug. A mass meeting of the citizens of Bombay was held at Shantaram's Chawl, over which Jinnah presided. On the 26th, a conference of Home Rulers, attended by about 1,000 persons, was held. Sir Manmohandas Ramji received the delegates on behalf of Bombay's Home Rulers. 1,400 telegrams and 617 letters of sympathy with and support to the proceedings were received. A report of the working of the Indian Home Rule League was presented. It showed that 33,854 persons had enlisted themselves as members of the League; 641 had become life members. Branches were formed all over the country, but more of them in Bombay and C.P. About a lakh and a half leaflets, pamphlets and booklets were distributed. The number of lectures delivered was 435, 88 of which were delivered by Tilak alone. During the Berar-Nagpur tour, Tilak

travelled 2,000 miles by rail and road and delivered 32 lectures. Mrs. Besant's message was read in every village and two lakhs of signatures were secured on the memorial presented to Mr. Montagu. The accounts showed that till March 20, the League had a balance of Rs. 1,82,957 after defraying expenses of Baptista's departure to and stay in England, travelling in India and printing. Tilak and Bepin Chandra Pal addressed the delegates. Tilak was somewhat overcome by emotion and he spoke like an inspired man. He said he felt that God himself was impelling him to work in the way he was doing it. After a reception by Bombay's medical profession, Tilak entrained at Victoria Terminus for proceeding to Colombo on March 27, because all efforts to secure berths on some steamer leaving Bombay harbour had proved futile.

On his way to Madras, Tilak stopped for a few hours at Bijapur, for the invitation to pay a visit to that place was long overdue. On the 30th, Tilak and party reached Madras. He stayed at Adyar as Mrs. Besant's guest. A very moving reception was given to him at Madras. An address was presented to him by a number of public and political bodies at a big mass meeting over which Dr. Subramanya Iyer presided. It was decided not to stop anywhere till reaching Colombo. Yet the people of Tanjore, Trichinopoly, Madurai and other smaller stations received Tilak at railway stations with great enthusiasm. His train did not stop at smaller stations, but as it passed, cries of "Tilak Maharajki Jai" went up from station to station. At Colombo also, the Indians and Sinhalese gave him a joint reception. Public lectures were delivered by Tilak and Bepin Chandra Pal. At the garden party given in Tilak's honour, about 1,500 leading men and women of Colombo were present. For three or four days, Tilak and party had a very happy time and they were busy preparing for leaving by the S.S. Lancashire. But all of a sudden, their passports were cancelled. Telegrams were sent to the Viceroy and the Home Member of the India Government, but nothing availed, because the orders to cancel the passports were received from the Home Government and Tilak had to go back to Bombay.

Before he reached Bombay, the citizens of Bombay held a public meeting, under Jinnah's presidentship to protest against this action. Newspapers strongly protested against it. Even in

England, there was a considerable protest. On April 13, the London branch of the Home Rule League passed a resolution of protest and Mr. George Lansbury circulated this resolution to all branches of the Labour Party. Mr. Lansbury also urged that the resolution passed by the Nottingham Labour Party Conference in favour of Home Rule for India should be brought to the notice of all Labour Party branches. Questions were asked in Parliament and they concerned not only the cancellation of passports given to Tilak, but to Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, George Joseph and others. Mr. Joseph was compelled to get down at Gibraltar and not allowed to proceed further. Baptista who was already in England appeared to think, however, that nothing much was lost. Because, the time was not very favourable in England for India's case being considered. He was even about to write to Tilak to postpone his voyage to England, just when he heard about the passports of his whole deputation having been cancelled. Mr. Lansbury was of the opinion that at least Tilak should be in England. Baptista sent a lengthy despatch in which he explained the situation in England as he saw it in detail and pleaded for four things being immediately done. One was that Tilak must be elected President of the next session of the Congress. Another was that like the Labour Party in England there must come into existence a counterpart of it in India. The third thing was that India must offer financial assistance to the British Labour Party at the time of the next General Election and the fourth item was that the British Congress Committee and its mouthpiece *India* must become the accredited and authoritative organ of the Indian National Congress.

About this time, the Government of India issued two Press communiques. In one of them, some justification of why the passports were cancelled was attempted. It was said that the British Government had concentrated all its attention on the war effort and any discussion about Home Rule for India at that hour was out of the question. But discussions about granting Home Rule to Ireland were just then in progress. In the new Parliament the Conscription Bill was under discussion and Mr. Dillon had raised the question of Home Rule for Ireland. Mr. Lloyd George said in reply that Ireland would get Home

Rule first and the Conscription Act would be made applicable to it, only afterwards. In the second communique, Government announced that a War Conference would be held in Delhi. Accordingly, it was held on April 27 and delegates from all provinces were invited in consultation with the Provincial Governments, but Tilak and Mrs. Besant were not among the invitees. On April 28, a big public meeting was held at Poona, Mr. Hari Narayan Apte presiding. Mr. Apte said that if they were asked to send a chosen representative of the people to the War Conference they would choose none else but Tilak himself. The resolution passed at the meeting said that a beginning in right earnest of conceding the rights of self-government would be automatically followed by hearty co-operation in the war effort. A statement over the signatures of Tilak, Mrs. Besant, Jinnah, Vithalbhai Patel and others was published at this time in the Press on very much the same lines. In the War Conference at Delhi, Lord Chelmsford appealed for co-operation from the people by contribution of men, money and material. When some of the invitees raised the question of self-government and commissioned ranks, the Viceroy said that all those questions were receiving attention. Gandhiji was among the invitees and had responded to the invitation by attending the Conference but he had raised objections earlier to taking part in the Conference because Tilak, Mrs. Besant and the Ali Brothers were excluded from it. On reaching Delhi, Gandhiji addressed a letter to the Viceroy explaining his hesitation to take part in the Conference. The Viceroy called Gandhiji for a discussion and told him that if he agreed that the Empire had been on the whole, a power for good, he should help the British during the critical year. The Viceroy pleaded, "You may raise whatever moral issues you like and challenge us as much as you like after the conclusion of the war, not today." During the Conference, the Viceroy requested Gandhiji to support the resolution on recruiting. He insisted that he should be allowed to speak in Hindustani. The Viceroy agreed. He spoke but one sentence to the effect : With a full sense of my responsibility I beg to support the resolution.

A third meeting of the A.I.C.C. was held on May 3, 1918. It protested against the action of the Government in turning back

the two Home Rule Leagues deputations from Gibraltar and Ceylon. It was also decided that fraternal delegates of the British Labour Party should be invited to the next Congress session. The Committee insisted that nothing short of an authoritative pronouncement that India should have responsible government as the issue of the war would inspire the youth of the country to flock to the colours in sufficient numbers to ensure success. Gandhiji fully recognized the situation as it was explained in this insistence of the Congress. He wrote a letter to the Viceroy after the Delhi War Conference. With the consent of the Viceroy, the letter was released to the Press. Gandhiji said in it :

"I recognize that in the hour of its danger, we must give as we have decided to give, ungrudging and unequivocal support to the Empire of which we aspire, in the near future, to be partners in the same sense as the dominions overseas. But it is a simple truth that our response is due to the expectation that our goal will be reached all the more speedily. On that account, even as performance of duty automatically confers a corresponding right, people are entitled to believe that the imminent reforms alluded to in your speech will embody the main general principles of the Congress-League scheme and I am sure that it is this faith which has enabled many members of the Conference to tender to the Government their full-hearted co-operation. If I could make my countrymen retrace their steps, I would make them withdraw all the Congress resolutions and not whisper 'Home Rule' or 'responsible government' during the pendency of the war. I would make India offer all her able-bodied sons as a sacrifice to the empire at its critical moment and I know that India by this very act would become the most favoured partner in the Empire and racial distinctions would become a thing of the past. But, practically the whole of educated India has decided to take a less effective course and it is no longer possible to say that educated India does not exercise any influence on the masses. I have been coming into most intimate touch with the ryots ever since my return from South Africa to India and I wish to assure you that the desire for Home Rule has widely penetrated them. I was present at the session of the last Congress and I was a party to the resolution that full responsible government should be granted to British India within a period to be fixed definitely by Parliamentary Statute. I admit it is a bold step to take, but I feel sure nothing less than a definite vision of Home Rule to be realized in the shortest possible time will satisfy the Indian people. I know that there are many in India who consider no sacrifice is too great in order to achieve the end and they are wakeful enough to realize that they must be equally prepared to sacrifice themselves for the Empire in which they hope and desire to reach their final status. It follows then that we can but accelerate our journey to the goal by silently and simply devoting ourselves heart and soul to the work of delivering the Empire from the

threatening danger. It will be a national suicide not to recognize this elementary truth. We must perceive that if we serve to save the Empire, we have in that very act secured Home Rule.

"Whilst, therefore, it is clear to me that we should give to the Empire every available man for its defence, I fear that I cannot say the same thing about the financial assistance. My intimate intercourse with the ryots convinces me that India has already donated to the imperial exchequer beyond her capacity. I know that, in making this statement, I am voicing the opinion of the majority of my countrymen."

In this letter Gandhiji also requested the Viceroy to ask His Majesty's Ministers to give a definite assurance about Muslim States, adding that every Muslim was deeply interested in them. In conclusion he said, "In the most scrupulous regard for the rights of the Muslim States and for the Muslim sentiments as to the places of worship and your just and timely treatment of the Indian claim to Home Rule lies the safety of the Empire. I write this, because I love the English nation and I wish to evoke in every Indian the loyalty of Englishmen." It may be pointed out that in the Committee of the War Conference, Khaparde wanted to move a resolution embodying the sentiments expressed in Gandhiji's letter to the Viceroy but Khaparde was not allowed to move his resolution in the Conference in spite of his having given due notice to do so at the Committee's sitting.

The Delhi War Conference was followed by a War Conference in Bombay on June 10 at the Town Hall. The President was Lord Willingdon. The omission of Tilak from the Delhi Conference was put right in Bombay and not only Tilak but a number of Home Rulers including Jinnah, Kelkar, Karandikar, Horniman, Jamnadas Dwarkadas, S. R. Bomanji and others were invited. Taking a lesson from the experience of Khaparde at the Delhi War Conference, Kelkar entered into correspondence with the Private Secretary of the Governor to ask for previous supply of the copy of the programme of the Conference and to inquire whether amendments to official resolutions were permissible. He was informed that a copy of the programme when ready would be sent to him and that no amendments would be allowed; but after official speeches,

invitees would be allowed to make their observations. Government would take due note of the whole proceedings of the Conference. Tilak and his colleagues, therefore, decided to avail of the opportunities to speak at the Conference. Lord Willingdon in his address to the Conference had already supplied a provocation by referring to the Home Rulers and their activities and questioning their bona fides. When the stage of general discussion arrived Tilak was called upon to speak first. He said, " Since it was not permissible to move any amendments to resolutions of the Conference, I did not give notice of any. But I must say what the people feel and expect me to say. In the event of an invasion of India, Indians will defend their motherland even by laying down their lives. But it is not possible for them to dissociate self-defence from self-government." The Governor immediately interrupted Tilak, saying he would not allow any political discussion at the Conference. Tilak declared, thereupon, that there was no alternative for a self-respecting person but to leave the Conference in a situation like that and he left the Conference. Kelkar was the next to be called upon to speak. He said, " Government need have no suspicion as regards the loyalty of Indians. I have certain practical suggestions to make for making recruitment of soldiers a complete success. When we start appealing to the people to join the colours, we must be in a position to tell them that Government was anxious and serious about raising their political status." Lord Willingdon again rose in his seat and said that he was unable to allow any political discussion. Kelkar tried to reason with him by telling him that he should bear with him for a minute more. But Lord Willingdon declined to do so and Kelkar also had to leave the Conference. Horniman, Jamnadas Dwarkadas and Bomanji met with the same fate. After them Jinnah was called upon to speak. He was more skilful in presenting the same point of view but even that was beyond Lord Willingdon's patience. He remarked helplessly, " What is the use of urging things on my attention, which are beyond my doing ? " Jinnah did not leave the Conference but resumed his seat. Next speaker was R. P. Karandikar. He said, " I am also a Home Ruler and I state clearly that unless there is definite assurance of Swaraj, it is not reasonable to expect people to help the Government enthusiastically by contributing men, money and

material." At last the Governor regretted that his expectation that there would be unanimous and enthusiastic support to the war effort was not fulfilled, but he did not question the sincerity and loyalty of the Home Rule Leaguers. Jinnah instantly referred him to his opening speech, but he was shouted down by Mr. Carmaichael and others. That is how the Bombay War Conference ended.

The next day, a statement was published by Tilak and others why they had to leave the Conference. Horniman and Jamnadas Dwarkadas even announced that they would not participate in any meeting over which Lord Willingdon was to preside. They resigned their membership of the War Committee. A public meeting was shortly held at Shantaram's Chawl. Mahatma Gandhi was in the Chair. He declared, "I protest emphatically against the behaviour of Lord Willingdon who as President of the War Conference interrupted the speeches of Tilak, Kelkar and others. They went to the Conference by invitation and had secured previous assurance that they would be allowed to make their observations. Lord Willingdon has grievously erred. His attitude is ungenerous and indefensible. Such insult to a tribune of the people like Tilak can do only harm to the cause of the British Empire!" Jinnah also addressed the meeting. He said Government was not honest and sincere in seeking the aid of the people; Tilak did his best to help recruiting but was not allowed to succeed by obstructing his work by obscurantist behaviour. Tilak also addressed the meeting. He said, "Government questions our bona fides. I have also sufficient evidence to question Government's bona fides. Who will help the Government to strengthen the shackles by which we are already bound hand and feet? If Government promises to throw open commissioned ranks in the army to Indians, I guarantee recruitment of 5,000 men at once. If I fail to do so, I shall pay a fine of Rs. 100/- for each. As a guarantee of my good faith I shall hand over a cheque of Rs. 50,000/- to Mahatma Gandhi. It may be forfeited if I fail to fulfil my assurance." He actually sent such a cheque to Gandhiji, but he returned it because he was against striking any bargain of that kind. As explained in his letter to the Viceroy, he wanted all help to be given unconditionally. In his

speech at this meeting, therefore, he condemned Lord Willingdon's gratuitous insult to the Home Rulers at the War Conference, but tried to impress upon the people the necessity of helping Britain in her crisis. He said, "With a true Home Ruler, it must be an article of faith that the empire must be saved. For in its safety lies the fruition of this fondest hope. How could we wish harm to our future partner without hurting ourselves? I wish I could still persuade the country to accept my view that absolutely unconditional and whole-hearted co-operation with the Government on the part of educated India will bring us within sight of our goal of Swaraj as nothing else will." Gandhiji wrote letters on similar lines to Mrs. Besant, Jinnah and Surendra Nath Banerji but none was found to be inclined to take his view. What happened in Bombay was repeated in C.P. An interview between Dr. B. S. Moonje and Mr. Slocock on the subject of war effort was published in the form of a Press-note in which Dr. Moonje complained that his position was not correctly represented. He made a statement of his own in which he said that an adequate political gesture from Government would easily lead to enthusiastic recruitment. He also made some practical suggestions in that behalf and the C.P. Government had to issue a fresh Press-note embodying all this.

Early in July, the much-awaited report on reforms by Mr. Montagu was published. On July 7, Tilak received a copy addressed to him and two copies were sent to the *Kesari* and the *Mahratta*. Tilak devoted a whole day to read it through, made some notes and wrote in the *Kesari* for July 9, a lengthy article in which he asked: It is dawn, but where is the sun? In the *Kesari* for July 16, he wrote another article in which he said: Sir, Delhi is still very far off. Only a few days before, Tilak had made a speech in Poona on the question of recruitment in which he had said, " People will be ready to join the army only if they will feel assured that their country's political prospects were going to improve. If their country was to remain as unfree as it was before the war, how could they be enthusiastic about defending it? Self-defence and self-government always went together." There was nothing new in what Tilak had said, but Government caught hold of this utterance and made it an excuse for serving on him an order whereby he was prohibited

to address public meetings without the previous permission of the District Magistrate in the Districts and of the Police Commissioner in the city of Bombay. But in that very order it was made clear that he was free to speak publicly on the subject of Montford Reforms at the Special Congress session on August 28. Tilak's immediate reaction to the Montagu-Chelmsford Report on proposed political reforms was explained in the two articles referred to above. " A sunless dawn " may be a figurative, but it is a picturesque and significant description indeed. Mrs. Besant held that the political reforms indicated in the report were " unworthy of England to give and unworthy of India to take." Vithalbhai Patel held that in some respects, the report had actually made retrograde proposals. Kelkar described the proposals as cruelly disappointing and almost a " wicked attempt to let Indian leaders be stewed in their own juice ". B. Chakravarti said that " throughout the report the fetish of peace, order and good government was worshipped." Jitendralal Banerji declared that " the reforms were grudging, half-hearted, meagre, inadequate and so disappointing and abortive." Dr. Subramanyam Iyer advised his countrymen " not to touch the narcotic that was offered to them ". All these were immediate reactions, but even the considered attitude of the special Congress session held in Bombay to take an authoritative decision at the end of August and beginning of September, was not far different. Even while expressing his own reaction, Tilak had made it clear that he would abide by what the Congress would decide to do.

CHAPTER XXVII

GANDHIJI EMERGES IN ACTIVE POLITICS

If a student of the freedom movement and constitutional development of India studies the Montagu-Chelmsford Report even at this distant date he will come to the conclusion that it is a masterpiece of literature and like other political documents produced by British statesmen, it contains a dispassionate statement of India's case for self-government. One cannot escape the conclusion, however, that the obstacles to reform are also expatiated upon with equal lucidity, with the result that the obstacles triumph at last. In the case of the Montford Report, there was an additional circumstance. The Congress-League scheme had provided for fixed executives responsible to the legislature. Here was a more fascinating scheme of responsible government with removable and replaceable cabinets, possessing corporate responsibility and subject to the vote of the legislatures. This was exact reproduction of the British type of self-government. What else should the people of India want ? Their legislatures would no longer be the arena for the training of Indian politicians but the forum in which ministers should justify their conduct to the constituencies and stand or fall according to the voting of their colleagues in Parliament. Many in India were taken in by this scheme and it appeared to receive more consideration than the Congress-League scheme. It is interesting to recall who these people were and how Montagu himself has described them in his *Diary*. Mrs. Besant is recorded as having said that she would accept anything that Sir Sankaran Nair would accept and Sir Sankaran accepted the Montagu scheme. "Extremists who do not mean well by Government must be separated from those who do" he said. About C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, Mr. Montagu says, "I asked him pointblank what he would accept. He accepted Sastri's four criteria and I am afraid he would never accept periodic inquiries. What he wants is a time-limit and there is much more in this time-limit than people really believe. He pathetically said that their confidence in me was everything and he begged me not to be persuaded to desert them." "Setalwad,

Chandavarkar and Ibrahim Rahimtulla approved of the Reservation scheme" says Mr. Montagu. His plan was to form a department to help the Moderates to organize themselves. "There was a proposal — proposal No. 27 —," says Mr. Montagu "in favour of a new organization of Indians, assisted in every way by Government, for propaganda on behalf of our proposals and to send a delegation to England and to assist us." "Proposals 30 and 31 contemplated" adds Mr. Montagu, "that Sir S. P. Sinha should succeed Mr. Montagu as Secretary of State for India in the British Cabinet and Mr. Montagu himself should become Under-Secretary." Mr. Montagu's observations on this are interesting: "It will teach the I.C.S. that a British statesman, who however undeservedly, has reached cabinet rank, finds nothing derogatory in assisting, rather than controlling India. It will fire the imagination of India." On the other hand, the Nationalists left no doubt whatever in Mr. Montagu's mind as to what they wanted. "Motilal Nehru would be satisfied if he could get responsible government in 20 years." "C. R. Das anticipated the failure of dyarchy and wanted real responsible government in five years hence and promise of it now." But Mr. Montagu had received firm support from Surendra Nath Banerji and Bhupendra Nath Basu even before the report was published. Mr. Montagu had asked Tilak what he would do if the reforms fell short of his expectations and Tilak had readily replied, "I would accept what is given and fight for more."

Against such a background, the special session of the Congress was held in Bombay, both Lucknow and Allahabad having been found inconvenient venues. Syed Hasan Imam presided over the session and Vithalbhai Patel was Chairman of the Reception Committee. It appeared that the policy of rallying the Moderates round the banner of the Montagu proposals had already succeeded and prominent Moderates had decided not to attend the special session, because they did not entertain any expectations about the "latest masters of the Congress" passing a resolution in support of the Montford proposals of political reform. The Moderates decided to hold a special conference of their own and Dinshaw Wacha, Surendra Nath Banerji, Bhupendra Nath Basu and Ambika

Charan Mazumdar did not attend the Congress. Even Srinivasa Sastri and C. Y. Chintamani who had supported the Home Rule movement, chose to be absent. It was decided that the Congress should begin on August 28, but Pandit Malaviya wanted to try his hand at a compromise and requested the Reception Committee to postpone the session to the next day and his request was conceded, even though there was a good deal of opposition to this course being followed. But Wacha let Pandit Malaviya down by issuing a statement to the Press the next day saying that he had given no assurance about a compromise and he firmly held that he and his friends would not be able to reach an agreement with the new Congressmen who were disappointed with the Montagu report and scheme of reforms. The Congress session began the next day. For four days discussions were going on, at the end of which, the Congress reaffirmed : "The principles of reform contained in the resolutions relating to self-government adopted by the Indian National Congress and the All India Muslim League held at Lucknow in December 1916 and at Calcutta in December 1917," and declared "that nothing less than self-government within the Empire could satisfy the Indian people and by enabling it to take its rightful place as a free and self-governing nation in the British Commonwealth, Britain should strengthen the connection between Great Britain and India."

This Congress also affirmed : "The people of India are fit for responsible government and repudiate the assumption to the contrary contained in the report on Indian constitutional reforms." The fourth resolution passed by the Congress contained comprehensive suggestions :

"The Government of India shall have undivided administrative authority on matters directly concerning peace, tranquillity and defence of the country subject to the following: 'That the statute to be passed by Parliament should include a declaration of rights of the people of India as British citizens: (a) that all Indian subjects of His Majesty and all subjects naturalized or resident in India are equal before the law and there shall be no penal or administrative law in force in this country whether substantive or procedural, of a discriminative character, (b) that no Indian subject of His Majesty shall be liable to suffer in liberty, life, property, or in respect of free speech or writing or the rights of association, except under sentence of lawful and open trial, (c) that every Indian subject shall be entitled to bear arms subject to the purchase of a licence, as in Great Britain, and that right shall not be taken away save by sentence of an ordinary court

of justice, (d) that the Press shall be free and that no licence or security shall be demanded on the registration of a press or a newspaper, (e) that the corporal punishment shall not be inflicted on any Indian subject of His Majesty, save under the conditions applying equally to all other British subjects.' "

After setting forth these fundamental rights, the fifth resolution that was passed concerned the reform proposals as they stood in the Montagu-Chelmsford Report. The resolution said, "This Congress appreciates the earnest attempts on the part of the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for India and His Excellency the Viceroy to inaugurate a system of responsible government in India, but while it recognizes that some of the proposals constitute an advance on the present condition in some directions, it is of opinion that the proposals as a whole are disappointing and unsatisfactory." The Congress was of the opinion that simultaneous advance was indispensable, both in the provinces and at the Centre. It proposed drastic alterations in the control exercised by Parliament through the Secretary of State. Fiscal autonomy was demanded as an inherent right of the Indian people and in the Central Indian Legislature, the deletion of the proposed Council of State from it was demanded. Similarly it was demanded that the India Council in London should be abolished. The idea underlying all these proposals was to make the constitution as democratic as possible. This resolution was moved by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya in a closely reasoned speech. Sir Dinshaw Manekji Petit, Bart. seconded it in a lucid speech which described how the resolution dispelled the fears of some and shattered the hopes of some of their enemies that the Congress was going to reject the scheme without discussing its merits or demerits. Eleven leading Congressmen supported the resolution. Pandit Motilal Nehru showed how the Congress was able to perform the impossible feat of uniting its appreciation, recognition and in plain English, its condemnation of the Montford Report. Fazl-Ul-Haq proved how they had heard of the change in the angle of vision, but it was either an obtuse angle or an acute angle, but it was never the right angle! M. R. Jayakar pointed out that the "taint of the schoolmaster" was responsible for the "periodic examinations" set for the Indian people in the Montford scheme of reforms. Tilak was one of the supporters. He said :

"What we have tried to do in the Subjects Committee is to distil our different opinions. It was no easy task. Even our enemies considered it to be difficult. They believed that we were engaged in an impossible business and that by the beginning of September the Congress would be nowhere. Unfortunately for them their predictions have gone wrong. So long as the spirit of forbearance and of give-and-take pervades the counsels of the Congress, such a fatal contingency is never likely to arise. We were told that the Congress was going to reject the whole scheme. I could never understand and have not yet understood what that meant. We are in the midst of our negotiations. If we reject the scheme, we are done with it. What are we then going to tell the British people? I believe, we have learnt enough of practical politics to know that it is absurd to take such a position. Fortunately for us all, we have been able to place before you a reasoned document, a resolution which combines the wisdom of one, the temperament of another and what some people call the rashness of a third. I do not personally think it is rashness. I call it boldness and moral courage."

Tilak proceeded to say:

"The Montford Report is a beautiful, very skilful and statesmanlike document. We asked for eight annas of self-government. That report gives us one anna of responsible government and tries to tell us that it is more precious than eight annas of self-government. The whole literary skill of the report lies in making us believe that one morsel of responsible government is more than sufficient to satisfy our hunger for full self-government. We now plainly tell the Government that we are thankful for the one anna of responsible government but in the scheme we want to embody all that is there in the Congress-League scheme. We say that the rails may be different but the carriages that carry the passengers might be transferred from our rails to yours. This is what we have tried to do. We have tried to satisfy all parties concerned and a very difficult task has been accomplished. The future path is clear and I hope that what we have done will be of material help in carrying on our struggle to the desired end."

Mrs. Besant wound up the discussion saying that the Congress had come to conclusions which reconciled various conflicting views and commanded the unqualified support of the large majority of Congressmen all over the country. As regards communal representation, the Congress resolved that the proportion of Muslims in the Indian and provincial legislatures should be as laid down in the Congress-League scheme. Women should not be disqualified on account of sex. As regards place of Indians in the army, the Congress recorded its deep disappointment at the altogether inadequate response of the Government to the demand for the grant of commissions in the army to Indians and opined that steps should be immediately taken so as to enable the grant of at least 25 per cent

commissions to Indians to be increased to 50 per cent within 15 years. The Congress decided to send a deputation to England and appointed a Committee of selection for that purpose. A session of the Muslim League was also held at the same time under the presidentship of the Raja of Mahabudabad and adopted resolutions on practically the same lines as the Congress with whose Committee there was complete collaboration. Although leading Moderates had chosen to be absent from the special Congress session, less prominent leaders like Mr. B. S. Kamat and Mr. H. N. Apte attended. Mr. Lallubhai Samaldas who spoke on the Reforms resolution expressed his satisfaction that those Moderates who had chosen to attend the Congress were treated with consideration. Dr. Rash Behari Ghose had sent a telegram of good wishes to the session. All things considered, therefore, the general impression left on the Press and public men of those days was that "the moderation and good sense of the special session of the Congress disarmed all opposition" and many of the seceders returned to the old camp at Delhi when the 33rd session of the Congress was held in December, even though the Moderates had met in what they called "The All-India Conference of the Moderate Party", in Bombay on November 1, Srinivasa Sastri being the most prominent among them. The whole tone of this Conference was apologetic, after the Moderates had followed the proceedings of the special Congress. They had to explain that the Conference was in continuation of the Congress tradition. C. Y. Chintamani said, "Those who may criticize and taunt us for having stayed away from the special Congress may well be asked whether we are faithful or we are wanting in fidelity to the traditions and the policy of the Congress when we are here with a senior President of the Congress as Chairman of the Reception Committee, when the proposition before the Conference has been moved by another ex-President and supported by a third ex-President of the Congress." This was poor defence, for what mattered was not the men, but what they said and did, with reference to the new Reforms scheme. The Moderates' Conference passed a resolution welcoming the Reforms proposals as constituting an advance on present conditions both as regards the Government of India and the Provincial Governments and also a real and substantial step towards

the progressive realization of responsible government in the provinces. The Conference also suggested some minor additions to the proposals and appointed a Committee to elect a deputation to proceed to England in order to urge on the British statesmen and the British public "the wisdom and necessity of supporting the Montagu-Chelmsford Reform scheme."

What may be described as Tilak's approach and attitude to reforms was very well explained in the speech of the Chairman of the Reception Committee, Vithalbhai Patel, who had attracted the attention of educated India, as a very painstaking, industrious and plain-speaking member of the Bombay Legislative Council. So far he was associated with the Moderates, but he definitely broke with them when he was required to define his precise reaction to the Montford scheme of reforms. A close similarity is noticeable in what he said in his speech as Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Special Congress and what Tilak wrote in the *Kesari* in a series of three articles to explain his reaction. Patel enjoyed complete confidence of Tilak as their hearty collaboration in England later showed. Patel in his speech said :

"For so many years, the Congress had been in the position of the plaintiff and the Government sat in the chair as Judge, holding the right of decreeing or dismissing the claim; but now it is the Congress, it is you, the representatives of the people who sit in the chair of the Judge to adjudicate on the merits of the case as stated in the report on Indian constitutional reforms prepared by the Secretary of State for India and the Viceroy of India. The distinguished authors of the report have accepted only the non-essentials of the Congress-League scheme and if the assent of educated India was essential to the scheme as embodied in the report, even as a transitional measure, important modifications would have to be made in it. For even a beginning in the direction of responsible government, which was the avowed objective, the first thing absolutely needed is fiscal autonomy and there was not even a shadow of it anywhere in the proposed scheme. Then the authors of the scheme had chosen the provinces as the unit of "progressive realization of responsible government and had recommended no alteration for the time being, at any rate, in the responsibility of the Government of India to the British Parliament. We contend — and on this point there is no difference of opinion anywhere — that the progressive realization of responsible government must proceed in the Government of India, simultaneously with the provinces and the two must synchronize. Unless the whole fabric of the administration from the foundation to the top is informed and influenced by the new idea the isolation of the Government of India and its complete detachment from

all popular influence and control will inevitably tend to make it more centralized and will progressively diminish its amenability to popular control in future. This tendency will be accelerated by the creation of a second chamber, the Council of State, which will not be a representative assembly like the Legislative Assembly, but which will hold all real power, including that of emergency legislation without reference to the Legislative Assembly and will merely report such legislation to it as an accomplished fact. If that was the state of things at the Centre, in the provinces also, the new legislative councils would be shorn of all real power, provision having been made there of Grand Committees in which Government will have a majority and will have practically the same status and powers as the Council of State in the Government of India. In fact, every proposed reform is hedged round with so many safeguards that it looks as if a system of barbed wire fencing had been set up to keep out an interloper or an enemy. Passed through the alembic of public opinion, the proposed reforms scheme will have to shed several ingredients if it is to form a basis of mutual trust and co-operation between the Government and the people. (1) Full responsible government must be given to advanced provinces from the outset; in other provinces reserved subjects should be as few as possible and provision must be made for their automatic transfer within a period of say, five years. (2) A substantial beginning of responsible government must be made in the Government of India at once and that Government should come within the purview of the periodic commissions appointed on the approval of Parliament, at intervals of less than ten years. (3) A time limit must be fixed for the grant of full responsible government to India and that time-limit should not exceed 15 to 20 years. (4) Full fiscal freedom must be given to India at once. If these alternatives and others that will be doubtless suggested by the Congress are accepted by the Government, a substantial step will have been taken towards the progressive realization of responsible government in India."

It is clear from this that neither Vithalbhai Patel nor Tilak condemned the Montford scheme, lock, stock and barrel, but neither of them would agree with the position that the Moderates had taken. They said in effect or even in express terms that the "Reforms constituted a definite advance towards the progressive realization of responsible government." This was the language of the resolution that Surendra Nath Banerji moved in the session of the Imperial Legislative Council on September 6, 1918 asking for the appointment of a Committee of all non-official members of the Council to consider the Montford Report and make recommendations to the Government of India. Speaking on this resolution on September 7, Vithalbhai Patel said :

"In the resolutions that the special sessions of the Congress and the Muslim League have passed, they held in no equivocal terms that they

constitute an advance — not a definite advance as Mr. Banerji has stated in his resolution — on the present conditions in certain directions and not an advance towards the progressive realization of responsible government as stated in the resolution. That is the verdict of the National Congress and the Muslim League. They go further and say that the reforms taken as a whole are disappointing and unsatisfactory. In the face of this verdict of the Indian people, Hindus and Mussalmans, Parsees and Christians, I fail to understand how, standing here, as the representative of the people, I can consciously assent to a proposition which says in effect or rather in express terms that the reforms constitute a definite advance towards the progressive realization of responsible government. The main object of the resolution, as I understand, is the appointment of a Committee which will sit to determine upon the reform proposals to say whether the reforms as a whole constitute a definite advance towards the progressive realization of responsible government. If we are going to appoint a Committee, it is no use for this Council first to pronounce a verdict that the reforms constitute a definite advance towards the progressive realization of responsible government and then ask the Committee to make recommendations."

After the session of the special Congress, Kelkar as Chairman of the Council of the Sarvajanik Sabha invited a number of prominent delegates to the Congress session to pay a visit to Poona. In response to the invitation, Motilal Ghose, B. Chakravarti, C. R. Das, B. C. Pal, Lahiri, Chidambaram Pillai, Krishnaswami Sharma and others went to Poona and stayed at Gaikwad Wada as Tilak's guests for a couple of days. On September 3 and 4, they delivered public speeches in the spacious compound of Tilak's house (It is not now so spacious). Tilak was in the Chair, but as he was under an order not to speak in public, he was a mute President and Kelkar acted as his deputy. On the first day, Chakravarti and Das spoke at length and Pal also spoke a little. Next day Krishnaswami Sharma, Mahadeo Iyer, Chidambaram Pillai, Vasant Kumar Ghose and Bepin Pal spoke. All these speakers spoke about the special Congress, Tilak's role in it and Home Rule. The last to speak was Motilal Ghose who had aged a good deal and was not keeping well. But he was overwhelmed by the sight of this gathering of veteran Nationalists from Bombay, Bengal and Madras in the presence of thousands of Tilak's followers and admirers. He blessed the younger generation and in a reminiscent mood referred to his relations with Sarvajanik Kaka, Ranade and Namjoshi and assured every one present that he looked upon Tilak as his younger brother. Motilal

Ghose also unveiled a portrait of Tilak at the Sarvajanik Sabha Hall. Speaking on that occasion, Mr. Chakravarti said, "I am reminded of a Calcutta meeting at which as soon as Tilak arrived the whole audience stood up in his honour and cried 'Tilak Maharajki Jai' as if all this was pre-arranged. Sir John Woodroff, Chief Justice of the Calcutta High Court, was present at the meeting who whispered into my ears that he would give up his knighthood in order to get a reception of that kind." After enjoying Tilak's hospitality for two days all these distinguished guests left Poona for their respective places.

Tilak felt greatly relieved to see that the Indian National Congress had defined its attitude towards the Reforms scheme and he began to make plans for going to England. He had secured fresh passports but on the specific condition that he would attend only to the business of the libel suit that he had instructed his solicitors to file against Sir Valentine Chirol. Accordingly he left for England on September 19 from Bombay. He did not allow any public farewell or send-off. He was accompanied by his legal adviser, R. P. Karandikar, his personal attendant G. M. Namjoshi and his friend Vasudeorao Joshi of the Chitrashala Press. Joseph Baptista was already in England and he had made arrangements for his comfortable stay. He reached London on October 30, 1918. While he was on his way, he was elected President of the Delhi session of the Congress to be held in December 1918 and was telegraphically informed about it when he was at Port Said. Tilak informed the Reception Committee of the Delhi Congress that he was grateful for the honour done to him but had to decline it since he did not expect to be back in India at the time of the Congress. Yet it was significant that while in England, he had the advantage of being President-elect of the Congress.

The thirty-third session was held in Delhi on December 26 with Hakim Ajmal Khan as Chairman of the Reception Committee. The war had come to an end with the armistice on November 11, 1918. The Allies had won victory and the principle of self-determination had been declared by President Wilson, Mr. Lloyd George and other Allied statesmen. The Delhi session was very largely attended, there being 4,865 delegates present, besides four times that number were visitors.

The Congress conveyed its loyalty to the King-Emperor and congratulations on the successful termination of the war which was waged for the liberty and freedom of all the peoples of the world. Another resolution recorded the appreciation by the Congress of the gallantry of the Allied forces and "particularly of the heroic achievement of the Indian troops in the cause of freedom, justice and self-determination." Another resolution asked for the recognition of India by the British Parliament and by the Peace Conference as "one of the progressive nations to whom the principle of self-determination should be applied," and as a first step the "immediate repeal of all laws, regulations and ordinances restricting the free discussion of political questions and conferring on the executive the power to arrest, detain, intern, extern or imprison any British subject in India, outside the processes of ordinary civil or criminal law, and the assimilation of the law of sedition to that of England." The Congress further demanded an Act of Parliament establishing at an early date complete responsible government in India and a place for India similar to that of the self-governing Dominions in the reconstruction of Imperial policy. The Congress also wanted to be represented by elected representatives at the Peace Conference and nominated Tilak, Gandhi and Hasan Imam as its representatives. Dealing with the reforms, the Congress reaffirmed the resolution passed at the special session at Bombay regarding the Congress-League scheme, fitness of India for responsible government and the resolution of undivided authority to the Government of India concerning the peace, tranquillity and the defence of the country subject to the declaration of rights. By another resolution, the Bombay resolution regarding other points was affirmed, except that in the Provinces full responsible government should be granted at once and that no part of British India should be excluded from the benefit of the proposed constitutional reforms. The Rowlatt Committee's Report again came in for review and after reiterating the Bombay resolution, the Congress also expressed the view that it would prejudicially affect the successful working of the constitutional reforms.

Tilak's activities and the sedition cases against him were prominently discussed in the Rowlatt Report and it appeared as though what Sir Valentine Chirol wrote unofficially was

sought to be supported by this official effort. The Congress urged on the Government the immediate repeal of the Defence of India Act, the Press Act, the Seditious Meetings Act, the Criminal Law Amendment Act, the old Regulations of 1818 and similar repressive measures and the release of all detenus including the Ali Brothers and Maulana Azad and other political prisoners. The Congress also asked that in view of the unprecedented economic strain and the cessation of hostilities, India should be relieved from the burden of contributing 45 millions for war purposes. While thus the Congress practically reiterated the special session resolutions it carried them further. But the harmony that had prevailed at Bombay disappeared. A split ensued on the narrow issue, as Mrs. Besant said later, as to whether provincial autonomy should be immediate and whole or whether the Bombay decisions should still stand. While the Madras and other Moderates stood for the Bombay resolution, the majority favoured the rejection of the Bombay Compromise. Srinivasa Sastri moved an amendment objecting to the words "disappointing and unsatisfactory" and asking that the 15 years' limit should be deleted. But the original resolution held the field. Finally a resolution offering welcome to the Prince of Wales was dropped. The Congress executive had received a letter from Government that if the Congress decided to send a deputation to England arrangements would be made to issue necessary passports to it. The Moderate and Anglo-Indian journals began to find fault with the Congress for making too rapid strides and dubbed it Extremist. Tilak was said to have influenced its deliberations although he was away in England when the Congress met. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya who presided over this session did not even so much as refer to Tilak's name in his address, when it would have been quite appropriate to do so, since it was Tilak who was first elected President and Malaviya was elected because Tilak had declined the offer owing to his preoccupations in England. In a letter to Tilak written by Khaparde about this time, this point was mentioned, but he added that Pandit Malaviya made a suitable reference to Tilak in his concluding speech, the unbecoming omission having been brought to his notice by some delegates.

During Tilak's stay in England for about 13 months, many events of great consequence, besides the Delhi session of the Congress happened. What are popularly known as the Rowlatt Acts were passed by the Imperial Legislative Council in the teeth of the opposition of the elected members of the Council among whom were Moderates and Nationalists and Muslim Leaguers and there was a strong agitation against them in the Press and on the Platform. Gandhiji organized a Satyagraha movement to have the legislation repealed, but the agitation against them outgrew the limits that Gandhiji always insisted upon as a Satyagrahi and the happenings in Amritsar led to what has come to be known in history as the Jalianwala Bagh atrocities. This led to the appointment of the Hunter Commission to inquire into them and the Indian National Congress also appointed its own Committee of inquiry. The year 1919 was a very eventful year in recent history of India. The cessation of hostilities did not lead to any real peace. A struggle of one Imperialism against another to capture markets and dominate the world got only a fresh start. The promises of self-determination to nations of the world proved only empty words. The real nature of Imperialism revealed itself when Britain, America, France and Japan sent their troops to crush the infant Soviet State in Russia. Britain with her far-flung colonies had to face revolts unprecedented in history. Ireland under the lead of Sinn Fein gave a tough fight. There was a revolt in Egypt against British domination. Britain's covetous arms were extending even to China. In India, all sections of people were ready for action due to utter desperation. The peasantry was suffering acutely from the rise in prices. Industrial workers were resentful at the appalling conditions under which they had to labour and the beginning of the year saw an unprecedented outbreak of strikes.

Muslims were angry with the treatment meted out to the defeated Khalifa of Turkey and the politically advanced elements in the Congress resented breaches of promise by Britain very bitterly.

The Government of India was fully alive to this situation and tried to gag the voice of revolt. The Rowlatt Bills, based on the Rowlatt Committee's Report which had already been condemned by the Congress in its Lucknow and Delhi sessions

were introduced in the Imperial Legislative Council on February 6. Their passage through the Imperial Legislative Council, marked a definite departure in the methods of political agitation pursued in India. They gave Mahatma Gandhi his first real opportunity to test his Satyagraha or passive resistance method on an all-India scale. He had already tried it successfully in Kheda and Champaran. The Rowlatt Report on which these Bills were based came out at about the same time as the Montford Report. The talk of passive resistance was all along in the air and various Provincial Congress Committees had seriously considered the desirability and feasibility of adopting it ever since August and September 1917, but nothing like a final decision was taken until the Rowlatt Bills, popularly known as Black Bills, were published. These Bills were commonly referred to as Rowlatt Bills, because they were the direct consequence of the Rowlatt Committee's Report. This Committee was appointed to inquire into the existence of sedition and to suggest measures to cope with it. Khaparde had tried to forestall any action on it by moving two resolutions in the Imperial Legislative Council, one to inquire into and report on the effect of Press Legislation in India and another asking that the consideration and disposal of the report of the Rowlatt Committee be kept in abeyance pending a thorough and searching inquiry by a Committee consisting of officials and non-officials equal in number. Both these attempts were made respectively as on September 18 and September 23, 1918. Vithalbhai Patel had just then been elected to the Imperial Legislative Council and was silently studying the working of the Council. When Sir William Vincent, after a brief speech moved for the first Rowlatt Bill to be sent to a Select Committee of 15 members, Khaparde, Vithalbhai and Malaviya being included among the members, Vithalbhai moved an amendment for deferring consideration of the Bill till six months had elapsed after the expiry of the term of office of the then Imperial Legislative Council. In spite of support from Surendra Nath, Malaviya, Khaparde, Raja of Mahamudabad, Mazharul-Haq, Jinnah and others, the amendment was defeated and the Bill was sent to the Select Committee. The same procedure was repeated in the case of the second Rowlatt Bill and they became Acts of the legislature. The unanimity

in opposition to them shown by Moderates and Nationalists alike was noteworthy. While this effort was on, Gandhiji was making plans to oppose them in his own way. On February 24, while they were on the anvil, Gandhiji announced that he would start a Satyagraha campaign if they were passed and became law and undertook an extensive tour to popularize his programme. His tour aimed not so much at bringing home to the people the injustice of the legislation as to teach them to be perfectly non-violent in the face of provocation. On March 18, he published a pledge in that connection :

> "Being conscientiously of the opinion that the Bill known as the Criminal Law Amendment Bill No. I of 1919 and the Criminal Law Emergency Powers Bill No. II of 1919 are unjust, subversive of the principles of liberty and justice and destructive of the elementary rights of an individual on which the safety of India as a whole and the State itself is based, we solemnly affirm that in the event of these Bills becoming law and until they are withdrawn, we shall refuse civilly to obey these laws and such other laws as the Committee, hereafter to be appointed, may think fit, and we further affirm that in the struggle we will faithfully follow truth and refrain from violence to life, person or property."

The pledge was there, but which were the laws to be disobeyed and how ? The laws must be enforced before they could be disobeyed. As a matter of fact, the Rowlatt Legislation was a dead-letter from the time it was passed ; no action was taken on it anywhere in the country. The Government had announced that they meant it to be, what they thought would be, a defensive weapon in their armoury against revolutionary and anarchical crimes, to be used only when occasions arose. Gandhiji did not want to wait till then ; the process of education in Satyagraha must begin, he thought. Gandhiji thought it proper to inaugurate the movement with a fast, which he considered was a process of purification ; he did not want the would-be passive resisters to sit at home and observe a fast. He proclaimed a *hartal* which meant cessation of all normal work all over the country and public meetings on a day to be fixed by him which was to be observed as a day of fast, prayer and penance. The date originally fixed was March 30, 1919, but subsequently it was changed to 6th of April. The change not having been communicated to Delhi in time, the Delhi *hartal* was held on March 30. On that day, Swami Shraddhananda,

who led the procession, showed what Satyagraha essentially was. Some European soldiers threatened to shoot him. Śwami bared his chest and asked them to shoot. The Satyagraha worked on them and they refrained from carrying out the threat, but the day did not pass off quite smoothly elsewhere. At the Delhi railway station, there was a fracas resulting in five deaths and several casualties. The demonstrations on the 6th of April were more successful. What followed thereafter was neither Satyagraha nor anything connected with the Rowlatt Legislation pledge. The Amritsar fracas of April 10 was caused by the anxiety of the crowd to know the whereabouts of the two Congress leaders, Dr. Kitchlu and Dr. Satyapal who had been spirited away to some unknown place. The Ahmedabad fracas was occasioned by the news that Gandhiji had been placed under arrest when he refused to obey the order not to enter the Punjab or Delhi. In fact he was only sent back from a wayside station by a special train to Bombay. The Punjab, Gujarat and to a certain extent Calcutta were thus involved in violence, but not in direct connection with the Rowlatt Legislation pledge. Yet Gandhiji saw that it was impossible to restrain people and that they were not ready to adhere rigidly to non-violence so he suspended the Satyagraha movement. It may be noted, however, that the *hartal* in Bombay was a complete success. It was decided that civil disobedience might be offered in respect of such laws only as easily lent themselves to being disobeyed by the masses. Gandhiji suggested the sale of proscribed literature. *Hind Swaraj* and *Sarvodaya* written by Gandhiji which had already been proscribed came in handy for this purpose. Gandhiji and Mrs. Naidu went in cars to sell the books and all copies were soon sold out. People willingly paid more than the published price of the book which was only four annas. An unregistered weekly *Satyagraha*, edited by Gandhiji was published every Monday at 10 a.m. and sold only for one pice. Tilak who was then in England had sent a message to the editors of the *Kesari* and the *Mahratta*, Khadilkar and Gokhale to support Gandhiji and even actively participate in this Satyagraha of April 6, which they did.

While matters stood thus, tragic events were fast developing in Amritsar. It may be noted that Martial Law was not declared as yet on April 13, though as the Government Report

admits, *de facto* Martial Law was in force since April 10. As a matter of fact, Martial Law was formally proclaimed in Lahore and Amritsar on April 15, and shortly after in two or three other districts. On April 13, which was the Hindu New Year Day, a public meeting was held in the Jalianwala Bagh, which is an open ground in the midst of the city enclosed with walls which formed the boundaries of houses overlooking it. It has a bottleneck that forms the only entrance to it, and so narrow that a carriage cannot pass along it. When 20,000 people, men and women and children, gathered at the Bagh, General Dyer entered the place at the head of a force composed of 100 Indian troops and 50 British, while one Hansraj was lecturing to the audience, and gave orders forthwith to fire. His own version as given later before the Hunter Commission was that he ordered the people to disperse and then fired, but he admitted that he fired within two or three minutes of the order. In any case, it was obvious that 20,000 people could not disperse in two or three minutes especially through that narrow outlet, and when 1,600 rounds were fired — and the firing stopped only when the ammunition had run out — the casualties were, even according to Government's version, about 400 dead, while the wounded were estimated at between a thousand and two. The firing was done by the Indian troops, behind whom were placed the British troops — all on an elevated platform in the Bagh. The greater tragedy really was that the dead and dying were left to suffer the whole night without water to drink, or medical attendance, or aid of any kind. Dyer's contention was that the city having passed under the Military, he had tomtomed in the morning that no gatherings would be permitted and as the people openly defied him, he wanted to teach them a lesson so that they might not laugh at him. He would have fired, and fired longer, he said, if he had had the required ammunition.

Gandhiji was greatly shocked by the unexpected turn events had taken and admitted that he had made " a blunder of Himalayan dimensions which had enabled ill-disposed persons, not true passive resisters at all, to perpetrate disorders ", and while declaring his readiness to assist in every possible way to restore normal conditions, he announced the suspension of

passive resistance. Now was the turn of Government to restore order. Lord Chelmsford published a resolution dated April 14, 1919, in which Government's intention was announced in the plainest terms to employ all available force to put a speedy end to disorder. Meanwhile the outbreak of the 3rd Afghan War complicated the situation in the Punjab, and the mobilization of troops took place on the 4th of May and Martial Law dragged on its bloody length until June 11, except as regards railway land in which it was continued for long afterwards. The undue prolongation of Martial Law led to Sir Sankaran Nair resigning his membership of the Executive Council of the Viceroy in protest on July 19. All this time the Punjab was isolated by a rigorous censorship of news and control of traffic. The Rev. C. F. Andrews was prohibited to set foot in the Punjab, kept in remand for a day and then deported and arrested at Amritsar early in May, and Mr. Eardly Norton, Barrister-at-Law, was prohibited from entering the Punjab to which he wanted to go in order to take up the cause of the prisoners. There was a universal cry for an enquiry into the Punjab wrongs and for the mitigation of the barbarous sentences meted out by Martial Law tribunals. Lala Harikishen Lal, a distinguished Congressman and financier was sentenced to transportation for life and forfeiture of property (worth 40 lakhs). It was in September 1919 that the Viceroy, to anticipate a later event, announced the appointment of the Hunter Committee to enquire into the Punjab disorders, but forthwith followed it up on September 18, by the Indemnity Bill which usually comes in the wake of Martial Law. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya vigorously pleaded for its postponement in a four-hour speech, but the defence was that the Bill only indemnified from legal, as apart from departmental penalties, actions taken " in good faith and in a reasonable belief that they were necessary for maintaining or restoring order ", while it left the ordinary courts to judge, according to the usual legal standards, whether these conditions were fulfilled.

Sir Dinshaw Wacha " declared himself convinced that Government was justified in the attitude it had assumed towards the Indemnity Bill." Mrs. Besant who had all along been opposing Gandhiji said that the Rowlatt Bill contained nothing which an honest citizen should object to and wrote on April 18

that "when the mob begins to pelt them (soldiers) with brick-bats, it is more merciful to order the soldiers to fire a few volleys of buckshot." This gave rise to the expression, "Bullets for Brick-bats" which since became associated with her name. A definite cleavage of parties, the germs of which were already noticeable at Delhi, came thus into existence since April 1919.

The All-India Congress Committee met on April 20, and protested against the externment orders passed on Gandhiji by the Punjab and Delhi Governments and urged an enquiry into the Punjab wrongs. A Deputation composed of Vithalbhai Patel and Kelkar was appointed, to sail at once for England, in view of the seriousness of the political situation. They actually did so on April 29, 1919. On June 8, a second meeting of the A.I.C.C. was held at Allahabad which was occasioned by an Ordinance of the Governor-General dated April 21, delegating powers to the Punjab Government, whereby any offence committed on or after March 30 could be transferred for trial to Martial Law Tribunals. Obviously this date was fixed because *hartals* began on that day. Prisoners were not allowed to choose their own counsel. These and other matters were considered at this meeting, and it was suggested that the scope of the inquiry by the Committee to be appointed should include Sir Michael O'Dwyer's regime in the Punjab, with special reference to the method of recruitment for the Indian Army and the Labour Corps during the War, the raising of the War Loan, and the administration of Martial Law. Horniman had been deported for his strong condemnation of Government's policy in the Punjab in the *Bombay Chronicle*, and the A.I.C.C. urged the cancellation of the orders against his return to India.

A Committee was appointed to arrange for the conduct of an enquiry into the Punjab occurrences, to take all necessary legal proceedings in India or England in relation thereto and to collect funds for the purpose. This Committee co-opted Gandhiji, Andrews, Swami Shraddhananda and others. In the beginning of November Mr. Andrews was suddenly called upon to go to South Africa. He left all the evidence he had collected with the Congress Committee. It was resolved to secure the services of Messrs. Neville and Captain, solicitors of London and Bombay respectively, to assist in the work of the Sub-Committee. A cable was sent by Pandit Malaviya on behalf of

the A.I.C.C. to the Premier, the Secretary of State and Lord Sinha, asking for the suspension of the "execution of all sentences passed under Martial Law, pending proposed enquiry". By this time Sir Satyendra Prasanna Sinha had become a member of the Privy Council, a K.C., and a Baron. He took the name of Lord Sinha of Raipur. He was also appointed Under-Secretary of State for India, and later on it was he who piloted the Government of India Bill through the House of Lords. The A.I.C.C. next met in Calcutta on July 19 and 20 and decided that the Congress should be held at Amritsar. The demand for a committee of enquiry directly by His Majesty's Government was reiterated, and legal authority was sought for it to revise, annul or suspend Martial Law sentences. The A.I.C.C. recorded its grateful appreciation of Sir Sankaran Nair's resignation and requested him to proceed to England to plead the case of the Punjab. A sum of Rs. 10,000/- was collected for the Punjab Committee. On July 21, the A.P.I. published the following statement by Gandhiji dropping civil resistance for the time being:

"The Government of India had given me, through His Excellency the Governor of Bombay, a grave warning that the resumption of civil disobedience is likely to be attended with serious consequences to public security. This warning has been reinforced by His Excellency the Governor himself at the interviews to which I was summoned. In response to these warnings and to the urgent desire publicly expressed by Dewan Bahadur L. A. Govinda Raghava Aiyar, Sir Narayan Chandavarkar and several editors, I have, after deep consideration, decided not to resume civil resistance for the time being. I may add that several prominent friends belonging to what is called the Extremist Party have given me the same advice on the sole ground of their fear of a recrudescence of violence on the part of those who might not have understood the doctrine of civil resistance. When, in common with most other Satyagrahis, I came to the conclusion that the time was ripe for the resumption of civil resistance as part of Satyagraha, I sent a respectful letter to H.E. the Viceroy, advising him of my intention so to do and urging that the Rowlatt Legislation should be withdrawn, that an early declaration be made as to the appointment of a strong and impartial committee to investigate the Punjab disturbances, with power to revise the sentences passed, and that Babu Kalinath Roy, who was, as could be proved from the record of the case, unjustly convicted, should be released. The Government of India deserve thanks for the decision in Mr. Roy's case (Mr. Roy was the editor of the *Tribune*). Though it does not do full justice to Mr. Roy, the very material reduction in the sentence is a substantial measure of justice. I have been assured that the committee

of enquiry, such as I have urged for, is in the process of being appointed. With these indications of goodwill, it would be unwise on my part not to listen to the warning given by the Government. Indeed, my acceptance of the Government's advice is a further demonstration of the nature of civil resistance. A civil resister never seeks to embarrass the Government. I feel that I shall better serve the country and the Government and those Punjabi leaders who, in my opinion, have been so unjustly convicted and so cruelly sentenced, by the suspension of civil resistance for the time being. (I have been accused of throwing a lighted match. If my occasional resistance be a lighted match, the Rowlatt Legislation and the persistence in retaining it on the Statute Book is a thousand matches scattered throughout India. The only way to avoid civil resistance altogether is to withdraw that legislation.) Nothing that the Government have published in justification of that Bill has moved the Indian Public to change their attitude of opposition to it."

In pursuance of the Resolution of the A.I.C.C., Swami Shraddhananda, Pandit Motilal Nehru and Pandit Malaviya went to the Punjab in the last week of June to enquire into the happenings in the Punjab. C. F. Andrews went there shortly afterwards. Jawaharlal and Purushottamdas Tandon joined Mr. Andrews. Gandhiji joined the party on October 17, as soon as the order against him was withdrawn. The people of the Punjab were filled with panic, but confidence came back when Gandhiji was present in their midst. Meanwhile the official enquiry was announced. Its terms of reference fell short of the Congress demand. Nevertheless it was considered advisable to co-operate with the official committee. C. R. Das arrived from Calcutta presently and appeared on behalf of the Congress before the Hunter Commission, but unexpected difficulties faced the Congress Sub-Committee and it was obliged reluctantly to withdraw co-operation. The history of the situation was set forth in a memorandum. The Sub-Committee wanted some of the Martial Law prisoners to be brought under custody to attend and assist in the enquiry but was refused permission. It therefore appealed against the Punjab Government to the Government of India and the Secretary of State, but they declined to interfere. The prisoners in the gaol endorsed the decision to withdraw. Later experience only proved the wisdom of the course adopted. Amongst other things, there was this fact, that the restricted terms of reference would not have allowed the Hunter Commission to entertain matters which justly came under the events of April 1919, but which were

unjustly excluded from the reference. Accordingly, the Congress undertook a separate enquiry by a Committee composed of Messrs. Gandhiji, Motilal Nehru, C. R. Das, Fazl-ul-Haq and Abbas Tyabji with Mr. K. Santanam as Secretary. But soon after, Pandit Motilal, having been elected President of the Amritsar Congress, resigned and was relieved of his membership of the Committee, M. R. Jayakar taking his place. Mr. Neville, the London solicitor, who was in charge of the Privy Council appeals was with the Committee. It was also resolved to acquire the Jalianwala Bagh and raise a memorial, for which a committee was appointed with Pandit Malaviya as President. To anticipate matters, that Bagh has been acquired for the nation. The non-official report, however, could not be ready for the Amritsar Congress, and at the time it was even contemplated that a special session of the Congress might have to be held to consider it when ready, in detail and at leisure, but this much the Committee stated, namely, that "the admissions made by General Dyer before the Hunter Commission established beyond dispute that his action of April 13 was nothing but a cold-blooded, calculated, massacre of innocent, unoffending, unarmed men and children, unparalleled for its heartless and cowardly brutality in modern times." Judged by the happenings of April and May in the Punjab, it is easy to understand the rumour prevalent at the time that it was General Dyer's intention at first to raze Amritsar to the ground as a fitting punishment for the horrors of April 10 committed by the populace. Altogether, towards the latter half of 1919, the situation in India was not merely gloomy but portentous. Extracted below is in full a "Manifesto on the situation in India unanimously adopted by the delegates from the Indian National Congress (to England) and the British Committee of the Indian National Congress in the autumn of 1919," soon after the appointment of the Hunter Commission, when the Reform Bill was before Parliament :

"It is time that the British public had a clear vision regarding India, where, through the folly of the Government a cloud bigger than a man's hand has already gathered, threatening to break into a storm, the dimensions of which no one can foresee.

"In moving a resolution conveying the thanks of Parliament to the Forces engaged in the Great War, Mr. Lloyd George said, 'As to India by her remarkable contribution to our triumph, notably in the East, she had

won a new claim to our consideration, a claim so irresistible that it ought to overpower, and must overpower, all the prejudice and timidity which might stand in the way of her progress.' So far as 'a new claim' is concerned, the Government of India since the Armistice has requited India's glorious services by legislative and administrative repression, depriving India of freedom of the Press, freedom of speech, freedom of the person, provoking public protest and riots, particularly in the Punjab, with Martial Law, deportation of leaders beloved by the people, confiscation of property, suppression of newspapers, execution, public flogging, imprisonment of prominent and patriotic citizens on fantastic charges, refusal of permission to choose counsel for their defence before military tribunals, shooting by machine-guns and bombing by military planes of defenceless men and women, a regime of blood and iron which, if practised by Germans, would have filled Englishmen with horror and indignation.

"To make matters worse, a whitewashing Commission of Enquiry has been appointed without any representation from the Indian National Congress and the Indian Muslim League, and an Indemnity Bill passed by the Government of India which will prevent those officials who may be found guilty from being properly punished. Prussianism could no further go."

CHAPTER XXVIII

CHALLENGE TO CHIROL

In the previous pages, reference has been made more than once to the libel action against Sir Valentine Chirol. He was foreign editor of the *Times* and in that capacity worked as a special roving correspondent. He produced not only *Indian Unrest* in 1910 and later in 1921 *India — Old and New,* but a similar volume on Egypt. He was deputed to India in 1910 to study whether "the lull in the storm of Indian unrest" indicated "a gradual and steady return to more normal and peaceful conditions" or whether "as in other cyclonic disturbances in tropical climes it merely presaged fiercer outbursts yet to come"; whether "the blended policy of repression and concession really cowed down the forces of criminal disorder and rallied the representatives of Moderate opinion to the cause of sober and constitutional progress or whether it had come too late, either permanently to arrest the former or to restore confidence and courage to the latter." This was the problem that Sir Valentine set himself to study and after a long and painstaking investigation came to the conclusion that it was confined only to Hindus living in the urban areas of the Mahratta Deccan, the

Central Provinces, Bengal and the Punjab and said that repression meant only "application of surgery to diseased growths." He held further that "it is impossible that we should ever concede to India the rights of self-government" and suggested "some minor changes of policy for the perpetuation of British rule and the well-being of India."

Sir Valentine had been in India in 1903 when he was commissioned to report the convocation of the Delhi durbar by Lord Curzon, the then Viceroy of India. While touring, his train once halted at Saharanpur. It was one of the plague quarantine stations in those days. Doctors had orders to examine all passengers. A doctor came to Sir Valentine's carriage, asked him where he had come from and took up his hand for feeling his pulse. Sir Valentine could not bear this contact with a black man and unable to tolerate this interference with his person, he lost his temper and began to give knock-out blows to the poor Indian doctor. A police officer who was standing by separated the doctor from Sir Valentine and told him that the person who had touched him was a medical officer. Sir Valentine drew out his visiting card from his waistpocket and threatened the doctor that he would report against him, instead of offering him an apology. The doctor filed a suit against him for unruly behaviour and interference with the work of a public servant. He was served with a court summons. He appealed to Lord Curzon to go to his rescue. Nothing availed and he had to tender a written apology to the Indian doctor. He was not much known then but when he came out to India again to study the "unrest", some people naturally recalled this incident.

The *Times* was avowedly an Imperialist mouthpiece and the special correspondent, sent to India to study the aftermath of the Bengal Partition agitation was naturally commissioned to view it through Imperialist eyes. Where was the need, therefore, to establish any contacts with the real people by visiting the interior of every province and finding out what ailed the people? It was quite enough to hobnob with the officials in their clubs, their dinner and dance parties and read the police reports of the affairs and activities of the agitators in the various provincial and the Central Secretariats. He made not only full, but also very disproportionate use of these papers so

as to make his study altogether unobjective. Sir Valentine, armed with such material collected from not only Bombay, but all over the country sought to give it an imaginary unity and continuity of time, place and purpose. It was thus a campaign of utter prejudice, hatred and calumny. Chirol sent his special despatches which were published from time to time in the *Times* and later published in the form of a book called *The Indian Unrest*. When made into a book, this material was slightly revised. It was published by Messrs. MacMillan and Company and Tilak's libel action was, therefore, against both the author and the publishers. Chirol wrote about " it being impossible that we should ever concede to India the rights of self-government ", but he lived long enough to see the passage of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms Act in Parliament and revised his opinions about the situation in India. He went to the extent of adorning the title page of *India — Old and New* by giving a quotation of Thomas Munro, a former Governor of Madras who said, " We shall in time so far improve the character of our Indian subjects as to enable them to govern and protect themselves — December 31, 1824."

What sort of record the Government of Bombay and the Government of India had in their possession about Tilak could well be imagined by a simple reference to the report of the Rowlatt Committee. Its chapter I sums up in a few pages what the Committee has to say about his activities and those of Shivram Mahadeo Paranjpe and Vinayak Savarkar on the basis of the records of the Government of Bombay. Chirol's material was also the same. But its character could perhaps be better indicated by a reference to an incident that happened to Gokhale. Gokhale used to describe how he was once humorously taken to task by an Executive Councillor for having made a seditious speech. On Gokhale having denied it, a C.I.D. report of his speech was produced and both Gokhale and the official laughed over the perversions and distortions contained in that report. But it cannot be the privilege of every patriot and public worker to have the kind of contacts and relations that Gokhale had with the official world, and therefore there was no opportunity for them to combat such misrepresentations. Very many persons suffered on account of the C.I.D. misrepresentations and distortions and not even Ranade,

Pherozeshah, Surendra Nath, Wacha and Sastri escaped them. The record against Tilak would easily establish that numerous official minds were poisoned against him and it was a deliberate policy to crush him by hook or crook. The revelations made in the correspondence published in the *Kesari* and the *Mahratta* by N. C. Kelkar after Tilak's death, as between the Maharajah of Kolhapur on the one hand and a number of officials on the other, startled many publicists at that time and shed a lurid light on the events which form the subject-matter of that correspondence. Tilak must have often felt that the undercurrent of the bureaucratic mind was poisoned by malicious and mischievous reports about him, but how could he contradict or convince? He was not temperamentally so constituted as to seek contacts, or apply for invitations to Government House teas, luncheons and dinners and his relations with officials were strictly businesslike, even when there were opportunities for making them personally cordial, as for instance, when he was an additional member of the Bombay Legislative Council or when under his guidance the Sarvajanik Sabha was quite active in making representations and sending memorials. He had, therefore, patiently to put up with these difficulties and keep hoping that the day of reckoning must come sooner or later, when misunderstandings about his position and activities might be suitably cleared. The publication of *Indian Unrest*, presumably offered, in his view, the opportunity for vindicating his true position and proving to the satisfaction of discerning people, the righteousness of his conduct and the truth and justice of his cause. Tilak's chief object must have been to establish in the highest court of justice in the Empire how very prejudiced was the medium through which the bureaucracy looked at him, because Sir Valentine's book, so far at least as it portrayed Tilak's personality and activities was a systematic exposition of the theories contained in the confidential papers of the Government.

That this subject occupied his mind as soon as he came back from Mandalay is easily seen from the reference that he had made to Chirol's book in even his declaration of loyalty published on August 31, 1914 in the *Mahratta*. He decided to file an action for libel in England. Accordingly his solicitors, Messrs. Downer and Johnson notified Sir Valentine Chirol on

October 1, 1915 saying that he had published defamatory and libellous statements in his book *Unrest in India.* Tilak had nothing to say about what was reasonable criticism or facts in the book, but several allegations were clearly far from true and comment based on them was unfounded. The solicitors then went on to quote a few defamatory statements from the defendant's book and explained that Tilak was not interested in recovering any very big sum as damages but only in removal of whatever misrepresentations had been disseminated. So, the demand made was that the said statements should be withdrawn and an apology made to Tilak for having published them ; that the expunging of the said passages and the apology for them should be prominently inserted in the books in stock and that a sum mutually agreed upon should be donated by the defendant to the War Relief Fund. As no satisfactory reply was received from Chirol's solicitors, Tilak's solicitors made a demand for summons against him on October 27, 1915 and filed a complaint on November 14, 1915.

Now that the seal of secrecy on the Tilak records in Government offices has been broken, it has become possible to find out exactly how far Government was mixed up with Chirol and how far Bombay and Delhi went to help him. As soon as Chirol received the notice, he sent a copy of it to the Government of Bombay and started for India. He took the most proper step because it was at the instance of and with the material supplied by the Government of Bombay that he had prepared his articles and published them in the *Times* and later made a book of them. After Tilak's conviction for sedition in 1908, a section of the British public and politicians, including Lord Morley himself had openly expressed the feeling that Government was unnecessarily harsh upon Tilak. This trend in British public opinion had to be combated in the interests of the bureaucracy here and their satellites. They devised a plan of producing plausible unofficial support to their anti-Tilak position and policy and Chirol's enterprise came handy to them. After the book was ready for publication, Morley had allowed its dedication to him and Sir Alfred Lyall had written to it an approbatory introduction and Sir Valentine was knighted for this public service on the recommendations of the India Government. After all this, it was but natural that there should be

more anxiety in Indian officialdom than was caused even to Chirol, when he was served by Tilak with a notice for an action for libel. On landing on Indian shores, Chirol made for the Secretariat and made a demand for official documents connected with the passages complained of and in response to his request, the Secretary to the Judicial Department gave to Chirol all relevant official and confidential records in the possession of the Government on his own responsibility. As Chirol had based his observations on the report of the Inspector-General of Police to Government, forwarded in 1899 and the biography of Tilak, prepared by the C.I.D., he asked for permission to make official use of those documents. There was no difficulty about Press reports and newspapers files being given, but these matters required some consideration. In view of the plea of Chirol that Lord Sydenham and his officers had given him help and facilities, the Government of Bombay asked for advice from the Government of India. In a letter dated 19-2-1916, the Secretary, Judicial Department, Bombay said, "It is clear that a verdict for Tilak would enable him to go about the country and say that he never stirred up animosity between the Hindus and Mahomedans and so on and to pose all round as a martyr. It would have, undoubtedly the effect of increasing his prestige in certain political circles in England. This is considered a most undesirable result and perhaps, we should do all that we possibly can to assist Sir Valentine Chirol in his defence."

The reactions of the various officers at the highest level in the Government of India regarding the position that Government should take in respect of the Chirol case are worth studying. The Home Secretary observed on 28-2-1916, "From the papers it seems undoubted that rightly or wrongly, Sir Valentine Chirol did write his book with semi-official cognisance and help. Secondly, if Tilak is able to pose in the courts as whitewashed by the verdicts of a jury, the political consequences would be extremely bad. We believe him to be an extreme political danger and it is not in our interest that he should be judged to be an injured innocent. We are, therefore, interested in the results of the case." The Home Member agreed with these observations and remarked on the same date, "I

regard it of great public importance that Tilak should not secure a verdict against Sir V. Chirol. We know that Tilak was all that Sir V. Chirol described him to be in his book, an out-and-out enemy of the Government, whose speeches and writings had the effect of exciting to violence and a triumph of Tilak against Sir V. Chirol is not merely a triumph of one individual over another, in which Government is concerned, but a triumph over Government of an enemy of Government against Government. I see no reason why Government should be in the least ashamed if it came out in court that they had assisted Sir V. Chirol by information." Caution, however, was counselled by the Governor-General, saying, "I think we have got to be very careful. Are we not committing ourselves further than we can see at present ? This is going to be a troublesome business and I am all in favour of caution." He said he would like to hear further views and suggested consultation with the Secretary of State. Both the Home Member and Law Member then gave their considered opinions :

"Sir Valentine Chirol is now the defendant in a libel case, which if successful, will not only mulct him in damages for the public service that he rendered, but it also will have the effect of rehabilitating the political character of Tilak, a result which will be a very serious political evil. We have, therefore, to consider not only that we are bound, in honour, not to leave Sir V. Chirol in the lurch, but also that serious political disadvantages might result if Tilak won his action. These two considerations are both entitled to weight; but there is a third which is even stronger. It is inevitable that the trial will disclose that Sir V. Chirol obtained the information, on which his book is based, from Government sources and consequently a successful suit by Tilak against Sir V. Chirol might quite possibly be a prelude to a further suit against Government, charging them with publication of libellous matter. Reports made by the C.I.D. etc. to the Government would, no doubt, ordinarily be privileged, but the privilege would be forfeited by their disclosure, to a third party, with the knowledge that he intended to publish its contents, which under the circumstances, we could hardly deny. The success of Sir V. Chirol is, therefore, the first line of defence against a danger which is by no means remote; the failure of Sir V. Chirol would seriously prejudice the Government in defending itself in any subsequent proceedings against the Secretary of State. So that if we put aside, as of secondary consideration, any obligation to help Sir V. Chirol and any direct political advantage to be gained by Tilak's defeat, we have the much greater justification that in assisting Sir V. Chirol, we are protecting the public interests themselves against an attack, which if successful, would be disastrous and even if it failed, would stir up great political trouble. Sir V. Chirol's success is a

barrier of the utmost importance to us against a stirring situation arising at all."

On 20-3-1916, the Home Member and the Law Member further supported the Bombay Government's idea of placing an officer on special duty to collect and sift the available information observing "in collecting information which may help Sir V. Chirol we are collecting information which we require for ourselves." The Secretary of State. Mr. Austen Chamberlain approved of full assistance being given to Chirol. The Government of India also thought it reasonable to share the financial responsibility of defending the case but that was deferred till its conclusion. This was a gratuitous decision, since at no stage, Sir Valentine had appealed for any financial aid whatever. Mr. A. Montgomerie I.C.S. who was then Assistant Judge and had originally dealt with the Nasik Conspiracy Case at the Committal stage as a Magistrate was directed to make an inquiry regarding relevant facts and evidence and he was asked to proceed to England ostensibly on leave but really to render all help to Chirol. While yet in India, he examined all the material collected by Government, with a perfectly judicial mind and formulated his own opinions. He brought to the notice of the Government all the pros and cons of the case, in an objective report containing his findings. He dealt with all the allegations one by one about which Tilak had complained. Regarding the Anti-Cow-Killing Society allegation he clearly stated that the defendant had made a mistake. He was also unable to find any evidence to support the allegation regarding gymnastic societies and Tilak's connection with them. Regarding the allegations about funds obtained by coercion, he observed that the words amounted to a charge of the use of improper influence to compel subscriptions to funds to be expended in the propagation of disloyalty. "Taken in this sense they are almost certainly libellous and the defendant must be prepared to justify. I do not know how he is to do it or what grounds he has for making that statement." The Tai Maharaj allegation had nothing to do with politics and Sir Valentine clearly carried himself too far in quoting from Justice Chandavarkar's judgment and so during the proceedings in the London High Court, Sir John Simon was compelled to describe him as "dangerous" and even Sir Edward Carson had to say apologetically that he was

not a lawyer, but a layman and so committed the mistake, he was led into making.

Proceeding to deal with the innuendo by Sir Valentine "that there existed an indirect connection between the plaintiff and the said murders and that he was guilty of them" he noted the fact that the "most definite part of the passage, that purports to give an account of Chaphekar's own statement, is certainly wrong" as there was no reference to Tilak's papers either in the confession or in his autobiography composed in jail by Chaphekar. It was impossible to prove that Tilak engaged himself in a secret agitation or that Chaphekar was inspired in his murderous deeds by those teachings. In fact, the newspaper *Globe* had to apologize and pay damages to Tilak for publishing some remarks suggesting connection between Tilak and the murders. Regarding Tilak's writings in the *Kesari*, Mr. Montgomerie said, "Mr. Rand was criticized as unsympathetic and high-handed, but there is nothing that could be called vulgar, personal abuse, nothing in fact, that could be regarded as an incitement to murder. In strict fairness, it cannot be argued that these articles incited Chaphekar to murder Mr. Rand. They had been plotting and planning and seeking out opportunities to murder Rand long before the articles were published. The plaintiff will probably be shrewd enough to raise this point and will also no doubt point out the moderation of his own papers in comparison with others like the *Sudharak* and the *Dnanaprakash*." Montgomerie's whole report is in this strain. After having discussed the various grounds of complaint as disclosed in Tilak's claim he summed up as follows, "I have discussed the prospects of the case throughout on the view that the plaintiff will take the strongest line, it is possible for him to take. If some latitude is allowed by the court in the admission of evidence, there is a fair prospect of success on the most important parts of the libel. If, however, the court holds the defendants to strict proof of the allegations complained of (and this is the more probable course of events) the verdict is likely to be for the plaintiff and the amount of damages will depend on the extent to which we can be discredited in cross-examination by eliciting admission of his anti-British sympathies and by drawing attention to the fact that he has never raised his voice honestly and openly

against the outrages of anarchists." Mr. Montgomerie enclosed with his report various extracts from the *Kesari* and the *Mahratta* which might be helpful in damaging Tilak's reputation by showing to the court the anti-British character of his writings. Yet his report was received in Delhi with a sense of depression. The Home Secretary observed that it was not very reassuring as to the chances of the defendant's case. The Home Member noted that it was decidedly pessimistic. It was found almost shocking by the Bombay Government. It wrote to the Government of India that it was impossible to overlook the fact that the chapter of the book which contained the libellous statements was written under official sanction and was based on official documents. It was also believed that the proofs of the book were passed before publication by "one of the highest officials connected with the Government of India in England", and so the Bombay Government pressed for full assistance being given to Sir V. Chirol and it succeeded.

The hearing began on January 29, 1919, before Mr. Justice Darling and a special jury. Sir John Simon appeared for the plaintiff and Sir Edward Carson for the defendant. After Mr. Spence, Sir John's junior had opened the pleadings, Sir John addressed the jury pointing out some salient features of the suit. He briefly reviewed Tilak's career, drawing attention to its many constructive features and then enumerated the six libels complained of, which dealt with six different subjects. For the sake of easy reference, he called them: (1) the Cow-Protection Society Libel, (2) the Gymnastic Societies Libel, (3) the Rand and Ayerst Libel, (4) The Tai Maharaj Case Libel, (5) the Blackmail Libel and (6) the Jackson Murder Libel. Sir John addressed the jury for the whole day on the 29th and continued his overnight address on the 30th. Before closing he summed up by saying, "I am at a loss to know how some of these libels are sought to be justified at all, because, I am quite unable to discover in the particulars any material which would support justification. It may be that you will take one view of one libel and another of another. You, at any rate, dealing with these six several accusations want to do justice between the two parties."

This was followed by an examination of Tilak by Mr. Spence. He was asked questions, replies to which established all that

Sir John Simon had said in his opening address. Mr. Spence put about 400 questions to Tilak. Replies to the questions unfolded Tilak's life and his activities, during its various periods. Sir Edward Carson then began his cross-examination, when the courtroom was crowded to the utmost, probably because Sir John, Tilak's own counsel, had complimented Sir Edward Carson by saying that no man could possibly have to undergo an experience more severe than that of cross-examination by him. From what followed, it would be evident what hectoring, resentful and contemptuous manner Sir Edward had adopted and how Tilak withstood it:

Sir Edward Carson: When did you get out of jail last?

Tilak: In 1914.

Sir Edward: What month?

Tilak: June.

Sir Edward: You did not bring this action till near the end of 1915?

Tilak: I instructed my solicitor in 1915 to bring this action.

Sir Edward: Towards the end — October. Did you ever take any proceedings in India to set up your character there?

Tilak: No.

Sir Edward: Was not it more important for you to set up your character in India than come all the way to set it up here?

Tilak: I thought this place was better for the proceedings.

Sir Edward: Is that because we would not understand the natives?

Tilak: No, for another reason.

Sir Edward: Or know much about you?

Tilak: No; that is not the reason.

Sir Edward: What is the reason?

Tilak: The real reason is that this book is read all over the Empire and a decision of an English court could be more beneficial to me and would stop the circulation of this libel all over the Empire.

Sir Edward: Is it then your case that you have a European reputation or you have an Empire reputation? Is that what you mean?

Tilak : No.

Sir Edward: And you want to clear it before the Empire ?

Tilak : The book is circulated all over the English-reading people and if I take it in India and would have a Judge there and an Indian Judge decides in my favour, that would not be regarded as a very good justification for me.

Sir Edward : Is that the only reason you have for coming all this way ?

Tilak : That is the most important reason.

Sir Edward : Then I may take it that you have done nothing to set yourself up in India, where you live ?

Tilak: In India, the fact is well known.

Sir Edward : That is what I am going to point out. Let me draw your attention to what the Judge said when he sentenced you in the last case in which you got six years' transportation. You remember being sentenced by the Judge ?

Tilak : Yes.

Sir Edward : You had yourself, I think, spoken for 25 hours ?

Tilak : I do not know exactly about that — 20 or 25.

Sir Edward : Was the Judge a native of India ?

Tilak : Yes.

Sir Edward : Mr. Justice Davar. Here is what he said : " Bal Gangadhar Tilak, it is my painful duty now to pass sentence upon you. I cannot tell you how painful it is to see you in this position. You are a man of undoubted talents and of great power and influence." You agree to that, I suppose ?

Tilak : Those words were uttered by the Judge.

Sir Edward : " Had these talents and that influence been used for the good of your country, you would have been instrumental in bringing about a great deal of happiness for those very people whose cause you espouse. Ten years ago, you were convicted. The court dealt most leniently with you then and the Crown dealt still more leniently with you ; after you had undergone your imprisonment for a year, six months of it were remitted on conditions which were accepted by you." You had accepted conditions ?

Tilak : Yes.

Sir Edward: Listen to this now: "It seems to me that it must be a diseased mind, a most perverted mind that can think that the articles that you have written are legitimate articles to write in political agitation. They are seething with sedition; they preach violence; they speak of murders with approval." Did the Judge say that?

Tilak: Yes, the Judge took that view.

Sir Edward: "And the cowardly and atrocious act of committing murders with bombs not only meets with your approval, but you hail the advent of the bomb into India as if something had come to India for its good. As I said, it could only be a diseased mind that could consider that bombs are legitimate instruments of political agitation and it would be a diseased mind that could ever have thought that the articles you have written could be legitimately written. Your hatred of the ruling classes has not disappeared during these ten years and these articles deliberately and definitely written week after week, not written as you say on the spur of the moment, but a fortnight after the cruel and cowardly outrages committed on English women persistently and definitely refer to a bomb as if it was one of the instruments of political warfare. I say such journalism is a curse to the country." Mr. Tilak, was that published all over India?

Tilak: That was published all over India.

Sir Edward: Does that explain why you did not bring any proceedings in India to vindicate your character?

Tilak: No, that does not explain it.

Sir Edward: Then you are satisfied in India to rest under this imputation that you have preached violence, that you have spoken of murders with approval "and the cowardly and atrocious act of committing murders by bombs not only seems to meet with your approval, but you hail the advent of bombs as if something had come to India for its good." Tell me and point out to me any single statement in Sir Valentine Chirol's book, that is severer upon you than is that statement of Justice Davar, one of your own fellow-subjects in India.

Tilak: What is your question?

Sir Edward: The question is, can you point out to me anything in Sir Valentine Chirol's book which is more severe upon

you as a criticism than what the learned Judge says in that passage I have just read ?

Tilak : Yes, I can.

Sir Edward : What is it ?

Tilak : It is the actual connection with the fact. I do not complain of opinion ; any man may have any opinion of my conduct. I complain of being connected with these murders by a particular series of facts as stated in Chirol's book.

Sir Edward : Is a man who preaches violence and speaks of murders with approval less guilty than the man who commits them ?

Tilak : If it be so, I do not accept that.

Sir Edward : Is he less guilty than the man who commits it ?

Tilak : On the supposition that the man who is approving murder and all that, if the first part is true, you are asking me whether the inference from that is true or not. I say if that is true, then, the other may have some justification.

Sir Edward : But you see the learned Judge, having tried the case before a jury, one of your own Indian Judges has found that to be true ; or the jury found it. Now I ask you again, do you draw a distinction between a man who commits murder and who inspires it ?

Tilak : There is a difference even then.

Sir Edward : What is it ? Which do you think is more courageous of the two ?

Tilak : I cannot say ; it is only a supposition case.

Thus in this first round of questions during the cross-examination of Tilak, Sir Edward was unable to get any admission out of Tilak that he had any direct or indirect connection with the murder or violence cult. All that was proved was that Tilak was found guilty of sedition on two occasions and the law courts never attempted to try him of murder or abetment thereof, while Sir Valentine had attempted to show him up as an author of murders in his book. This cross-examination went on for four days and there was nearly no important phase of Tilak's life or aspect of his activities that was not touched in it. Indeed, for one to get an adequate idea of Tilak's personality, activities and times, it is enough to study only the book of

Tilak Vs. Chirol Case. All details, with chapter and verse quoted from unquestionable and authentic sources are to be found in this case which covers nearly 1,000 printed pages. For instance, when Sir Edward Carson failed to establish any connection between the murder cult and Tilak on the basis of his replies, he asked him once what he meant by Swaraj. Tilak told him that it meant self-government within the Empire. It did not mean turning out all the Britishers, but they had to stop to be the domineering authority. Whenever the question of administering justice as between the Europeans and Indians arose, it was difficult to get justice done to Indians. Even as between Muslims and Hindus, ordinarily justice was done but when a situation like the riots was there, Muslims were favoured. Whenever it came to his notice that such injustice was done, he used to comment upon it severely and fearlessly in his papers. Questions were asked of him, about his relations with Shivram Mahadeo Paranjpe. He frankly said that when he was proceeded against for sedition, he gave him all help as a friend. He also made it clear that Paranjpe was in no sense his subordinate and he had nothing to do with his newspaper, the *Kal.* When asked about his writings he averred that he wrote strong language but he did not think that he incited people to indulge in violence but that he was not a regular reader of his paper. How very forthright Tilak was may be seen from one reply Tilak gave to a question of Sir Edward Carson's. He was asked : Did you care whether they (Paranjpe's articles) incited to outrage by bomb or not ? Tilak said : Every man is entitled to prepare his defence and every friend of his is entitled to help him. Paranjpe's conviction for sedition did not make any difference to him in friendship and when he was asked, " Is that the kind of associates you generally keep ? " he replied, " I do not take the same serious view of the offence (sedition) as you do." There were some inconsequential questions and answers about Savarkar, Paranjpe, Mazzini's life by Savarkar and its dedication to 'Lokamanya Tilak and Lokamanya Paranjpe'. Sir Edward went on asking so many questions that at one stage, Justice Darling suggested to him in effect to cut his questions short and in order to clinch the point, Tilak offered to make an explanation to relieve both Judge and Counsel from perplexity. Tilak said, " In 1906 at the Mitra Mela Club of which Savarkar

was a member, he was distinctly warned to proceed on constitutional lines by myself; and Ganesh Savarkar was also similarly addressed by myself." In his opinion they were not 'dangerous' then, but just 'hot-headed' and 'likely to go on unconstitutional lines'. Referring to the Swadeshi and boycott movement in Bengal, Tilak agreed he praised Bengal for using the movement as a political weapon for the purpose of getting redress of their grievances. Sir Edward asked, "Were you praising the Bengalis for breaking the law?" Tilak replied, "For withstanding the persecution, not breaking the law. We break a law and brave the consequences, if we think the law is not good."

Sir Edward Carson: I suppose every man must judge that for himself?

Tilak: Every man must judge reasonably.

Sir Edward: If he thinks the law is not good, he must break it?

Tilak: If the law is broken you have to withstand the punishment. That is what we call passive resistance.

Sir Edward: "This establishes one fact, namely, that when the time comes by the grace of God even the weak people are inclined to set themselves against the headstrong or tyrannical rulers." Was that the British?

Tilak: The officials.

Sir Edward: Was it the British Government?

Tilak: No. I make a distinction between a government and its officers.

Sir Edward: But a government must consist of officials: it is not an abstract entity?

Tilak: A house consists of rooms, but a room does not mean a house.

Sir Edward: Were you trying to create disaffection?

Tilak: Certainly not.

Sir Edward: That you would not like to do?

Tilak: No, I have never done it and I do not like to do it.

Sir Edward: You have been convicted twice of it?

Tilak: Yes, a man can be convicted, but it does not mean that he is guilty.

Sir Edward: "The case of political sacrifice going on at present is of this sort (the *Yugantar* case). Political agitation developing gradually has this day attained a state when people are eagerly waiting to know, not how many speakers there are, not how many statisticians there are, but how many persons there are who would be, regardless of their lives, for obtaining the rights of Swaraj." Was that inciting people to risk their lives for Swaraj ?

Tilak : Of course, by way of passive resistance.

Sir Edward : But how do you know it was by way of passive resistance ?

Tilak : It means that if they have bad laws, they must take the consequences. You cannot get a bad law upset unless you do this.

Sir Edward : Nobody knew better than you did the danger of the bomb ?

Tilak : Everybody knew it.

Sir Edward : I am putting it to you. You were a very intelligent man ?

Tilak : There were hundreds of men like me in India.

Sir Edward : I do not think anybody quite as great ?

Tilak : Well, I do not know that ; my opinion is there are hundreds.

After a few more questions were put to Tilak about the plague relief administration by Rand in Poona, the cult of the bomb and Tilak's attitude towards it, the comments of *The Times of India* on Tilak's writings as encouragement to the murder of Rand and the apology made by the paper to Tilak, Sir John Simon pointed out that what *The Times of India* really did was that it published a quotation from the *Globe* newspaper of London. It was : "Happily Sir Stafford Northcote goes to his important office with much fuller knowledge of the state of affairs than his predecessor possessed until his mind was informed by the campaign of murder which Tilak directed, if he was not its organizer." An apology was offered on behalf of *The Times of India*. It read : "Mr. Bennet entirely dissociates himself from any of the insinuations so brutally conveyed by the paragraph in the *Globe* and retracts with regret the sentiments embodied in the paragraph complained of."

The Counsel who pleaded on behalf of *The Times of India* added: "It is a course my clients have determined to take independently of any legal advice whatever and prompted only by their own sense of what is right and just and fair to the plaintiff." Sir Edward Carson then went on to read from a leading article in the *Kesari* dated June 21, 1908 on which he relied to establish the plea of justification of bomb-throwing. Tilak merely said bombs or any such happenings were merely the result of misgovernment. On Sir Edward reading more extracts, Tilak denied that those passages contained any incitement. He offered an explanation saying, "The article discusses the condition under which bomb outrages took place in different countries and it compares the conditions and tries to assign the causes. It does not say that the bombs have been caused but it gives the sequence of events and directs the attention of Government officers to that and requires them to take lessons from it and also it gives a warning to the bomb-throwers that this is not the way in which the present situation can be reformed. That is an article for both sides." Tilak replied to further questions saying that he was generalizing and the British Government or officials were also meant whenever they were despotic or oppressive.

Sir Edward: If a man comes to the conclusion that the British officer is exercising unrestricted power, he may expect a bomb. Is that what you say?

Tilak: Not "he" — in the country, a state of things is produced which creates bombs as in Ireland.

Sir Edward: I do not think we ought to try that country in this case. Was the partition of Bengal the cause of bombing?

Tilak: Exactly as in the case of Ireland and Ulster.

Sir Edward: Never mind Ulster. Ulster will take care of itself. You will not gain anything by trying to introduce personal matters into the case.

Tilak: I am not introducing personal matters into the case. You will find Ireland quoted in the articles.

Sir Edward: Now, will you read the next? "The most mighty Czar of Russia had to bow down before the bomb and while making repeated attempts to break up the Duma, was at last obliged to establish it as a matter of course." Is not

that what I think the Judge called in part of his summing up: The cult of the bomb?

Tilak: The cult had been there in the beginning. The bomb had been condemned. Now we are going to discuss the situation, what has caused it and what is the sequence in point of time.

Sir Edward: What do you think would be the effect of that on an ignorant man who thought he was suffering something wrong from the Government and wanted to have a change?

Tilak: It would never have produced that effect.

Sir Edward: Like these wretched young men who were executed for the murder of Mr. Jackson. How many of them were there?

Tilak: Most of the young men in my part of the country know what my opinions are and what the opinions of the *Kesari* are. They know that the *Kesari* is against that, as a matter of fact, and any insinuation drawn from a sentence here and there, I do not think, ever occurred to any of the readers, whether they be young or old.

Sir Edward: How many men were executed for the murder of Mr. Jackson?

Tilak: I do not know how many, but I heard there were three.

Sir Edward: Were they all of your caste? Chitpavan Brahmans?

Tilak: I do not know.

Sir Edward: Did you ever look into that?

Tilak: I did not look into that; if I had looked into that I could tell you.

Sir Edward: Were they of your own caste?

Tilak: They might be.

Sir Edward: You were the leader of Chitpavan Brahmans. Were you not?

Tilak: I am a Chitpavan Brahman and I cannot denounce my own caste.

Sir Edward: Were you not the leader of them?

Tilak : I am the leader of the whole people, not the Chitpavan Brahmans. There is nothing in that.

Sir Edward : At Nasik, how many men were transported for being engaged in the conspiracy for murdering this man Jackson ?

Tilak : I do not know how many. I could look into the papers and see.

Sir Edward : Were they all Brahmans ?

Tilak : I do not know that.

Sir Edward : Did you never inquire ?

Tilak : No, I do not believe it is correct. It is all a false theory and the outcome of a diseased brain.

Sir Edward : That is what the Judge said about you ?

Tilak: And he judged wrong. I had no opportunity to reply.

At this stage, even Justice Darling appeared to be tired of Sir Edward's hectoring, domineering, contemptuous manner and he remarked, " It seems to me that a great deal of this is going over and over again." Some questions about Shivaji and the overthrow of the Moghuls followed and Sir Edward tried to liken Tilak's efforts to Shivaji's for the overthrow of British rule without success and again reverted to bombs and would not even let Tilak finish his sentences so that Tilak's counsel Mr. Spence had to admonish Sir Edward by saying, " Do let him finish his answers." Sir Edward asked whether it was quite an easy thing to make a bomb. Tilak said, " Yes, very easy ; it does not cost much money, it is not much of a trouble to make a bomb and consequently it is so difficult to detect it and consequently greater care ought to be taken. Being subtle great skill is required and I contrast it with the later methods of rebellion and having a number of soldiers and muskets — that is one thing and a bomb is another."

Sir Edward : And were you writing all this for the good of the British Government ?

Tilak : For the improvement of society, I was pointing out the difference and pleading with the Government that such being the case, the steps should be different from what they

were taking. Their steps were not lasting and they were mere repressive.

Sir Edward : Do you mean that they should adopt whatever foolish people wished who were prepared to throw bombs ?

Tilak : No ; not that. I mean that the bombs ought to be suppressed — it is stated in one of the articles later — but that they should be accompanied by some measures of reconciliation.

Sir Edward : Then every time, a Government is threatened, they ought to prove their might by a bomb. Is that what you mean ?

Tilak : Certainly not.

Sir Edward : What else does it mean ?

Tilak : It means the bomb is the symptom of a disease. It would not do merely to apply the experiment to the tree, but you must go to the root.

Sir Edward : What do you suggest the Government ought to do ?

Justice Darling : Look at the second line from the top of 1087.

Sir Edward : The real and lasting means of stopping bombs consists in making a beginning to grant the important rights of Swaraj to the people. "It is not possible for measures of repression to have a lasting effect in the present condition of the Western sciences and that of the people of India." Was not there the moral of the whole of this ?

Tilak : The moral of the whole of the article is....

Sir Edward : Let the Government yield to them ?

Tilak : No. The Government if it is a strong Government will never yield ; but if they use repressive measures, they must justify them by acts of reconciliation.

Sir Edward : But supposing the Government thought that it would not be good for India to grant them Swaraj, what were they to do ?

Tilak : It would be a mistake if they persisted in it, because it would lead to estrangement between the people and the Government.

Sir Edward: That is your opinion?

Tilak: That is what I say.

Sir Edward: But supposing Government thought differently, what were they to do?

Tilak: Then this will go on.

Sir Edward: The bombs will go on?

Tilak: Not necessarily the bombs, but discontent.

After a few more questions covering the same ground over and over again about bombs, to which Justice Darling once again drew Sir Edward's attention, counsel wanted to ask certain questions regarding writings in the *Kal* and the *Rashtramat* in order to make the point that there was a conspiracy to bring about, if necessary by assassination, the removal of British Government in India, but the Judge ruled that no such questions could be put before a conspiracy was proved because that would amount to prejudicing the jury before evidence was offered. Sir Edward once again attempted to browbeat the Judge but he firmly ruled that nothing about a conspiracy probably existing must be said. A number of questions were then put about the famine and plague of 1897 bearing on what Government did or did not do in those days. At one stage Tilak was asked if he was not ashamed of holding the views he did and he replied, "I am not ashamed at all. I rather believe in expressing myself too freely. If you keep a Dependency always a Dependency, the Government does not do its duty." Asked if he described holding meetings and passing resolutions as useless at a certain stage, he replied in the affirmative and said something better was necessary. What was it? He said, "Passive resistance; putting up with suffering." Tilak was asked if he ever wrote well about the Government in general or particular official or officials at any time at all and he said whenever he found that anything good was done, he wrote well. Explaining he said, "the Press in India occupies the same position as your opposition in Parliament, a permanent opposition."

Even the tenacious Sir Edward failed to get any inadvertent admission from Tilak to the effect that he incited people to violence or intended to do so during the Rand regime in Poona

and he turned his attention to Shivaji and all that Sir Edward could get was that the lessons Indians were to derive from Shivaji's life were self-respect, patriotism, industry and self-reliance, not necessarily violence. Sir Edward asked : Will you tell me how you would excite people to it ? Would you give me a little seance now of stronger language ? Tilak said : We have been suffering from not being entrusted with political rights and we wanted to complain. We do want people should find remedies to remove it and if I wanted people to rebel, I should openly say : Go ahead with it. My best effort is to incite people to persistent agitation. At this stage Justice Darling told Sir Edward that he had asked Tilak to explain a number of passages and he had listened to the explanations he had made and so had the jury and put it to him if those explanations had really helped all of them to understand the meaning better than they could by reading the passages themselves. Sir Edward replied that he did not want to leave himself open to the criticism that he did not give him enough opportunity of making explanations. Mr. Justice Darling said that Tilak had had ample opportunity and his point was that after all it remained for the jury to read everything in its natural sense and to say what they thought it meant. Sir Edward rejoined by saying that the sole question was whether the deductions drawn by Sir Valentine Chirol who had been out in India and had written the history, were poor representation of what he saw and studied. Justice Darling finally remarked that a good many of those passages had been read to the jury by Sir John Simon and he had asked Tilak also about them. Sir Edward had then to yield.

Sir Edward : Now will you tell me this : Did you ever advise the people that if constitutional methods failed they would have to resort to arms ?

Tilak : I have never given that advice.

Some more questions about the Shivaji festival, Tilak's objects in promoting it, Rand's murder, Gokhale's apology for having overstated the story of the plague operations and people's persecution in connection with that were asked and yet on the fifth day of the case, Sir Edward continued his cross-examination. Questions were then put to Tilak about his

first conviction for sedition, attempts made to have it commuted, Swadeshi and boycott movement, the political or non-political character of all movements which Tilak promoted or was associated with. In reply to a question explaining his view on Swadeshi, Tilak said, " My view about Swadeshi is that we should as far as possible use Swadeshi articles and that we should as far as possible use articles prepared in the country in preference to articles imported from foreign lands." He was asked if he had taken the Swadeshi vow. He replied in the affirmative. After one or two more questions Sir Edward asked Tilak if he thought he would lose the libel action he had brought for having broken the vow of taking only Swadeshi sugar while in England, Tilak retorted by saying that it was carrying it too far. Even the Judge appeared to be in a jocular mood and joining the revelry remarked even Sir John Simon was not a Swadeshi lawyer ! Then there were some questions about the Paisa Fund and the Samartha Vidyalaya at Talegaon and once more there was a reference to the Jackson murder case. Tilak was asked whether he knew Mr. V. M. Bhat. Tilak admitted that he knew him to be a Nasik case convict and after his release he had given him some work in the Kesari-Mahratta offices and he had helped him to inspect files in connection with the Chirol case.

Sir Edward : Is he still in your employment ?

Tilak : I do not know yet, but I think he is. I am here now.

Sir Edward : Do not be ashamed of it.

Tilak : I am not ashamed of anything. When members convicted sit in Parliament, why should I be ashamed of him ?

Sir Edward : Was it you who got Vinayak Savarkar sent to England ?

Tilak : No.

Sir Edward : Did you recommend him for a prize by which he was enabled to come to England ?

Tilak : I did not recommend him ; he came to me with an application for a scholarship. He had a recommendation from the principal of his college and he asked me to sign that recommendation as a second witness to it and I think I have signed it.

Sir Edward: What were you signing this for? I want to show your connection with this Savarkar particularly.

Tilak: He was a good student recommended by the principal of his college.

Sir Edward: Then, did he get the scholarship that enabled him to come over to England?

Tilak: Yes, he got it.

Sir Edward then read a good deal about Savarkar and put to Tilak his last question. He asked, "Were you on the 31st of July last (1918) prohibited by order of the Government from making public speeches or addresses and that order was there because of your speeches in relation to recruiting?" Tilak replied in the affirmative and Sir Edward said that he had finished his questions.

Tilak was re-examined by Sir John Simon on the sixth day of the case when he asked a few questions to Tilak and the replies that Tilak gave left the impression that Sir Edward Carson had not been able to dislodge Tilak from his position that the passages complained of in Chirol's book did constitute libellous material.

After this re-examination, Sir Edward asked only one question to Tilak by way of cross-examination regarding the speech on recruiting which had led Government to prohibit him from making any public speeches. Sir Edward asked if that speech was not different from his 1914 declaration in which he offered all help to the British Empire. Tilak replied that they were not of a different kind. The spirit of both was the same.

Arguing his case on behalf of Chirol, Sir Edward said, Sir Valentine could have avoided the whole of this litigation by an apology and by a subscription to the War Relief Fund but he and those with whom he was co-operating in the best interests of India itself, and certainly in the best interests of the Empire felt that to make an apology under the circumstances of the case or retract what they had deliberately stated and published, would be a disaster of the very greatest kind as regards the Government of India.

Referring to Tilak, he said:

"He is an able man, a lawyer, a professor, a newspaper proprietor and a politician; nobody doubts his ability, nobody has ever questioned the

position he holds in India amongst a large number of his race, the Hindu race and among his own caste, the Brahmans which as one of the Judges said in one of the judgments, he could well have turned to the benefit of our Empire and of English rule in India. But instead of that, from 1893 down to 1918, when this country was in the most desperate throes of the great European War, he has taken advantage of every difficulty that has ever arisen in relation to British Government in India for putting forward his own theories of government, his wishes, if you like, his conscientious wishes and he has spread far and wide conspiracy to try and destroy British influence in the Government of that great part of our Empire. What character has Tilak in a court of justice? What character has he who has preached disaffection, who has pointed out the most criminal methods of carrying out what he believes to be the proper object of Hindus, what character has he, after those convictions, to come and claim in this court? Tilak! Why, Tilak has been the greatest libeller of British officers and British Government that has ever written in a newspaper. He coming to claim damages for libel! He, the man who has written day after day, and week after week, the foulest libel on our soldiers and on our military officers, on our civil officers, on our police, on our Governors, on the native princes, on our own King and our own Queen, in language that is almost vile — he comes here and he says: 'Give me damages for my character.'

"I never admired the ingenuity of Sir John Simon more than when he deliberately set himself out to make out a number of separate libels. Of course, it is for my Lord to say how the matter should be dealt with but I suggest that the jury has to take this book as far as it concerns Mr. Tilak, as a whole. They are pleaded here as separate libels. There is one inuendo for the whole lot and it is not the proper method to select a libel here and a libel there and say that they are separate libels. Supposing, for instance you come to the conclusion that this gentleman was guilty of teaching and propaganda which led to the murder or that it was a fair inference that they led to the murder of Mr. Rand or Mr. Jackson or both, what damages is Mr. Tilak going to get, because you said he was a member of an anti-cow-killing society or that he had a gymnasium. What is the Tai Maharaj case or these other small trifling things as compared with the realities in the book. The book deals with his whole conduct in relation to the agitation. You might as well tell me that if a man is accused of murdering his mother-in-law and of stealing a pipe out of his father-in-law's pocket and it was proved that he did murder his mother-in-law and he did not steal the pipe that he would get damages! The thing is absurd."

Sir Valentine was then examined by Mr. Eustace Hills and cross-examined by Sir John Simon who drew out from him that Tilak was never indicted on a charge of forgery or corruption. It also came to light that Tilak had not been supplied certain official information which had been supplied to Sir Valentine. Sir Edward then addressed the jury in the same tone and tenor which characterized his opening. He said there

was not in existence a coin which would be the value of Tilak's character, adding that all his protestations regarding loyalty were worthless.

Addressing the jury, Sir John Simon said :

" I was very much astonished just now to hear my friend, Sir Edward, advance to you the proposition that in view of the very strong terms in which Mr. Tilak had been sentenced by that Parsee Judge, in the year 1908, it was impossible for Mr. Tilak to get a verdict at this trial. I wish to put this to you most gravely. If you, gentlemen accept the proposition, either in terms or in spirit, then, with the greatest respect to you, you are not addressing your minds to the real task which you have to discharge.

" It is because, in our submission, the plaintiff shows, he has been here libelled by the six libels and because in our submission, the Defence here has not discharged the burden which lies upon them and which it is for them to prove that on behalf of the plaintiff, I submit to you that he is entitled on each and every one of these libels to a suitable sum in damages. Even if he was not right as to them all, that will not alter his right as to the rest."

In summing up the case for the jury Justice Darling quoted Sir Edward's citing of the illustration of the murder of a father-in-law being proved, but the stealing of a pipe from his pocket being disproved, with somewhat amused approval, and proceeded to remark :

" So here there are many statements published which are said to amount to libel. They are of varying gravity. A libel is anything written and published in writing or print, concerning another person which rightly understood and fairly construed tends to hold that person to obloquy or dislike among those who know him and is calculated to do damage to the character he bears. If it is that and if it is calculated to do him damage, then, although he cannot prove that it has done him any damage at all in money, he is entitled to a verdict unless the defence that is pleaded is made out by the defendant."

Justice Darling referred to the Rand murder and said, it was true that no direct connection between Tilak and Chaphekar was established. Tilak would have been put on trial had it been established. He went on to add :

" Do you remember the story from *Aesop's Fables* of how in a battle one of the soldiers caught a man with a trumpet and was about to kill him ? The man with the trumpet said : Spare me, I have no sword, I have taken no part in this fight, I have not killed anybody. The soldier said : You are the greatest enemy of them all. If it had not been for you with your trumpet the host would not have advanced against us. It is you who have incited the others to come and you are as guilty as the others. Therefore I shall not spare you."

Speaking likewise regarding the Jackson murder and quoting the story of Mr. Fogin who kept a school for thieves, the Judge proceeded to say :

> " It is a most serious case. I do not know that I have ever tried so serious a case, having regard to what may be the consequences of it. That you should give an unfair verdict against the plaintiff, of course, is a thing that no one could desire and no one would hear of that being done without the deepest regret. You have to be fair to everybody, to the plaintiff, to the defendant, to the British people, to the administrators."

The jury retired at 5-50 p.m. on February 21, 1919 which was the eleventh day of the proceedings and after a deliberation of 27 minutes returned into court to announce a verdict for the defendants, i.e. Sir Valentine Chirol and his publishers, Messrs. MacMillan and Co. Ltd. and there the trial ended. Sir Edward Carson applied for the judgment with costs and the application was granted. This meant that Tilak had to spend a sum of nearly three lakhs of rupees in connection with this libel action.

Tilak's own letters sent to his manager-nephew in India best express his own reaction. First he sent a cable to him on February 21 saying that they had been dismissed with costs. A letter followed which said on March 13, " We have lost the case. I have almost come to the conclusion on legal advice that no appeal should be preferred. We had to pay a very heavy cost while putting British justice to a test. It is no use wasting any more any good money. Where is the assurance that we will succeed on appeal ? Our stars have changed. It is not expected that we can get a Judge or a jury altogether free from political prejudices. I am keeping very well and I did not fall ill for a day since I left Bombay." Another letter dated 20th March said that a final decision was taken not to prefer an appeal and on April 3, Tilak wrote, " Although I have lost the Chirol libel action, I have no idea of leaving England quite soon. I am waiting for the Congress and Home Rule League deputations to come. Do not be anxious at all about my health. I have seen much worse days and had they affected me, I would never have remained what I am." He repeated the same sentiment in another letter, dated April 10, only adding that the failure in Chirol case had not affected his health or work in the least. Not only Tilak, but even his colleagues like Kelkar refused to be

depressed. Writing on March 7, 1919, Kelkar said that many people received a shock of sorrow and surprise, but quite a few had surmised as much. Kelkar adds, " I have already sent you a cable requesting you to give us an idea as to what the whole of this Chirol business would mean in terms of money. We have decided here not to brood over what has happened but to pursue our chosen path of duty. Even before we hear from you we have decided to collect a sum of Rs. 3 lakhs to defray all the expenses of this case."

Tilak did hope to succeed and therefore there must have been disappointment, but it was not in him to get depressed or downhearted over anything and he went about doing his duties and self-appointed tasks as if nothing much had happened. It is easy to be wise after the event and most people who blamed him for going all the way to England were such wise men. First of all, Tilak thought that he had an easy case. He felt that this was a suit for defamation against a private individual, whatever his position in the social and literary world of England may be. Even granting that political and patriotic considerations might weigh with a British jury, at least the aspertions cast on him in respect of the Tai Maharaj affair had nothing to do with them, and a British jury would hold that Sir Valentine Chirol had neither cared for stating the truth nor indulged in fair comment — that was Tilak's line of thinking and it was clear from the original letter that he wrote to his solicitors in England. He thought that the final decision of the Privy Council in that case must influence the jury to a certain extent but that expectation was not fulfilled. Tilak similarly believed that an Englishman in England who regarded his home as a castle as distinguished from the sun-dried bureaucrat in India was essentially a genuine liberal and humanitarian and so would not fail him when represented in an average way in a British jury, but he realized that when an appeal was made to his imperial instincts, he was not quite so reliable. It was not for nothing that Sir Valentine Chirol declared through his counsel that " he could have avoided the whole of this litigation by an apology and by a subscription to the Indian War Relief Fund, but in the interests of the Empire, he felt that to make an apology under the circumstances of this case or to withdraw

or retract what he had deliberately stated and published would have been a disaster of the very gravest kind as regards the Government of India." As a matter of fact Tilak never required his character to be whitewashed so far as his countrymen were concerned. It was to cure the British democracy of "the slow and persistent poison" which had defiled the mainsprings of their attitude towards India in general and his party in particular that he dared mortgage all his estate in the last days of his life to fight an opponent and a calumniator who was basking in the sunshine of official and Imperial favour. The only conclusion that the Indian people drew from this episode was that even the much-vaunted British justice was capricious and uncertain and undependable and that was certainly a terrific blow to British prestige in India, because Britain's claim was that she was there in India for protection and preservation of law and liberty. What other conclusion should Indians have drawn when they found that the greatest Indian of his day was described before the highest judicial tribunal of the Empire as one whose reputation was not worth the smallest coin in existence and when every kind of abusive epithet was showered on his devoted head with a levity that was quite disgusting?

Edgar Wallace writing to Baptista on this occasion (February 23, 1919) observed that Sir John Simon would not advise an appeal, because it was clear how the Judge and the jury approached the case from the beginning of the trial. The real quarrel was between the Government and the India Office on the one hand and Tilak on the other, Sir Valentine Chirol being merely their accidental instrument. It was obvious in the court how both of them were mixed up with Chirol. Edgar Wallace then referred to the two leading articles published by the *Times* and Chirol's interview in the *Observer* and remarked that it was an official or semi-official attempt to blacken Tilak's name and blow up his Home Rule fight in England. Chirol's interview in the *Observer* bears out the truth of these observations. For this is what Sir Valentine Chirol said in effect in that interview :

"I am naturally pleased that the jury gave its unanimous verdict in my favour. I was put to a great deal of trouble and had to incur great expenses for four continuous years, because the libel suit was filed in England and all the evidence was to be collected in India.

"I have been working as a journalist for many years. But only two men challenged me during this period. One was Kaiser William II, Emperor of Germany and the other was Bal Gangadhar Tilak. Some people may be surprised that I mention the two names in the same breath. But it is quite appropriate to do so. I went to India to gather material for my book in 1910. I knew for certain then that because of the German imperialist ambitions a conflict with the British Empire was inevitable. It was interesting to note that extremist newspapers in India also suggested continuously that Great Britain and some great European Power would soon go to war and India should utilize that opportunity to rise in revolt. The ***Kesari*** always insisted on saying that the Sepoy mutiny of 1857 was not a rebellion but a war of independence. Because it did not succeed people call it mutiny. The Emperor of Germany probably knew this, because he established contact with some Extremists and had got up some small risings during the first year of the War. About this time Tilak also used to say, 'How are we losers if Germany or Turkey conquers India tomorrow? What is there to choose between them and England?' Nine years after I published *Indian Unrest*, the Rowlatt Commission investigated the revolutionary movement in India and devoted a whole chapter in it to a review of Tilak's activities. All the evidence that I collected for this case was very useful to the Rowlatt Commission. I had to incur an expenditure of about £ 2,000/- for the same. The whole history of Tilak's revolutionary activity for the last 25 years has been recorded in those two big books of evidence. The Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms proposals have succeeded in separating the Moderates from the Extremists; yet the Indian National Congress passes resolutions demanding that a deputation of Indians should be sent to the Peace Conference and Tilak should be one of the members of the deputation. But I hope the Government will take the necessary precautions in the light of the verdict in this case."

The concluding words of Sir Valentine give out what was rankling in his heart. He altogether disapproved of Mr. Montagu's way of treating Tilak and allowing him to join a deputation that waited on him in connection with the Reforms.

CHAPTER XXIX

TILAK'S MISSION IN ENGLAND

Tilak landed on the British shores on October 30, 1918 and he left for India on November 6. 1919. For the first ten months he lived in Maidavelle, Howley Place No. 10. For the last three months in Bagewater, Talbott Road No. 60. He stayed as a paying guest with certain Macnulties. While with this family, Mrs. Macnulty and Miss Macnulty learned to cook rice and vegetables. They were taught to fry *puris* for him and occasionally pudding etc. When he went to stay in Talbot Road, a Kannada Brahman who was formerly in the employ of the Maharaja of Coochbehar served Tilak and party tolerably well. Tilak easily adjusted himself to life there, though he was never used to put on coat and trousers in his life before. He learned to use socks and shoes also. He was not used to a daily shave, but learnt to use the safety razor. His coat was a long, closed coat; he never bothered about putting on a coat with an open collar, because he hated the necktie as a perfect nuisance. He used to rise early at 6 in the morning and after tea and a glance at a couple of important newspapers, he attended to his correspondence. He had a number of visitors every day and he also made some calls on others. He learned to use the bus and the cab with the help of Namjoshi, who accompanied him as a personal attendant wherever he went. He did not indulge in any sight-seeing. He went out only on business and did not pay visits to any museums, theatres or even places of historical or archaeological interest. Only once he went to see a fair because Dr. Clarke insisted on his going. He frequently went to Parliament House, not to listen to any debates but to meet individual M.P.s. He often went to the Royal Asiatic Society's library. Besides London, he visited four or five big towns because he had to speak there. He had a desire to go to America but passport difficulties and the necessity to depend on some one for moving about, led him to take the first opportunity to return to India.

Quite many people in India were afraid that Tilak would find it difficult to conduct himself properly in European society

because his way of living was entirely Indian, that he might be a butt of ridicule among Englishmen and Englishwomen or that he might ridicule them and it might not all be a pleasant affair. Although his ways were Indian and he did not desire to adopt the European or British mode of living, he was not altogether unused to meet Europeans. While in India, he quite often met officials, though only on business and not in their clubs and dancing halls. He even made some social calls and European and American scholars met him at his residence. He knew well that it was only ordinary courtesy and decency to behave like the Romans while in Rome. And after all, what are called good manners are essentially the same everywhere. Forms and practices may superficially differ from country to country and clime to clime, but a man of culture or cultivated tastes is very much the same everywhere, because it is more the moral and mental attributes than the manner of dress or way of greetings that matter in ordinary human intercourse. Humility, consideration for the feelings of others, patience, toleration, generosity and capacity to put on a charitable construction on whatever the other man does constitute civilized behaviour and Tilak was certainly not wanting in all these attributes. Tilak's way of living was very simple, his needs very few and so when Baptista took him to Howley Place, Maidavelle, he did not experience any discomfort. The manner of his dress had to undergo some change. He dispensed with the white scarf, but adhered to his head-dress and took to trousers and shoes and a long coat in the Parsee style. These clothes were invariably black. The priests and clergymen do not wear an open-collared coat and necktie and so some people might have taken him for some religious dignitary !

Tilak went to England ostensibly for the purpose of filing his libel action against Chirol, but his main business was to educate British democracy regarding India's claim to Home Rule. He was quite hopeful of getting the ban on his making public speeches removed after going to England and it was lifted in due course. Once free from the Chirol case, Tilak devoted his attention to the single purpose of organizing a campaign of political propaganda in England. It was unofficially reported then that Mr. Montagu had an unseen hand in removing this ban. It seems quite credible because Mr. Montagu's attitude

towards Tilak even when he was in India was favourable, if necessarily diplomatic. When Lord Chelmsford did not invite Tilak and Mrs. Besant to the War Conference in Delhi, Mr. Montagu wrote in his *An Indian Diary* :

"With regard to Tilak, if I were Viceroy, I would have had him in Delhi at all costs. He is, at the moment probably the most powerful man in India and he has it in his power, if he chooses, to help materially the war effort. On the other hand, if he attached conditions of a political kind to his offers of help, as indeed he would, at such a conference, things would be said to him, which would for ever destroy his influence in India at least, so I think. If he is not there (at the War Conference) it would always be said that we refused to select the most powerful people. Tilak is already saying that in his speeches and it would have completely taken the wind out of his sails if he had been invited as one of the leaders of Indian opinion."

Again he says, some days later, "As I predicted, the exclusion of Tilak who is after all the biggest leader in India at the moment, had a bad effect and unanimity had been difficult. They had prohibited all controversial motions and resolutions. Why could they not attempt to get a real meeting ? They could always have put up some one to answer an awkward question." Similarly he had some strong remarks to make about the bureaucracy in India and England when at the eleventh hour passports issued to Tilak and party were cancelled at Colombo. Says Mr. Montagu :

"The Tilak incident was very characteristic. Passports were issued to him and his friends without reference to me, but in issuing them, it seems to me that Government were clearly right. Tilak had to go home to fight the Chirol case and to stop his expedition at the time the papers are full of Lord Sydenham's activities would have been a fatal mistake. But having allowed him to go home, the Home Department, without reference to the Viceroy, sent home a telegram containing so black a picture of Tilak's antecedents and probable activities, out of sheer malice or crass stupidity that I do not wonder the Home Government were nervous. It seems a little strange, however, that they should have cancelled a passport given by a duly authorized authority, without consulting him. However, it was done. I drafted for the Viceroy a telegram of protest which was ultimately sent with a request for reconsideration. It has failed; the Home Government refuse to let him sail mainly on the ground that the general staff will not have it; so that it seems that Henry Wilson is governing England. I asked them to telegraph home accepting the Government's decision and suggesting a stop being put upon Sydenham's organization. This they won't do and the only thing I am confident about is that they will handle Tilak stupidly when he returns."

Mr. Montagu's fears were fully justified. Even in England he was unable to treat him with as much consideration as he would have liked, as for instance when he appeared before the Parliamentary Committee. He was merely allowed to record his statement, the honour of cross-examination was not done to him as per premeditated plan and Lord Sydenham was so discourteous as to leave the Committee room as soon as Tilak was announced. There was a section of British diehards that looked upon him with contempt as a seditionist and the failure of the libel action against Sir Valentine lowered Tilak in the estimation of some highbrows still more.

Even when Tilak was not free to throw himself wholly in agitational work in favour of Home Rule for India, he had started establishing contacts with the Press and members of Parliament and other notables. Among these the members of the Labour Party and the *Daily Herald* were prominent. On the eve of his departure for India, a meeting of the Congress delegation was held in London. A report of the work done by it in England was prepared and sent for presentation to the session of the Amritsar Congress. That report constitutes the most authentic source of what was done by the Congress deputation and incidentally other deputations. In pursuance of resolution No. 18 of the Indian National Congress in Delhi in December 1918, it was decided to send a deputation to England and a selection committee was formed. Due approval was given to the selection made by the A.I.C.C. which met on April 21 and 22, 1919. It decided that the delegation should consist of Dewan Bahadur V. P. Madhao Rao, Vithalbhai Patel and Kelkar. The delegation was asked to sail for England at once. They sailed on the 29th of April. Tilak, Horniman and Dr. Mehta also were added as members. Hasan Imam, Rangaswami Iyengar and Bepin Chandra Pal were added to it in September and Dr. D. D. Sathaye and Mr. Chenchiah a little later. The whole delegation thus consisted of 12 members and Vithalbhai Patel acted as its Secretary. The functions of the deputation were explained by resolution 20 of the Delhi Congress. The resolution authorized the deputation to enter into negotiations with the authorities of the British Congress Committee in co-ordination with other component parts of the Congress organization and also to make its mouthpiece *India*, more attractive and to associate an

Indian or Indians with its management. The deputation was also charged with the duty of advocating and pressing the demands of the Congress on the attention of Parliament and the British public as contained in its resolution passed at the Delhi session. The deputation saw that these expectations could not be fulfilled without the co-operation of the British Congress Committee and its mouthpiece *India*. Negotiations were immediately opened with the British Committee, which then had adopted a neutral attitude as between the Moderates and the Congress, and *India* in fact supported the policy of the Moderates as opposed to that of the Congress. The British Committee had gone to the extent of passing a resolution on July 8, 1918 supporting in principle, the proposals of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report. A special session of the Congress was held at the end of August in Bombay and it had declared the reform proposals as "inadequate, unsatisfactory and disappointing" and had passed resolutions demanding radical alterations in them. In spite of these resolutions, the British Committee and *India* continued their old policy of supporting the Montford proposals. Thereupon, the Delhi session of the Congress passed a resolution stopping further payment to the British Committee and a cable was sent saying, "In view of the resolution of the Congress, please do not enter into any engagements for 1919."

When the British Committee met for an informal talk on the subject on February 26, 1919 Tilak and Karandikar were present as invitees. Tilak complained that the Congress view was not presented and supported either by the British Committee or *India*. After some discussion, the Chairman of the Committee explained that it had been finally decided to maintain a neutral position until the arrival of the deputation from India and Mr. Swinny observed that in the meantime propaganda should be confined to points on which there was practical unanimity of opinion in India. Tilak was disappointed with this decision and awaited the arrival of the deputation. Immediately on arrival, Vithalbhai Patel addressed a letter to the Chairman of the Committee stating that the Congress deputation was in London and desirous of meeting the Committee. On June 2, the deputation met the Committee. Vithalbhai asked for the assistance of the Committee in the preparation of the evidence

to be submitted to the Joint Parliamentary Committee, arrangement of interviews with the Members of Parliament, the Secretary of State and other officials and in holding public meetings and issuing of literature. He also asked for the use of the Committee's office for the day-to-day work of the deputation and inquired whether the Committee was prepared or not to support the resolutions of the Delhi Congress. Dr. Clarke replied that the Committee was divided in opinion since the unfortunate split in the Congress at Bombay and as an independent body, was desirous of promoting the cause of Indian Reform to the best of its ability. He further stated that the delegates would receive all the assistance possible and that the Committee rooms would be available to the General Secretary, Vithalbhai Patel every day between 10 to 2 p.m. He also added that the Committee in its independent capacity was anxious to secure as large a measure of self-government as possible for India and for that purpose, he hoped that the various Indian deputations would reconcile their differences and present a united front. Patel stated that his deputation was always willing and anxious for any reasonable reconciliation and had no objection to the British Committee acting as mediators. On June 18, the Committee met the members of the Moderate deputation and Mrs. Besant when Surendra Nath Banerji stated that his party had decided to support the Bill but that there were certain points on which the Bill fell short of the report and that they would do their utmost to secure amendments in respect of them. He also said that his party had accepted diarchy and that in its opinion, it was undesirable to demand complete provincial autonomy. Mrs. Besant endorsed the observations of Surendra Nath Banerji and expressed a desire to see the Bill through Parliament while hoping for improvements at the hands of the Joint Committee. After this the British Committee came to the conclusion that it was futile to pursue the negotiations and that it was not possible to secure unity. All negotiations were, therefore, given up. But it was clear by that time that the editor of *India* as also the Secretary of the British Congress Committee had sympathies with the Moderate deputation. Since the Congress deputation had occupied the Committee room, it came in constant touch with the Indian

members of the Committee and some of them appreciated and accepted the Congress point of view.

When it was found that the ground was ready, the deputation passed the following resolution :

" Resolved that the paper *India* having been established as the representative organ of the Indian National Congress and having been assisted at various times by the funds of the Congress on that understanding, the attention of the British Committee and the proprietors of the newspaper *India* be drawn to the fact that for some time past, the paper has been conducted on lines which are not in accordance with the resolutions of the Congress, but are inimical to the policy contained therein and the British Committee and the proprietors are hereby requested to give an assurance that the policy of *India* will in future definitely and unambiguously conform to that laid down in the resolutions of the Congress from time to time."

The Committee considered the resolution and as Bhupendra Nath Basu, Mrs. Besant and Swinny opposed it, the matter was dropped, but the directors passed a resolution, instructing the editor to support in *India*, the policy laid down by the Delhi Congress. Vithalbhai Patel found that matters were being delayed to the detriment of his deputation's work and so in a letter expressed readiness to take over and be responsible for the paper financially and otherwise. This letter along with one from Mr. Polak, the editor of *India* was considered and on the motion of Dr. Rutherford, seconded by Mr. Parikh, it was resolved that the Committee approve of the resolutions passed by the directors. Mr. Polak was still unwilling to change his policy. But he was prevailed upon to resign and the assistant editor, Miss Normanton, was appointed in his place with Kelkar as associate editor, during his stay in England. It was chiefly due to Patel's tact and firmness that this happy solution was found without undue delay.

But the British Committee had not yet accepted the policy of the Congress. As a matter of fact at one of its meetings, a suggestion that some members of the Congress delegation should be elected members of the Committee during their stay in England was contemptuously treated and it was on the motion of Dr. Rutherford, seconded by Mrs. Besant and supported by Bhupendra Nath Basu that it was resolved that each of the five Indian delegations should be asked to nominate one of their members to attend the ordinary meetings of the Committee as visiting members without voting power. Vithalbhai

wrote to the Chairman of the British Committee, "My deputation protests against your decision, in asking them to return one of its members to your Committee and that the person returned will have no right to vote. The deputation says that the claim of all the members of the deputation to sit and vote in the Committee is obvious and regrets it cannot, therefore, see its way to return any member as desired by your Committee." Vithalbhai again wrote on the same day asking the Committee if they were prepared to co-operate with the deputation in carrying out the mandate of the Delhi Congress. These letters were considered at one of the meetings of the Committee, when Mrs. Besant and her supporters questioned the right of the delegation to take up such a strong attitude. No decision was arrived at, with the result that the deputation appointed a committee consisting of Patel and Khaparde to meet the British Committee and prepare a constitution for it, because so far the Committee was working without any constitution and that was the main reason which enabled the Committee to disregard the policy of the Congress and flout its authority even though the cost of the British Congress Committee was defrayed partly by subscriptions in England, but principally from grants from the Congress and its supporters in India.

The new constitution provided that: (1) the name of the Committee shall be the British Committee of the Indian National Congress; (2) the object of the Committee shall be to act as the executive in the United Kingdom of the Indian National Congress; (3) the General Committee shall consist of an unlimited number of members with power to add to their number; (4) an Executive Committee will be elected annually of not more than 12 members of the General Committee; (5) President and Ex-Presidents of the Congress who still co-operate with it and are not in Government service and all delegates sent by the Congress to England shall be ex-officio members of the Executive Committee while in England; (6) Expenses of the Committee shall be defrayed by annual grants by the Indian National Congress. This was a death-blow to Moderate manoeuvrings in the matter of the capture of the British Congress Committee for propaganda in England in support of

their contentions. Having accepted Congress money, the Committee had no alternative but to become an agent of the Congress. Mrs. Besant was adroitly and effectively shut out from it. The Committee unanimously adopted a resolution that one Indian selected by the Congress should in future be the editor or joint editor or Secretary or Joint Secretary of the Committee or both. The deputation carefully examined the accounts of the Committee and found that only on two or three occasions individual members had to give a guarantee or to advance cash owing to delayed remittances from India. The amounts so advanced were, however, found to have been fully paid up as soon as remittances from India had arrived. *India*, with Kelkar and Miss Normanton as editors worked satisfactorily thereafter during the deputation's stay in England and also later until, in pursuance of the non-co-operation policy in 1921, it was closed and the British Committee abolished altogether.

While the British Congress Committee and the *India* were thus being put right, the deputation did not neglect its main work. The work chiefly consisted of preparation of evidence before the Joint Committee, interviewing the Secretary of State and other officials and educating the British democracy as far as possible in the demands of the Congress as contained in the resolutions of December 1918 and instructing members of Parliament. As soon as Messrs. Madhao Rao, Patel, Kelkar and Khaparde were in England, Mr. Montagu invited them for a talk. Lord Sinha, the Under Secretary of State in the new Lloyd George Cabinet, Sir William Duke and Mr. Charles Roberts were also there. Mr. Montagu did not seem to mind amendments in the direction of further progress towards full provincial autonomy and division of powers at the centre being suggested and discussed as urged by Patel and Kelkar, but he and Lord Sinha indicated that the Bill would be passed only as it was moved unless there were mutually agreed amendments. The Congress delegates addressed a number of meetings and before they arrived, Tilak had done a good deal of propaganda work in meetings and conferences in co-operation with Lansbury, Henderson, Ben Spoor, Wedgewood, Hyndman and others. Tilak had been asked to speak at London Indians' Association, British and Indian Fabian Society, National Liberal Club and

several other London bodies. Tilak made a donation of £ 2,000 to the Labour Party funds and got Edgar Wallace, St. Nihal Singh and others to write in British, metropolitan and provincial newspapers about India's claim to Home Rule. There were meetings to explain agitation in India against the Rowlatt Acts, the Punjab atrocities and similar topics. A pamphlet on self-determination was widely disseminated. The report of the special Congress and the *Case for Indian Home Rule* written by Kelkar were judiciously used as propaganda material. Teas and lunches were utilized to popularize Indian Home Rule. In all his letters from India, Baptista insisted that Indian politicians would be well advised in establishing closer, friendly contacts with the British Labour Party and after his study on the spot, Tilak reached the same conclusion. Tilak never thought, although he made always a wholesale demand of complete Swaraj, that it would be secured in one stride. His idea was to get the Labour Party as an Opposition Party to move a Bill for the grant of complete Swaraj after the Bill of Mr. Montagu became law, even if it did not stand any chance of being passed.

Speaking about Tilak's services in the condolence meeting held in Bombay, under the presidentship of Mr. Jinnah, Vithalbhai Patel recalled :

"It was mainly through the efforts of the Lokamanya that the Congress deputation was able to secure the support of the whole Labour Party in putting forward before the Joint Parliamentary Committee and the Parliament, the Congress point of view on the Reform Bill. In fact all the Labour organizations in Great Britain were at our service during our many tours in the United Kingdom. Tilak would not miss a single opportunity, in fact, he would create opportunities for pressing India's claim before the British public and British Parliament. I recollect one such incident. Lokamanya once called me to his place and asked me: 'Mr. Patel, what do you think of the idea of presenting an address of congratulation to the King-Emperor on the occasion of the Peace Celebrations by the Congress deputation on behalf of the people of India ?' I said at once it was no use attempting to do so. In the first place, we would not be allowed an opportunity and in the second, no useful purpose would be served by such an address, assuming that we were successful in getting an opportunity. Lokamanya said: 'My dear Patel, we might state what we want in the address and the authorities will have, at any rate, to read the address and know what we are here for and what we want. We lose nothing. Let us not miss any opportunity of pressing our case.' I agreed and Lokamanya dictated to me two letters and a draft address, which after the necessary preliminaries and

formalities contained a clause which said that 'In the new era which dawns with victory, the people of India must have full and free opportunity for self-development as other self-governing members of the Great British Empire.'"

This shows what a watchful sentinel he was of India's interests during his stay in England.

At the Labour Party Conference at Nottingham on January 23, 1918, the Labour Party pledged itself to assist India in every possible way in her efforts to win Home Rule. Tilak cultivated the friendship of Labour leaders and the confidence they placed in him and the Congress deputation was so great that they agreed to move amendments to the Government of India Bill in spite of Mrs. Besant's best endeavours to dissuade them from doing so. But alliance with Labour did not mean exclusion of others. Tilak did not neglect whatever aid and co-operation was available from the Liberal Party; but the only Liberal M.P. who was converted by Patel and who agreed to move amendments was Mr. Mac-Allum Scott. The work of the Congress deputation was perfectly safe in Patel's hands, who drew up the memorandum with great ability and wholly in conformity with the Congress position and Tilak was highly pleased with his work. There was a spiritual kinship between their temperaments and their approach to political affairs was almost identical. Mr. Ben Spoor, the only member of the Joint Committee who sympathized wholly with the Congress viewpoint wrote a foreword to the pamphlet containing the evidence given by the Congress deputation to the Joint Committee in which he paid a glowing tribute to Patel's work. He said:

"Mr. Patel was selected by the Congress deputation as its principal spokesman in England. The choice was fully justified. His tone was neither apologetic nor subservient. Independence and straightforwardness marked his attitude throughout. Severe cross-examination did not in the least shake Mr. Patel's evidence. On the contrary, it offered him opportunities for further emphasizing his arguments and he took full advantage of the same. Before concluding I should like to place on record my firm conviction that the Congress deputation, by its able and dignified advocacy in the Press, on the public platform and before the Joint Committee have justified the claim of the Congress to represent advanced Indian public opinion. I would like to take the opportunity of thanking Mr. Patel on behalf of my colleagues in the House of Commons and myself for the immense service he rendered in explaining the Congress demands and assisting us to a fuller knowledge of Indian questions."

Tilak fully appreciated Patel's worth and both of them were looking forward after their return to India to do great work in co-operation after the Reform Act was passed.

When all the deputations from India reached England, Tilak's earnest desire was to bring about unanimity of view among them. He tried his best to win over Mrs. Besant and the Moderate leaders. He appealed to Mrs. Besant to forget all the bitterness of the Delhi Congress and so chalk out her course as to bring about unity. But she and the Moderates were pledged to support the reforms almost as they were proposed by Mr. Montagu. They did talk of slight improvements ; otherwise why should they go all the way to England ? Merely to endorse what passed from Montagu's hands ? They were afraid that reactionaries like Lord Sydenham might wreck Mr. Montagu's scheme and they considered that unconditional support to Mr. Montagu was discreet and statesmanlike. Tilak believed that in the interests of his own reputation and that of his party and country, Montagu had embarked on his scheme and so he was as anxious to give as we were to take. Tilak believed more in wresting something than mere receiving and therefore he was prepared to risk the offer of half a loaf in order to secure three-fourths of it. The Moderates would not only not join to make more progressive political demands but they would not lend help and co-operation even in the matter of exposing the Punjab atrocities before the British democracy. They would not be even as courageous as British members of the British Congress Committee. Tilak did his best to educate the British democracy on every conceivable matter of importance to India and seized every possible opportunity of doing so. His speeches, which always appealed to reason were greatly appreciated by British audiences. Tilak always spoke in terms of common-sense. St. Nihal Singh describing one such typical speech said :

"Taking up the political question Tilak assured his audience that Indians were not anti-British; they were only anti-bureaucracy. They desired the British connection to continue. Then he shattered one by one the arguments advanced against granting self-government to India. The bureaucrats themselves were responsible for illiteracy in India. While deploring caste, and acknowledging that it required radical modification, he denied that it constituted a reason for refusing self-government. The British, he pointed out quarrelled as much as Indians did among themselves.

There was no Ulster in India. Hindus and Muslims were agreed concerning the constitutional reforms. He challenged the statement that India did not desire Home Rule. He demanded to know why India alone, of all the British overseas units should be expected to achieve self-government step by step. That phrase had no meaning in this age of progress. Indians should be immediately given control over their purely domestic, civil affairs."

In the general election campaign, he did much to draw the attention of British voters to the problems of India. On August 6, 1919, Tilak appeared before the Joint Parliamentary Committee as witness on behalf of the Home Rule League. He was asked by Lord Selbourne, the Chairman to make any statement that he cared to make to supplement the answers he had given to the list of questions compiled by the Committee. Speaking without hesitation, in clear, though rather a low tone, Tilak said :

" His League had accepted the declaration of August 20, 1917 in regard to His Majesty's Government's policy in India, though he and his colleagues put their own construction upon the latter part of the declaration which left the pace at which India should proceed towards responsible government, to the authorities in Whitehall to determine in consultation with the Government of India. They took the view that the proposals put forward by the Secretary of State and the Viceroy of India were not necessarily a corollary to the pronouncement. A much larger measure of self-government could be granted to India without in any way going against the spirit of the policy laid down in that declaration. In fact even the Congress-League scheme provided for advance by stages, though the stages would be fewer than they would be under the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme. He also insisted that it was necessary that a time-limit be fixed in the statute for the attainment by India of a fully responsible administration. The term of 15 years fixed by the Congress might appear arbitrary but it was reasonable. Tilak also claimed that Indians were fully fit for administering provinces and they should be given provincial autonomy without any delay. He claimed responsibility in the Central Government also. He suggested that at least those departments in the Central Government which dealt with affairs which in the case of the provinces were considered fit to be transferred to popular control, should be placed under responsible ministers. That could be done without resorting to diarchy. The Congress and the League had suggested a scheme for that purpose and had provided sufficient safeguards. He claimed that good material for electorates existed in India. Above all, he wished to see that the officials were deprived of the initiative for inaugurating large policies that they possessed and they should be reduced to the status of permanent servants as in Britain and other countries. Such initiative should be exercised by the people's representatives and lastly he considered that inclusion of a Declaration of Rights in the statute was absolutely necessary."

After an oral statement to this effect from Tilak, the natural expectation was that he would be cross-examined by at least some members of the Committee, which, had it taken place, would have been quite a lively experience for the members of the Joint Parliamentary Committee. It was said that when his name was sent to the Committee to represent the Indian Home Rule League, Lord Selbourne asked members of the Committee whether he was allowed to make a statement. The majority of the members were strongly against hearing him, but none of them was able to hit upon any plausible excuse by pleading which he could be rejected. He had to be allowed to appear before them, but as they did not like to tolerate him in their presence longer than was absolutely necessary, they non-co-operated with him by refusing to put him even a single question. When the work of the Joint Parliamentary Committee was finished and the passing of the Reforms Act became almost a certainty, because Montagu was quite keen on it, Tilak started making preparations to leave for India.

During his stay in England Tilak even more strongly held than before that foreign propaganda not only in England, but U.S.A. and other countries was necessary side by side with agitation in India if India was to become a fully self-governing country in the shortest possible time. Vithalbhai Patel is again our authority on this point besides Kelkar and Baptista. Says Patel :

"Tilak often talked to me about foreign propaganda. He was very glad that we were able to reorganize the British Congress Committee and the paper *India* and to make friends with the leading men of the Labour Party both inside and outside Parliament. He used to say to me that we should be able to carry on much more vigorous propaganda in future with these materials in our hands and that we should have information and publicity bureaus not only in London, but also in Paris, New York and Tokyo. He had also an idea to establish an Indian News Service Agency between India and important civilized countries of the world. When I asked him one day, how far foreign propaganda would help India, he said: 'Mr. Patel, I do not believe that our salvation will come from outside. I have no delusions on that score. But I do believe that a favourable opinion of the civilized world towards Indian aspirations is a valuable asset in our struggle for freedom. We cannot afford to neglect world opinion except at our peril. Every important country has its national organization and its information bureau in important world centres and if mighty governments do that, how much

more necessary it is for a country like ours.' There is no doubt that he had thought out a definite plan for vigorous foreign propaganda and was about to collect funds for that purpose, when he was called away from this world."

After a short stay in India, Patel was again sent to England by the Congress to put forward the Congress view-point when the Rules and Regulations under the Reforms Act were to come up for discussion. He was there in the beginning of May 1920. The Congress at Amritsar had passed a resolution in favour of putting India and the British Congress Committee on a stable basis and as early as January 19, 1920. Kelkar wrote to Pandit Motilal Nehru, President of the Congress to take action on the report of the Congress deputation's recommendations in that behalf. He urged that initially a sum of £ 750 would have to be sent to England and steps should be taken to call for names of suitable Indians who would settle down in England to conduct *India* and work in co-operation with the British Congress Committee. Patel wrote from England that since he went to England two meetings of the British Congress Committee were held. It had received £ 1,000 but Mr. Neville had charge of the money and he did not appear to be ready to work in co-operation with him. Mr. Neville wanted to establish direct contact with the Secretary of State and his suggestions were expected to outdo even the suggestions of the Moderates. Patel complained that *United India*, a rival organ to *India* started by Annie Besant had criticized Patel as soon as he was on British shores. Writing on July 14, 1920, Patel said he had booked his passage by the Kaiser-i-Hind on August 7. Referring to work of the British Congress Committee, he said that Miss Normanton and the Secretary of the Committee were at loggerheads but the Committee was well under the influence of Mr. B. G. Horniman and Miss Normanton. He suggested election of Mr. Ben Spoor as Chairman of the Committee in place of Dr. Clarke. Earlier he had sent constantly reports and letters to Tilak about his propaganda meetings in various places and in one letter he announced his intention to contest a seat to the Council of State and asked Tilak's approval for it. Patel looked forward to a heart-to-heart discussion with Tilak about the future course of policy in view of the Punjab atrocities and the Hunter and Gandhi Reports on them as well as the Khilafat rape and he had an idea of demanding full responsible government at once as a

solvent to obviate such happenings in future and mentioned it in a letter to Tilak written on May 19, 1920 from London. It would thus be seen what a mighty force it would have been in Indian politics had Tilak lived a little longer and policies been formulated by Tilak and Patel for the guidance of the nation when Gandhiji had unfurled the banner of non-co-operation and these two great leaders were by no means unsympathetic to him, even though their moral approach to every phase of the movement for Swaraj would not have been the same. But whatever the character of the combination, it would have led only to speedier achievement of Swaraj.

During his stay in England, one very notable step that Tilak took was that he sent to the Peace Conference in Paris a memorandum addressed to its Chairman M. Clemenceau in the name of the Indian National Congress. In the course of this memorandum he said :

"From the point of view of the peace in Asia and from the point of view of the peace of the world it is absolutely necessary that India should be self-governed internally and be made the bulwark of liberty in the East. After the world war for liberation of mankind from the menacing domination of Germany and the dawn of a new order, it is superfluous for me to urge that no civilized nation should be governed by another without its consent, upon theories of trusteeship propounded ostensibly for the benefit of the ward. India, therefore, demands as her birth-right the application of the principle of self-determination for the purpose of empowering her people to tackle and solve the complex problem of India according to the genius of her people. The plea of unfitness, usually advanced by ignorant people or vested interests is untenable and untrue. I am thoroughly convinced that the pressing problems of the poverty of India, physical degeneration, industrial regeneration, economic development, technical and primary education and delicate questions of caste and custom can never be solved by men exclusively wedded to the Western civilization but can be successfully surmounted by Indians alone. The fitness of Indians is asserted by the Indian National Congress and is recognized by the British Labour Party. Overwhelming majority of the people clamour for the principle of self-determination and characterize the present proposal of Government as 'disappointing and unsatisfactory' even as the first step towards the ultimate goal of representative and responsible government. Mr. Montagu lays down that 'provinces are the domain in which the earlier steps towards progressive realization of responsible government should be taken.' The Government of India must remain wholly responsible to Parliament and its authority in essential matters must remain indisputable pending experience of the effect of the changes now to be introduced in the provinces. In the meantime the Indian Legislative Councils should be enlarged

and made more representative and opportunities of influencing the Government increased. Some measure of decentralization is proposed and in the provinces under a system of diarchy, the partial control of the executive is to be introduced and for this reason Mr. Montagu declares that ' in proportion as foregoing changes take place, the control of Parliament and the Secretary of State over the Government of India and Provincial Governments must be relaxed.' The net result of this change will unquestionably be to make the Government of India still more autocratic, for it is well known that officials have been impatient of the control of Parliament and of the Secretary of State and have been clamouring for emancipation from their control. But if the Central Government remains autocratic and if its head is to be despotic it is hopeless to expect the body to be democratic. Whatever changes may be introduced, the Provincial Governments can never be really and effectively liberalized and democratized while the Central Government remains bureaucratic and irresponsible. The people of India are entirely dissatisfied with these measures of reform and have demanded partial responsibility in the Central Government immediately and full responsibility within 15 years. They also demand the entire abolition of the Council of the Secretary of State for India. Passing from the executive to legislatures, it is proposed in the Government Scheme that the present Indian Legislative Council be enlarged to 100 of which two-thirds are to be elected by the people. But the liberality of this alteration is nullified by the creation of a second chamber, denominated the Council of State, consisting of 50 members of whom 29 are to be nominated by the Governor-General-in-Council. The creation of this second chamber is universally condemned."

Proceeding further Tilak said :

" Concensus of opinion again is that diarchy is unscientific, incomprehensible and unworkable. It postulates the division of functions of Government whereas experienced Anglo-Indians declare them indivisible under the existing system of Indian administration. It is difficult to imagine how harmonious working can be anticipated with conflicting political principles at work in one and the same executive. The people resent the implication of their unfitness, on which the so-called progressive stages are proposed. So far as Provincial Legislatures are concerned, Government propose to enlarge them and make them predominantly elective but here also they contemplate the creation of separate Grand Committees for legislating upon the reserved subjects. The Grand Committees have been universally condemned throughout India. (These were subsequently dropped from the Bill). What is wanted is power for the people in the Central Government. With this power the people will be in a position to decide under the principle of self-determination, how many provinces there should be, what should be their boundaries, what measures should prove efficient and sufficient as the first step, what speed should be safe for advancing towards full autonomy and responsible government with foreign control in internal affairs and without periodical examinations into their capacity. In order to assure the British people that Indians do not desire separation from or

disruption of the Empire, they would consent that questions of war and peace, foreign affairs, the army and navy and military affairs be excluded from the Indian purview, provided commissions in the army and navy are thrown open to all Indians on equal terms. These are limitations which the people of India are willing to submit to, for a brief period, in order to assure the British Government of their bona fides in the hope that within 15 years they would be placed on a status of political equality with overseas dominions in all respects.

"I earnestly appeal to the Peace Conference, firstly, to concede to India the same right of representation on the League of Nations that is accorded to the British Dominions and secondly, to declare that Indians are quite capable of governing themselves, that as a progressive nation, they are entitled to the application of the principle of self-determination and that in the exercise of the principle, they are also entitled to determine the form of Government, founded upon accepted democratic lines, which they deem most suitable for self-development according to the genius of the people."

How keen Tilak had become about propaganda abroad may be judged further by the fact that he had suggested to the Subjects Committee of the Congress session at Amritsar that Lala Lajpatrai should be appointed unofficial ambassador of India in America and equipped with the necessary apparatus for carrying on education of the American public regarding India's claim to self-determination. Tilak had received a reply to his letter of January 3, 1919 to President of the League of Nations, from Mr. Gilbert Glose who wrote on behalf of President Wilson. It was dated January 14, 1919 and said, "I am instructed by President Wilson to acknowledge your letter and express to you his high appreciation of your kind thought of him and to assure you that the matter of self-determination for India is a question which will be taken up in due time by the proper authorities." This was clearly no more than a formal acknowledgement of Tilak's letter but he did not propose to let matters rest there. Already the *Mahratta* had started propaganda in that behalf and the *Bombay Chronicle* was giving complete support to him. The *Mahratta* wrote on December 14, 1919 that:

"The first and perhaps the most important point that we wish to urge on the attention of the Amritsar Congress is about the arrangement to be made to represent India's case before the League of Nations and to put before it the question of the application of self-determination to India. India's position in this respect is hopelessly anomalous. She is an original member of the League. She can vote in deciding appeals for self-determination made by others but she is precluded from applying it to herself. The

denial of applying that principle to India is inherent in the announcement of August 20, 1917 which says that the time and manner of each advance (in the direction of responsible government) can be determined only by Parliament. This is just the opposite of self-determination. But President Wilson has plainly said in reply to a question put to him by the San Francisco Labour Council that all claims to self-determination can be brought before the forum constituted under article XI of the Covenant of the League of Nations."

Writing again on December 21, 1919, the *Mahratta* said:

"India should surely have a determining voice when her interests conflict with those of foreign powers like Japan. Japan is today exploiting Indian resources to an alarming extent and the commercial prosperity of Japan arising out of it cannot possibly profit either the British Empire or India. In such cases, India ought surely to have a determining voice in her foreign policy. May we hope that the British Government will make up its mind before long to associate India's representatives in shaping the foreign policy of India?"

Such writings surely indicate what matters were uppermost in Tilak's mind in those days.

It became fashionable for some time to describe Tilak as a Moderate. Mrs. Besant herself was one of those who started this story. He led a deputation to England, sent a petition to the Peace Conference, garlanded Mr. Montagu when he came to India, made a declaration of loyalty after release from Mandalay, wrote a letter of congratulation to the King on the Peace Celebration Day, promised responsive co-operation to the King-Emperor on the issue of his proclamation and amnesty after passing the Government of India Act. What more is necessary to describe him as a Moderate? But, a closer examination would show that he had done all such things throughout in his career and even before he returned from Mandalay. It was not the jail life in Mandalay that had brought about a change although certain people chose to think that way. It was not the things that he did but the spirit in which he did them that matters. Did he ever surrender his principles or national self-respect in all these actions whether in his pre-Mandalay or post-Mandalay career? That is the test on which his conduct and character must be judged. What made him an unliked or disliked politician was not what he said or did but how he said or did it. It would be very easy to show not only similarity, but identity of words as used by Gokhale or Mehta and Tilak in their

speeches and writings regarding specific topics, but while the one intended them for the officials, the other intended them for the people ; while the one wanted to rouse official conscience, the other wanted to appeal to the common people ; while the one used elegant English, the other used more often rugged Marathi. The manner of address, the objectives behind and the audience made all the difference and in that light one came to be known as a Moderate and the other as an Extremist.

To speak subjectwise, Tilak was quite satisfied with self-government on colonial lines like Gokhale and did not ask for complete independence and severance of the British connection like his Bengal friends or the violent revolutionaries but he did not want it as an *ultimate* ideal to be attained by several stages, but in as few steps as possible. This became clear both when the Morley-Minto and Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms were on the anvil. He took care to be only a little in advance of the people in general and the Moderates in particular but he never wanted to part company with them. He believed that both were compliments of each other and fulfilled useful functions. Take again his attitude to Swadeshi. His insistence was that people should take to Swadeshi even at a sacrifice, in order that the indigenous artisan and manufacturer may flourish in spite of foreign competition, while the Moderates wanted Swadeshi to be merely an expression of a pious wish. Tilak had made petitions and spoken in favour of deputations to England and memorials to Parliament ever since he entered public life but he did not want to stop there. He believed in educating people on all these matters and making them conscious of their rights and creating and promoting a spirit of self-reliance and self-respect among them. Was this not all moderate, temperate, restrained and regulated conduct ? And did it not characterize his whole career ? The officials chose to misrepresent and misunderstand him deliberately, because he disturbed their peace and sleep. What Tilak really did was : he set some well-defined limits to his conduct, laid down a certain minimum and once that was done, he never relaxed and he did not like others to go beyond or behind the four corners of anything so prescribed. It was persistence, perseverance, doggedness, preparedness to suffer and sacrifice that distinguished him from most Moderates and not the positions they took up on particular questions.

Tilak was called a Moderate for his behaviour in England. Why ? Because he staunchly adhered to the resolutions of the Delhi Congress and did not choose to go beyond or behind them. What is material and relevant to note is that he did not go back on them. He would have been an undesirable Extremist, had he made wild demands. It did not take much merely to make them but what about the sanctions behind them ? That is what he cared for but men like Satyamurthi, Chaman Lall, Saklatwala and Horniman who called him a Moderate lacked his determination, circumspection and sense of responsibility.

What mattered was that he steadfastly adhered to positions that were once deliberately taken and then he did not spare any one who attempted to slide from them. He did not believe in being soft and delicate but in striking hard, if a point was to be driven home. Two illustrations of this characteristic that were noticeable in the closing days of his life were his controversy with Mrs. Besant in defence of Patel and Khaparde and with Dr. R. P. Paranjpye in defence of himself. His reply to Mrs. Besant's attack on Patel after he had left India's shores to watch the progress of the Rules and Regulations under the New Reform Act, under the mandate of the Congress, shows him at his best as a controversialist. Mrs. Besant had addressed and circulated an appeal to the President, Secretaries and members of the A.I.C.C. It was meant to malign Patel behind his back. She stated that the honour of the A.I.C.C. was affected by the serious misrepresentations and a definite false statement made by Patel and Khaparde. She charged Patel with deliberate falsehood saying he had charged her with hindering the inclusion of women's suffrage in the Reform Act. Tilak gave a spirited reply and exonerated Patel from those charges. In a letter addressed to the A.I.C.C. which incidentally throws a flood of light on some events in England during his stay, he said :

"I find that Mrs. Besant has circulated an appeal to you calling upon you to dissociate yourselves publicly from the utterances of Messrs. Patel and Khaparde regarding Mrs. Besant's attitude in England towards the work of the Congress deputation. The appeal is dated April 7 but was not published till a week later, i.e. the 14th instant when Patel was to and did sail for England. If Mrs. Besant really wished that Mr. Patel should have an opportunity to reply, she ought to have published her appeal much earlier. It seems to me, therefore, that her appeal is only an attempt to damn Mr. Patel behind his back and thereby prejudice the British public

against him in the mission now entrusted to him by the A.I.C.C. in spite of Mrs. Besant's adverse vote.

"I have no desire to belittle Mrs. Besant's high intelligence, unflagging capacity for work, her great learning or her great eloquence. What Mr. Khaparde and Mr. Patel had to say against her was that in spite of her great qualities, her work in England proved to be a source of embarrassment to the Congress deputation. You are well aware how she refused to be guided by the Delhi mandate of the Indian National Congress and how in consequence, she was excluded from the Congress deputation. She then tried to get appointed on the deputation to be sent by the All India Home Rule League and having failed therein, this ambitious, self-willed lady organized a new Home Rule League of her own, with only a few dozen members, almost all, her own followers and got herself appointed as the leader of the deputation on behalf of the new Home Rule League, simply to give her an opportunity to pose as a representative of India and to enable her to represent before the British public her own views, although they were rejected by the Indian National Congress. When a person takes full advantage of his or her position as ex-President of the Congress to mislead ignorant men and women in England and tries to throw out the work of the duly appointed Congress deputation, the method adopted by such a person is open to grave objection on the ground of decency and scrupulousness in public life. I would ask one question of Mrs. Besant. What did she go to England for? To plead the views of the Indian National Congress or those of her own Home Rule League? If the former, she failed to do her duty; if the latter, she cannot complain of being charged with having, like the Moderates, embarrassed the Congress deputation and obstructed its work.

"Mrs. Besant charged Messrs. Khaparde and Patel with certain misrepresentations and falsehoods which it is necessary first to take up as they form the gravamen of her appeal to you. What are the alleged misrepresentations? An analysis of her appeal shows that they are four in number:

"(1) Mrs. Besant exerted herself to induce the Labour members to support the Bill as revised by the Joint Committee without moving any amendments.

"(2) Mrs. Besant was expected to fight for women's franchise in England, but she did not do so.

"(3) She had planned to deceive us (the Congressmen) at the Albert Hall meeting.

"(4) She is compared to Putana, the Puranic female demon by Mr. Khaparde.

"The first question is whether she did or did not try to induce the Labour members to support the revised Bill, in order, as she supposed, to fortify Mr. Montagu's position in Parliament. Mr. Patel says that she did; and she denies, with the remark that the evidence on the point resolves itself into her word against his, oath against oath, as the lawyers would call

it. I must say that I would rather believe Mr. Patel than Mrs. Besant in this matter. For I know something of the previous history in this connection. Both the Congress deputation and Mrs. Besant looked to the Labour Party to have their views represented in the House and the Labour Party was naturally put in a fix as to whose view they should adopt. The deputation represented the Congress while Mrs. Besant represented only herself and her own newly-formed League after she was excluded, because of her own arrogance, from the Congress deputation. The deputation including myself, had to explain this difference to the Labour leaders, who then, I know, had no difficulty in giving preference to the Congress view as against Mrs. Besant's. This is, therefore, not a case of oath against oath, but of the Congress deputation as a whole against Mrs. Besant. When she went to England, I was one of those who received her on the railway platform and in an interview which took place soon after, I requested her to forget her quarrels with the Delhi Congress and so shape her work in England as to support the Congress view. She did not give a definite reply but her future work showed clearly that she was all for herself and not for the Congress, evidently intending to show that she it was who alone awakened the sense of political freedom in India and therefore her view was the correct one, in spite of what the Congress might have resolved to the contrary. Her ambition to boss the whole show and to claim for herself the entire credit for work in England was, in my opinion, the main object of all her activities in England.

"As regards the second question, viz. the woman suffrage, the deputation never denied that she was in favour of it. She advocated it in India on the Congress platform and was at first of opinion that it should be included in the new Act. We expected that she would strenuously and consistently fight for it, but she eventually changed her mind as would be seen from the extracts from her own evidence given by herself in her appeal to you and abandoning the Congress view which she supported in India, adopted the official view that the decision may be left to the Local Legislatures. Mrs. Deshpande's and Mrs. Tata's letters quoted by her throw no new light on the point at issue. She might be wise or foolish in this toning down her own view to suit the changed circumstances; but that she did tone down or change her view is beyond dispute. It is no wonder if this prejudicially affected her advocacy of the subject. Messrs. Patel and Khaparde's contention, therefore, is absolutely correct, notwithstanding Mrs. Deshpande's and Mrs. Tata's evidence quoted by Mrs. Besant. She was expected to put up a brave fight for women's suffrage on the Congress lines adopted by her in India. She did not do that, but fell a victim to the official view, which advocated the inclusion of the grant of woman franchise in the Act itself and not leaving it to the Local Legislatures. She did work for woman franchise but not in the way the Congress wanted, but according to her own ever-changing notions of expediency. It was no fault of the Congress Secretary if the British Parliament negatived the amendment incorporating the Congress view on the subject. The British Parliament has very often done worse; but because it might so act again, it would be foolish not to press boldly our view upon its attention.

"The third question refers to the Albert Hall meeting. This meeting was held on October 25, 1919, under the auspices of the Home Rule League for India Branch, established by Mrs. Besant in London and therefore under her guidance. The resolution eventually submitted to the meeting and passed by it was as follows: 'That this mass meeting of British citizens, holding that the existence of the British Commonwealth is dependent upon the right of self-government being conferred on each of the nations within its boundaries, hereby declares that the Indian people are entitled to receive at the earliest opportunity, the full right of self-determination.' Mrs. Besant has correctly quoted it and it is also true that she supported it. But this is only the last part of the story and what passed previously has been very cleverly suppressed by Mrs. Besant. As the meeting was financed and convened under her guidance she did not invite the members of the Congress deputation to be present at or take part in the proceedings of the meeting. It was Mr. Lansbury, the Chairman-elect, who was kind enough to invite me on the occasion. I asked for the resolution which was to be put to the meeting and the copy I received from the Besant Home Rule League Secretary revealed that in addition to the resolution, eventually passed, it was at first proposed to welcome therein the introduction of the Indian Reform Bill as a first step towards the fulfilment of the declaration made in the House of Commons on August 20, 1917. Some changes in the Bill were also proposed, but they were only recommendatory and not by way of necessary conditions for making the Bill a real first step according to the Congress view. I could not agree to such a resolution and I said that I would rather be absent from the meeting than support a resolution against the Congress view. The Chairman clearly realized my difficulty and asked the organizers of the meeting to confine the resolution to the first paragraph, viz. the portion eventually passed, asking that the rights of self-government and self-determination should be granted to Indians at the earliest opportunity. Mrs. Besant had then to support the resolution as finally settled, but in her speech, she supported Mr. Montagu's Bill in unmistakable terms and I had to contradict her and to ask the proposers of the amendment who advocated the rejection of the Bill to look only to the resolution before the meeting and not what Mrs. Besant had said while extending her support. She was ever eager to support Mr. Montagu as much as she could whereas the Congress deputation always looked upon the Bill as unsatisfactory, until the minimum demand formulated by the Congress was included in it. It may be wise or unwise to insist on the Congress view till the last, but that is another question. We have now to see whether Mrs. Besant did or did not try to induce the British public and the Labour Party to take up her view on the Reform Bill in opposition to that of the Congress. The above facts will show that she did so and that if she failed, it was due to the efforts of the Congress deputation. The members of the All India Congress Committee who were present at the Subjects Committee of the Congress at Amritsar know very well how Mrs. Besant tried to avoid the question of self-determination being taken up by the Congress and why her amendment to the reforms resolution did not contain any reference to self-determination. Self-determination

means the determination of the nation and Mrs. Besant is too clever a woman not to see that, if the principle were once accepted, neither she nor the Moderates could legitimately claim to be heard in preference to the Congress.

"Fourthly, Mrs. Besant complains of her being compared to the treacherous Putana by Mr. Khaparde. Now, who is Putana? She was a (female) demon employed to entrap and kill Shri Krishna by his enemies. She tried to do this by affecting to feed him at her breasts and in the attempt brought death on herself. Mrs. Besant went to England with the deliberate object of pushing her own views in preference to those of the Congress and thus establishing her supremacy in matters political. In other words, she desired to kill the Congress, if we may so call it, by pretending to speak for the nation. She failed in the attempt and found her view rejected even by people on whom she most depended. She met the same repulse at the Amritsar Congress which she hastily came to attend and also very recently at the Sholapur Provincial Conference. The Putana story is, therefore, the best Puranik illustration to describe her efforts and conduct in this behalf and let me inform Mrs. Besant that Mr. Khaparde is not alone in using this expression. One may think one need not be so harsh on Mrs. Besant; after all it must be admitted that she did good work in India. Yes, but we cannot forget the abuses that Mrs. Besant heaped upon the members of the Congress deputation in the *New India*, the *United India* and elsewhere. And if Mr. Khaparde chooses to retaliate in his own humorous style, he at any rate, cannot be blamed except by Mrs. Besant's followers. I would rather advise Mrs. Besant, who is so versed in newspaper controversies, to bear such attacks in a spirit of toleration, common to all newspaper writers and critics. To take and resent these as personal attacks is unworthy of a lady, engaged all her life in controversies, often violent and virulent on either side. At any rate, the All India Congress Committee cannot take notice of such bandying of words between rival critics and attempt to decide whose powers of ridicule and sarcasm are greater. The Congress deputation as a whole fully shares the views of Mr. Patel and that deputation consisted of 12 members of good social status, standing and experience. The report of the work of the deputation was submitted to the Congress at Amritsar. This report was adopted at a meeting of the members of the deputation held in London on November 3, 1919 and printed copies thereof were circulated to the members of the Subjects Committee at Amritsar including Mrs. Besant. In that report, Mrs. Besant is expressly charged with making a common cause with Mr. Banerji and Mr. Basu (all of whom were admitted as ex-Presidents to the meetings of the British Congress Committee) and trying to make the Committee believe that the deputation did not really represent the Congress view. The British Congress Committee, after hearing both the parties, the report further says, rejected the contention of Mrs. Besant and Mr. Banerji and so, changed the constitution of the Committee as to bring it in line with the latest view of the Congress. Mrs. Besant did not say a word in reply in the Subjects Committee at the time, though she fully well knew that the ex-Presidents of the Congress, who were not prepared to support the latest Congress opinion,

were excluded by the new rules from attending the meetings of the British Congress Committee. This clearly shows that Mrs. Besant tried to influence not only the Labour Party, but also the British Congress Committee against the Congress deputation and she failed in both. Speaking of Mrs. Besant the report says (in a passage withheld until now from publication) :

"In the earlier part of this report, we have made a reference to the anti-Congress attitude of Mrs. Besant as an ex-officio member of the British Committee. Before the Committee accepted the new constitution drafted by Messrs. Khaparde and Patel, she used to attend the Committee meetings and join hands with Messrs. Banerji and Basu in opposing any proposals in the Committee initiated on the letters of the General Secretary. In these attempts she failed as we have already shown. She has not attended a single meeting of the British Committee since the adoption of the new constitution. We have no hesitation in saying that she has been doing large propagandist work in the way of spreading knowledge about India among the British democracy, but in doing so she always concluded her speeches by a general statement that the Reform Bill is good and needs but few slight changes, and not such radical changes as Congress demands. This attitude, in our opinion, has somewhat prejudiced Congress propaganda in England. As an ex-President of the Congress, she speaks in the name and on behalf of India, ignoring the fact that since the Delhi Congress, she has ceased to represent Indian opinion as focussed in the Congress. As far as we are aware, she has made repeated attempts to join the Moderates in England. She has started a rival paper and before doing so, she consulted Moderate friends and none among the Congress deputation. The very first issue started with an attack on the Congress deputation. This report is signed by all the members of the deputation and you will see therefrom that Mr. Patel does not stand alone in condemning Mrs. Besant's conduct in England. I recommend that in publishing this report of the deputation, the paragraph should now appear in its proper place."

In such controversies, Tilak was simply deadly and devastating in his frontal and forthright assaults.

While in England, Kelkar sent newsletters for the *Kesari* and he utilized this opportunity to write a good deal of human interest in his despatches besides accounts of their political work. Mention may be made of the visit Tilak and Kelkar paid to Oxford and Cambridge where, Tilak addressed the Indian students studying there. Tilak spoke much in the same strain at both places. Tilak said that young students were naturally inclined to be enthusiastic and idealistic but once their university education was over and they took up some calling or profession, it was not easy to keep up the idealism and enthusiasm of the undergraduate days. Some of them had given

expression to a desire to take to politics and public life and place themselves at the disposal of Tilak for whatever patriotic services he would ask them to render and they were found fit for. Tilak thanked them for the offer but gave them some practical advice. He said that those who had come all the way to England from India to specialize in some thing or other, were obviously the pick of India's intellectuals, particularly those who had earned scholarships. It was their duty to remain grateful to those who made it possible for them to get that benefit. Those who were trying to get into the Indian Civil Service or qualify for the Bar or secure high medical, engineering and other qualifications had better stick to their original intentions but maintain their patriotic spirit and resolve that from their positions in the services or the professions they would exert their best for the good of their fellowmen. All he expected of them was ideal citizenship, a spirit of altruism, a preparedness to render service to their fellow countrymen, while performing their duties according to their convictions and consistently with their obligations. He wanted them to complete what they had begun and not to yield to any emotional disturbance caused by the visit of a man like himself. This was quite the anti-thesis of any fire-eating appeal to give up studies and plunge in political agitation. Among those who sought his advice were the two distinguished Indian I.C.S. Mr. C. D. Deshmukh and Mr. M. D. Bhat. Speaking at Nagpur on October 19, 1956, on the occasion of unveiling Tilak's portrait at Independence Hall Deshmukh recalled what Tilak had told him in England. Tilak said, " Everyone is not lent out for politics. Since you have spent so much time, money and energy on your training, it is desirable that you should pursue a vocation suitable to that training. Swaraj is not far-off. One day, the country might be in need of your experience." How prophetic these words proved !

CHAPTER XXX

TILAK IN HIS CLOSING DAYS

Tilak and party left England on November 6, 1919 and reached Bombay on November 27. He was given a super-royal reception. Police *bandobust* was perfect because big crowds were expected to gather to greet him. Hindu and Muslim volunteers regulated the crowds through which he was taken to a car and brought to Sardar Griha. In the evening, a public meeting was held at Shantaram's Chawl compound to welcome him back. An address, congratulating him on his safe return and wishing him health and long life was read by Gangadharrao Deshpande. Baptista presided over the meeting. The Home Rulers' Club of Dadar presented him an address at the same meeting. In his reply Tilak thanked every one and particularly paid high tributes to Baptista for his spade work in England before he and the various deputations went there. He said, "Although the reforms embodied in the Montagu Bill fall very short of our expectations we need not despair. The Labour Party is pledged to bring our Home Rule Bill in Parliament and therefore we need not reject what has been given now. But we must not rest on our oars and put a stop to our agitation for demanding what remains to be given. I have followed all that has happened in India. I regret I was not here when Mahatma Gandhi started his Satyagraha movement against the Rowlatt Bills to participate in it." The Bombay National Union organized a big dinner in his honour at Sardar Griha on November 28. The textile workers of Bombay gave him an address of welcome at Parel on November 29. Sheth Mavji Govindji presided on the occasion. Several other receptions were also held in Bombay.

Tilak and party left for Poona on December 1. A Reception Committee had been formed in Poona which had organized a big procession in which he was taken through Poona's main streets. Arches were constructed and buntings were flying in the air. Elephants and horses from the Deval circus were a feature of the procession. Flowers and garlands were offered in hundreds. The police and volunteers maintained order. It was originally decided to present him an address of welcome on

behalf of the citizens of Poona on December 2, but it was postponed to a later date as Tilak had lost his voice and was placed under a severe strain by these killing receptions. Yet, the Poona Municipality's address was given on the same day at the Reay Market compound in which his great services to the country were recalled and a prayer for his long life and health was offered. It was for the first time that a non-official was being presented an address of welcome by a municipality. According to the Municipal Act, the Poona Municipality had no authority to incur any expenses for such an address, but it was permissible to do so if the members of the Municipal Board paid its expenses. That was done. It may be pointed out, that like this first address of welcome, the first statue at municipal expense was also raised to him after his death for the first time as to a non-official. Disputes arose in other places where other municipalities followed the Poona Municipality, but it ultimately led to an amendment of the Act so as to allow addresses to non-official notables on certain conditions. The address on behalf of the citizens of Poona which was postponed was presented on behalf of the Reception Committee organized for that purpose. The words "on behalf of the citizens of Poona" in the draft address were objected to by some Moderates and non-Brahman party men. Their meeting was held at Jedhe mansion on December 4 and they passed a resolution informing the Chairman of the Reception Committee, Mr. L. J. Apte, who was also President of the Municipality that they intended to oppose the address on the spot unless the words objected to were replaced by the words " Admirers and friends of Tilak ". This letter was written by R. P. Paranjpye and one Mr. Gupte. The Reception Committee wrote back to say that it was quite certain that an overwhelming majority of the city was in favour of the address and it had therefore sufficient claim and authority to speak in the name of the citizens and it did not intend to change the wording of the draft address. An offer was made to them that seats would be reserved for them and they would be allowed to oppose the address by suggesting an amendment to the address; they should therefore inform the Committee how much accommodation was required by them. Paranjpye was reminded once again six hours before the meeting was scheduled to commence, about seats being kept in reserve for offering

organized opposition but no opponent turned up and no reply was sent. Mr. L. B. Bhopatkar read out the citizens' address of welcome and the Chairman of the meeting, Mr. L. J. Apte asked if any one wanted to speak against it. A non-Brahman boy in his teens got up and said that if Tilak would attend an inter-caste dinner, where the untouchables were also invited, he would not oppose the address.

Tilak in his reply simply deprecated this puerile show and repeated about reforms what he had said in Bombay. Though Paranjpye did not attend this meeting, he sent a lengthy letter to the *Bombay Chronicle,* reviewing Tilak's "sins of omission and commission". He explained at the outset why he and others did not attend the meeting and then proceeded to say that the opposition offered by him and people of his way of thinking proceeded from the belief that they must protest against "the idolization of Tilak" by the people and that it was not necessarily a sign of patriotism. In his opinion the question of bad or good taste did not arise. Then he objected to Tilak's appeal to the past history of Maharashtra and India for rousing their faith in themselves and said, "while creation of national self-respect is an important work, the workers have to see that it does not degenerate into mere chauvinism." He then charged Tilak of having shifted his ground from time to time in regard to his political ideal, saying, "Tilak was advocating unadulterated Swaraj in the controversy about the Surat split as opposed to colonial self-government advocated by Gokhale." He then found fault with Tilak's concentration on politics and accused him of neglect of other aspects of national uplift work, observing, "political work is only a fraction and probably a small fraction of the work of national reconstruction." Paranjpye asserted, "In my opinion, his want of appreciation of this need of work among ourselves shows the bankruptcy of his statesmanship and the futility of the claim made for him as the greatest national leader." He then asked: "What for instance has been Tilak's record in connection with such movements as co-operation and temperance? On the last he once engaged himself in a campaign of picketing which may be attributed perhaps to his wish for acting against the Government, but in the more effective method of moral suasion against drink, his

work is absolutely nil." Paranjpye then reviewed Tilak's complete career as it were by referring to the Age of Consent controversy, his attacks on Ranade and Bhandarkar, the *mandap* controversy at the time of the Poona session of the Congress in 1895 and his alleged opposition to inoculation when plague was raging. He also repeated the Anglo-Indian objection against Ganesh and Shivaji festivals being anti-Muslim and regretted that Tilak did not lift his little finger to help the cause of stamping out the caste system. " No attempt was made by Tilak " remarked Paranjpye " to look at the aspirations of the backward cástes in a sympathetic spirit and he always poured ridicule and abuse on those who inveighed against the caste system." Dr. Paranjpye complained that Tilak alienated the Marathas by opposing *Vedokta* rites being extended to them and showed his obscurantism by opposing Patel's inter-caste marriages bill. He never gave any help to work for uplift of the depressed classes. He made friends with the Labour Party in England and represented himself as a Labourite only in England. He only abused his opponents, did only destructive work, degraded journalism and vitiated the taste of the people. He changed his attitude towards the Montagu Reforms every now and then and while previously ridiculed deputations to England and petitions and memorials to Parliament, because Gokhale was involved in it, he himself did the same in the evening of his life and wanted it to be regarded as political ambassadorship. Paranjpye finally said such were the ideas about Tilak's work of himself and some others and therefore they were not in favour of voting a welcome address to Tilak in the name of all citizens of Poona.

Tilak's rejoinder published in the *Bombay Chronicle* is reproduced below in full since it constitutes a review of his whole career in his own words, less than a year before his death :

" I am much indebted to the Honourable Mr. Paranjpye for preparing and publishing a catalogue of my sins of omission and commission. The work is done evidently with great labour, but it is done in an atmosphere, exclusively of his own, and under irritation caused by the recent events in this city. Everybody is welcome to his own views, and as I don't claim to have pleased all and everybody whether in Poona or outside, I am not surprised at the occasional display of bad temper and bad taste by my opponents like Mr. Paranjpye. All that I have to say against him is that the publication of his views at this time is utterly irrelevant and inopportune. The address which was given to me was never intended to be literally

from all and every citizen of Poona. It was a public address, and, like all public addresses, it meant an address only from a majority of the Poona public, though of course in this case, a very overwhelming majority, as Mr. Paranjpye himself was well aware of. The organizers of the meeting were quite willing to make, and had actually made, all arrangements to give Mr. Paranjpye and his friends an opportunity to put forward all that he had to say before the Poona public, who would have, I am sure, given them a patient hearing. But Mr. Paranjpye and his party had not the courage to accept the challenge though they had full twenty-four hours' notice to do so. Mr. Paranjpye speaks of the original intentions of the organizers to call a meeting of those who appreciated my work. But knowing this Mr. Paranjpye and his party thought it fit to send a challenge to the organizers to make arrangements for giving them a hearing at the public meeting. That challenge was accepted. The public, who know both Mr. Paranjpye and myself, would have been glad patiently to hear whatever Mr. Paranjpye would have liked to say on the platform. But he knew, as he now admits, that he and his party were "a small" minority in Poona, and, believing discretion to be the better part of valour, transferred the work of opposition at the meeting to a young boy reserving for himself the use of your columns for emptying the phials of his long-accumulated wrath, under the pretext of justifying the position of himself and the handful of his followers on the present occasion.

"My views on political and social matters are well known to the public, and there is nothing new in Mr. Paranjpye's statement, except perversions and misrepresentations, usual to his party, which calls for any remarks from me. His great charge against me is that my activity and propaganda are one-sided. Well, supposing it is so, I fail to see how Mr. Paranjpye's conclusion can be legitimately drawn from it. It is a well-known fact that I differ from Mr. Paranjpye and his party in matters social. I don't hold that social reconstruction must be undertaken prior to political emancipation. I attach greater importance to the latter. Without the power to shape our own destiny, our national regeneration, in a large sense, cannot, in my opinion, be effected and I have throughout my career tried to preach and emphasize this view. When I opposed the Age of Consent Bill I did so mainly on this ground. I did not think, nor do I think now, that a legislature which is not wholly responsible to the public is competent to deal with social questions. Another point involved in that controversy was Dr. Bhandarkar's interpretation of certain Sanskrit texts. It is well known that Government obtained the opinions of their own Pandits on the matter, and when they were found to be in my favour, Government eventually decided rather to be wrong with Dr. Bhandarkar than right with myself. It is useless to comment upon this decision, especially as we now know that Government very often prefers deliberately to follow a wrong course, sometimes even an absurdly wrong course for special reasons.

"Mr. Paranjpye roundly charges me with doing only destructive work. But he very cleverly ignores all that I did before. I took part in this controversy as editor of the *Kesari*. I refer to the establishment of the New

English School, the Deccan Education Society, and the Fergusson College of which Mr. Paranjpye is now the principal. It is a fact well known in Poona, that, having done all the fighting necessary for the establishment of an independent national institution, I had to sever my connection with it after eleven years of work, because my colleagues would rather fall in with Government instead of boldly taking up an independent stand as originally planned. I am quite sure that if the original intentions of the founders had been carried out, there would have been no necessity for a movement of national education, started during the last few years. Let me inform Mr. Paranjpye that it was his friends and his party who foiled this first attempt at establishing a national college on a strictly popular and independent basis. In his catalogue of my sins he has scrupulously avoided to refer to this matter, though with a little care he could have known the whole truth from documents in his possession. This speaks volumes for his fairness; and yet my work is destructive as opposed to the constructive work of himself and his party.

"Let me now take up some of the allegations made against me for views published in the *Kesari* from time to time on social matters. Mr. Paranjpye is probably unaware of the fact that I took the sole charge of the *Kesari* only after 1890. It is true that I made it an organ exclusively of political propaganda. I don't deny it; but, at the same time, let me point out that the political awakening in Maharashtra since then is more the work of this paper and my party than Mr. Paranjpye and the men of his ilk. The Moderate school of thought, mostly led by Government servants and pensioners in those days, never thought of going beyond a mild and diffused criticism of some measures of official administration with a view to getting them dropped or improved. They had not then the courage to put forward the ideal of self-government before the people, and to educate public opinion in accordance therewith. On the contrary, they tried to obstruct the work of the Nationalists in this behalf by misrepresenting them and also by back-biting them whenever possible. The word Swaraj — yes, unadulterated Swaraj — as used in the *Kesari*, was mistranslated by them as meaning complete independence which the *Kesari* never advocated. The Anglo-Indian papers, our natural enemies in this matter, patted the Moderates on their back for this service to the Anglo-Indian cause and the Nationalists were overwhelmed with the opposition engineered by this unholy alliance, until at last the Grand Old Man of India, Dadabhai Naoroji in 1906 declared from the Congress platform, that Swaraj should be our goal, and that it meant nothing more nor less than complete self-government within the Empire. Mr. Paranjpye is probably ignorant of the fact that the Moderate leaders for whom he professes to have unbounded respect were not prepared at the time to take up this ideal for practical work and accept any scheme, however, moderate, for the realization thereof. There has been a lot of misunderstanding sedulously created and persistently kept up, regarding the unfortunate Surat split. On behalf of the Nationalists I was then pressing for a resolution embodying a very, very moderate scheme of self-government for immediate adoption by the Congress. I have still in my possession a manifesto of the Nationalist Party,

issued at that time, and shall be glad to show it to Mr. Paranjpye if he cares to investigate these matters. What did it ask for ? (1) complete autonomy in local matters, (2) effective voice and control in Provincial administration or a greater portion thereof, and (3) an adequate representation in Imperial administration. The manifesto says: 'Nothing less than this to begin with will satisfy the aspirations of the people.' It is well known how the Moderate leaders, like Mr. Gokhale received such a proposal at that time, and how, after ten years of continued fight and agitation by the Nationalist Party, it was adopted by Government and now passed by the House of Commons. This will clearly show that my only fault at that time was to anticipate, by a few years, the Government and the Moderates, and to continue to educate popular opinion thereon in spite of the retrograde attitude of Mr. Paranjpye's party. If any fighting had to be done, let me remind Mr. Paranjpye, it was all done by the Nationalists. It is useless to convince a man of Mr. Paranjpye's type, who is determined to shut his eyes to these plain, vivid facts. But the country knows the services rendered in this behalf by the Nationalists, and whatever Mr. Paranjpye might say in regard to my attitude towards social matters, it is, I believe impossible to hoodwink the public as regards the work which my party and myself have done in this behalf. It is a clever party misrepresentation to ignore these facts and point to the Surat split as simply destructive work. The Moderates had no constructive programme at that time except that of going back on the bold declaration of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji and if anybody was mainly responsible for defeating a constructive programme of the Nationalists outlined above, it was the party of Mr. Paranjpye. The acceptance of official view under the disguise of moderation has always been the motto of the Moderates in such matters, and one need not be surprised if they are trying to play the same game in regard to the present reforms. Mr. Paranjpye is utterly misinformed about my alleged differences with Mr. Patel and Mr. Horniman while in England. His information may be from a friendly source, but it is not accurate. I have never changed my attitude regarding the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms. In India my work consisted in bringing round the majority in the Congress to my view; and once this view was settled, my work in England consisted in representing that view, as it then was the view of the Indian people. In India we have a kind of formative work to perform, while in England we have faithfully to present its results to the British public. I am sorry that a clear brain like Mr. Paranjpye's is unable to see this distinction. But perhaps a warped intelligence smarting under irritation of discomfiture, cannot be expected to rise higher.

"Mr. Paranjpye has, I am sorry, no clear idea of the principles of nationalism and has thus misunderstood the character and the nature of Nationalist opposition to the Social Reform movement, as conducted by his party. A true Nationalist desires to build on old foundations. Reform based on utter disrespect for the old, does not appeal to him as constructive work. He therefore tries to maintain and foster a distinct national interest before undertaking any reform. A similar change has come over Irish politics. Those that started political agitation in India in the early forties or fifties

of the last century thought more of the political privileges than of regeneration of nationality. The Nationalist Party of today looks upon the question from a different standpoint altogether. We don't want to Anglicize our institutions and so denationalize them in the name of social and political reforms. We mean to progress and wish our country to occupy a position of equality among the civilized nations of the world. But whereas men of Mr. Paranjpye's party would ask us to adopt alien methods, even in offering our prayers to God, we, the Nationalists, desire to emphasize and preserve the national sentiment by giving due credit to all that is good in the old system but without detriment to progress and reform needed for our national uplift. If Mr. Paranjpye had cared to bear this difference in mind, he would not have misrepresented my activities in social reforms. The Shivaji Festival and the Ganpati festival are in reality means to keep up and maintain a proper pride in the doings of our ancestors, and it is sheer misrepresentation, I don't care to inquire whether conscious or unconscious, to stamp these movements as calculated only to strengthen orthodox prejudices. I think, Mr. Paranjpye knows that both in Scotland and Ireland similar movements are inaugurated for similar national purposes. But men like him are so denationalized as to look upon every honest opposition to the old school of reform as emanating from personal jealousy and other worse passions.

"Let me remind him that while the widow-marriage movement was at its height, it was myself who proposed to the Reformers to come to a compromise with the Shankaracharya and the leaders of the Hindu orthodoxy on a reasonable basis. In my opinion, the evil of prohibition of widow-remarriage is not a general one, but is confined to only Brahmans and such other castes as have thought fit to imitate Brahman customs and manners. What I proposed therefore was that though widow-remarriage is not sanctioned by the later Hindu Law, yet a compromise could be adopted by including it in the forms of marriage sanctioned by Shastras, and thus removing, with the sanction of the orthodox, all disqualifications arising from social ostracism. I even offered and was prepared to fight this battle myself. But the Reformers would not accept my proposal. In the matter of the depressed and the lower classes I had commenced to act long before Mr. Paranjpye had emerged out of his teens by giving in the Ganpati festival an equal status to all backward classes. The fact is well known in Poona except possibly in the circle of Mr. Paranjpye's friends. As for the *Vedokta*, I supported the extension of it in the case of the Kolhapur Chief and never objected to its extension to non-Brahman classes. Mr. Paranjpye has utterly misunderstood the question. Extension of *Vedokta* ceremony was not the real bone of contention. The question was whether an orthodox Brahman priest should be coerced and compelled against his wish, on pain of forfeiture of *inams* granted to him under the old system, to perform *Vedic* rites in all non-Brahman families. The very principle of personal liberty on which Mr. Paranjpye lays so much stress would be violated if we answer the question in the affirmative. I know that every community can freely resort to *Vedokta* rites if it chooses; but no one can justify the forfeiture of ancient *inams* granted by old rulers and under different understandings.

Can the British Government claim the right to forfeit Devasthan *inams* because the State religion is now different ? Mr. Paranjpye knows full well that I am for removing all caste distinctions regarding inter-dining or untouchability. I have said so many a time, but I am not prepared to take up the work of actual propaganda in this matter as my own, and I refused to sign a manifesto which would have clearly thrown that responsibility on me. To compare small things with great, will Mr. Paranjpye be prepared to ignore the other work of any American statesman simply because he declined to take a prominent part in the emancipation of Negroes in the United States ? I am glad to see that he admits the necessity of specialization in such movements. But I am sorry, that he does not see his way to apply that to me.

" There are various other matters to which Mr. Paranjpye has referred in his catalogue of my sins, and it would take much space to refute all that he has said against me. For instance my attitude against plague measures and inoculation was not peculiar to me. Our friend, the late Mr. Agarkar's paper *Sudharak* wrote perhaps more violently than myself against plague measures; and if that paper was not taken to task for it like myself, it was probably because Government preferred to take a victim from the Nationalists as opposed to the Moderate party. The *Kesari* fully recognized the scientific value of inoculation but opposed only its compulsory introduction, especially in its experimental stages. Mr. Paranjpye has a strange idea of his own regarding newspaper controversies and attacks. He is prepared to credit me with a trenchant style, so as to better enable him to blame me for vigorous attacks on persons taking the opposite views. But let me ask him one question, a most important question — ' how many of our leaders, whether Nationalists or Moderates, have not been grossly attacked by the Anglo-Indian Press for entertaining views differing from those of the ruling class ? ' Neither Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji nor Mr. Justice Ranade nor Mr. Gokhale escaped the attacks of the Anglo-Indian Press. Has Mr. Paranjpye ever complained against the Anglo-Indian writers' efficiency in wielding a vigorous and forcible style ? Why ? But I need not go to the Anglo-Indian parallels. My friend the late Mr. Agarkar's own brilliant literary abilities were all devoted, in those days to pour on my head all the invective and abuse that he could plan, originate or copy. And Mr. Gokhale's papers in later days have been doing the same kind of work for Mr. Paranjpye's party. In fact without a sense of egoism, I may say that I am the most abused man in this respect in Maharashtra. If I replied to these attacks in self-defence, and in defence of the cause, it was a matter of sheer necessity for me, and those conversant with modern warfare know fully well that victory in such matters will always rest with those who can use guns of range longer than those of their enemies, backed up by solid support of an invulnerable rampart of sound logic. Mr. Paranjpye has, therefore, absolutely nothing to complain of the nature of my writings. Bigger guns were in the service of his party; and if they failed to demolish the Nationalist cause it was not because we had the monopoly of literary merit but because their cause itself was weak both in principle and practice. Marathi readers know it very well, but I doubt whether Mr. Paranjpye is

a Marathi reader at all. Mr. Paranjpye blames me also for not supporting communal representation and the Patel Bill. But here I may tell him that I stand in good company. The value of representation consists in the vote and not in the caste of the representative selected. If Mr. Parañjpye's party has adopted the opposite view, it is possibly for the purpose of getting more recruits rather than out of love for the principle itself. Such alliances are not unknown even in England. As for the Patel Bill my opposition does not rest on social or religious grounds, but on the economic law of succession. And it betrays a want of careful reading and judgment on the part of the Moderates to cite it as an instance of my illogical views. I never put myself as a representative of Indian Labour until I was elected so by the Bombay Labour Unions, as against Mr. Joshi, the Government nominee of the Servants of India Society. That Society was, so far as I know, established for carrying on political work. But it has practically given up that work and has compelled some of its members who adopted the Home Rule propaganda to resign. And yet we find that when Lord Sydenham asked Mr. Sastri whether the latter in giving evidence was not going against the constitution of the Society established for social service the latter replied in the negative.

"I think I have exceeded the normal space usually allotted for a reply, but let me say one word in conclusion regarding the methods of our party. We don't want to pose as self-constituted, wise leaders of the people. We have our plan, our goal, as open and constitutional as that of the Moderates. We shall do our best to educate the public in our views and doctrines in open competition with the Moderates. If we can carry the majority of the people with us it would be idle for any one to complain of our action in these democratic days. We shall stick to our guns, and if those prove to be of a longer range than those of our opponents they must take the defeat in good grace. Personal jealousies or boasts of superior wisdom are out of place. One may differ and differ from the view of the majority as much as one likes. But let him remember that it is a free fight, and it is his own fault if he cannot win the fight. There is nothing in Mr. Paranjpye's letter which shows that he realizes or appreciates this principle of public work."

After these receptions Tilak went on a tour of Madras, where he was invited by the Madras leaders. He was received at the station on December 17, by Congressmen, Home Rulers and trade unionists. He was taken in a procession to Mr. Subba Rao Kamath's residence. In the evening a public meeting was held under the presidency of Mr. Kasturi Ranga Iyengar, editor of the *Hindu* and a number of addresses were presented. One of these was from the Madras Presidency Association in which the non-Brahmans predominated. It constituted an excellent rejoinder to the feeble opposition that was got up by the Poona non-Brahmans by an alliance with the Moderates. Tilak gave a joint reply to all the addresses. The trade unions in the city

of Madras gave a separate address. Tilak delivered a lecture at the Law College, Madras on Indian Nationality. A sum of Rs. 2,000 was presented to him by Madras businessmen for the work of the Home Rule League. From there Tilak proceeded to Amritsar to attend the session of the Congress. While journeying to Amritsar, Tilak happened to read in the newspapers the Royal Proclamation which referred to the Reforms Act and granted a general amnesty to all political prisoners. The Royal Proclamation said :

"It is my earnest desire at this time that as far as possible any trace of bitterness between my people and those who are responsible for my government should be obliterated. Let those who in their eagerness for political progress had broken the law in the past respect it in the future. Let it become possible for those who are charged with the maintenance of peaceful and orderly government to forget the extravagances which they have had to curb. A new era is opening. Let it begin with a common determination among my people and officers to work together for a common purpose. I therefore direct my Viceroy to exercise in my name and on my behalf my Royal Clemency to political offenders in the fullest measure which in his judgment is compatible with public safety. I desire him to extend it on this condition, to persons who, for offences against the State or under any special or emergency legislation, are suffering imprisonment or restrictions on their liberty. I trust that this leniency will be justified by the future conduct of those whom it benefits and that all my subjects will so demean themselves as to render it unnecessary to force the laws for such offences hereafter."

It was a very well worded document, noble in sentiments and eloquent in style and calculated to rouse the imagination of the Indian people and evoke their gratitude. Even Tilak felt that Mr. Montagu meant well by India and his appeal had a ring of sincerity. He was not quite sure, however, that it would change the bureaucracy in India overnight and while therefore expressing publicly his gratitude for the Royal Proclamation he promised not unconditional but responsive co-operation. It was only after a discussion with his colleagues, all Congressmen and Home Rulers that he did so. It was through a telegram addressed to the Secretary of State and the Viceroy that he despatched from a station known as Gangapur. The text of the telegram was : "Please convey to His Majesty grateful and loyal thanks of the Indian Home Rule League and the people of India for proclamation and amnesty and assure him of responsive co-operation." As is obvious, the keyword in this telegram is responsive. The co-operation from the people would

be in response to the spirit and action shown in co-operation offered by the bureaucracy. The appeal was necessary, whether it was so intended or not, more for the bureaucracy than for the people. The people were always expected to co-operate in implementing measures intended and calculated to bring about their well-being. Mahatma Gandhi, supported by Pandit Malaviya and Pandit Motilal Nehru, believed that the royal message was a distinct departure from the policy hitherto pursued and calculated to usher in a new era. He, therefore, wanted to welcome the proclamation without any reservation. Mrs. Besant and Moderates like Messrs. Sastri, Deodhar and Sharma were of the same view. All veteran Congressmen, Muslim Leaguers led by Mr. Jinnah, Hasan Imam, Hakim Ajmal Khan and the Raja Saheb of Mahamudabad were there. Lala Harkishenlal, Lala Dunichand, Pandit Rambhuj Dutt Chowdhari and Dr. Kitchlu who were released according to the amnesty were also there. C. R. Das with a contingent of Bengal delegates was there. It was severely cold, yet popular enthusiasm was boundless and processions in honour of Tilak and the President, Motilal Nehru, were organized with usual enthusiasm. Swami Shraddhananda was Chairman of the Reception Committee. Among other appropriate things that he said in his speech, he said the nation would be well advised to be led by Lokamanya Tilak in the matter of what the people should do regarding the reforms and how they should do it.

Pandit Motilal Nehru in his speech reviewed the Punjab atrocities and its aftermath and put in a nutshell the whole episode in a telling manner by saying, "to put it arithmetically 108 persons were sentenced to be hanged and the total of the years to which people were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment would amount to over 7371 years." Referring to the Reforms Act, he said, "It does fall short of the Congress demand by several leagues. Yet it will not be proper to adopt an attitude of contempt towards it. Some little political power has been transferred to the Indian people by this Act and some new avenues of patriotic service have been opened. It is our duty to avail ourselves of it, but we must simultaneously press for more being given to us." Against such a background, the deliberations of the Subjects Committee began. Tilak and Bepin Chandra Pal were still prohibited from entering the Punjab, but

a special permission to attend the Congress session was given to them. The Ali Brothers were released and came direct to the Congress *mandap* when Pandit Ruchiram Sahani was speaking on the resolution on how Government should deal with O'Dwyer and Dyer. When Pandit Malaviya proposed a resolution about a memorial at Jalianwala Bagh, the whole audience rose to its feet and a sum of a lakh of rupees was subscribed on the spot. There was a resolution demanding recall of Lord Chelmsford and only Mr. Sharma opposed it. The Royal Proclamation was welcomed and a welcome was extended to the Prince of Wales whose forthcoming tour was announced. But the real difference arose over what attitude to adopt towards the Montford Reforms and in what words it should be expressed. What happened ultimately has been already stated elsewhere. It was a combination of Gandhiji's moral sublimity, Tilak's political wisdom and Das's dignified pugnacity. Tilak spoke in support of this resolution saying, "We want now clearly to declare not only here but to the whole world that we are not satisfied with the Act. We want to continue our agitation. We want to utilize it to our best advantage and continue to demand more and we want the rest of the world to know that this is the exact state of things. Do not mislead the civilized nations of Europe. Take care of that. Do not be too generous, too humble to accept with fulsome glee what little has been thrown to you now."

Tilak's attitude was governed by his intimate acquaintance with the bureaucracy. He clearly knew that Indians had to deal with the most astute, most diplomatic and a clever set of politicians in the world and they could easily undo in practice what the Secretary of State had tried to do legally and constitutionally as in the case of the Morley-Minto Reforms. He was not slow to see how tardily the bureaucracy had responded to the gracious Royal Proclamation and how incomplete the amnesty to political prisoners was. He had also not failed to note how the Congress Party was altogether excluded from the advisory committee on Rules under the Government of India Act. He had quite shrewdly taken up the position of responsive co-operation and not of "one-way traffic" co-operation and so he was not required to change it. In a speech in Bombay in those days following the Amritsar Congress he said, "We are

prepared to co-operate with each other. It is almost a scandal to say that Indians are not prepared to co-operate for their own benefit. Obeying His Majesty means in India loyalty to bureaucracy first and the people afterwards. Let the authorities declare in what ways they are prepared to co-operate with us and we can assure them that if they co-operate with us, we surely will, with them. Co-operation is essentially mutual and not unilateral." As a matter of fact, the situation went on worsening instead of improving. The imposition of an unjust, inequitable, humiliating and crushing peace on Turkey, in defiance of repeated pledges, in defiance of the feelings of the Mussalmans in India deeply stirred the people. Mahatma Gandhi realized that in no sense a new era had begun calling for any co-operation, much less hearty co-operation. The Privy Council judgment in the Amritsar case dealt "a severe blow to our constitutional rights, investing the Viceroy with almost autocratic power of constitution-making." It showed, "how the judgments of even the highest tribunals are not unaffected by political considerations." The belated publication of the Hunter Committee Report aggravated the situation by showing how the majority of the Commissioners considered cold-blooded murders as mere "grave errors" and "unfortunate" and "injudicious" acts. The Viceroy condoned the sins of Sir Michael O'Dwyer and the Secretary of State applauded Lord Chelmsford and General Dyer.

All this was too much for Mahatma Gandhi and he was fast swinging from his position of hearty co-operation at Amritsar to complete and avowed non-co-operation. All this happened within three months of the Congress session at Amritsar. Mahatma Gandhi was unable to endure the flagrant injustice of the Simla and Whitehall autocrats and he resolved to resort to non-co-operation to bring round the exponents of this unrighteousness. Tilak was fully in sympathy with this development and he heartily welcomed the rise of Gandhiji in the Indian political firmament in this role. So far as his programme of non-co-operation was concerned, Tilak found nothing new in it. He was a non-co-operator throughout his life. As a young man he had made up his mind not to go anywhere near Government service. He never practised in the law courts, even though he was quite a good lawyer. He was an advocate

of national education not only in theory but in practice for the first 11 years of his life in the Deccan Education Society and during the Partition agitation days. He was never a title-holder. Passive resistance he had advocated as far back as 1905-07. There was only one item to which he was opposed and that was the boycott of the Legislative Councils, because he considered such boycott suicidal. He was of the opinion that in the agitation to be started for a very early revision of the Government of India Act, it was necessary to capture most of the seats in the Legislative Councils. He did not agree with Gandhiji that the Councils were a snare and a delusion. They might have been so for certain individual careerists but what was proposed by him was the capture of Councils by well-chosen Congressmen wedded to a definite programme. The programme was to work for an early end of the Montford Reforms and their replacement by a much more liberal and progressive measure under political pressure from the organized nationalist movement for complete autonomy. Vithalbhai Patel was of the same view and had Tilak lived and secured his co-operation as of others like Das which he was certain to secure, very probably there would have been a fusion of the programmes proposed by Tilak and Gandhiji resulting in the acceptance of Gandhiji's whole programme minus boycott of Councils. As Tilak died on August 1 and on the same day Gandhiji's announcement of the non-co-operation programme was made and accepted by the special session of the Congress at Calcutta in September in its entirety and the Congress had to pass a resolution of condolence at the sad demise of Tilak.

After the Amritsar Congress, the Poona District Conference was held at Junnar and the Belgaum District Conference was held at Belgaum where the Moderates tried to take exception to Tilak's policy of condemning the reforms as "inadequate, unsatisfactory and disappointing" as per Congress resolution passed at Amritsar, but they were unable to produce much effect. Tilak then spent a fortnight touring in Delhi and Ajmer. He was accompanied by Messrs. Khaparde and Patel who by that time had arrived from England. From there he toured Sind visiting many places and receiving big receptions everywhere. From there he directly went to Sholapur where the Bombay Provincial Conference was to be held on April 2 under

the presidency of Kelkar. The Moderates aided by non-Brahmans and Mrs. Besant offered resistance to Tilak at this Conference. This Conference was as good and great an assemblage as a Congress session. There were over 2,000 delegates and as many visitors. Tilak moved a resolution in this Conference whereby the Congress Committees were called upon and the general public was appealed to, "to accept the lead given by the Amritsar Congress in the matter of working the Reforms Act and support at the ensuing election the candidature of persons whose allegiance to the Congress is beyond all question." Paranjpye, Kamat and Mrs. Besant advanced the argument that the best men should be elected who need not be necessarily Congressmen. Tilak agreed, but he explained that the men to be elected must be best for the purpose in view, viz. making such use of the Reforms Act as to attain full responsible government within the shortest possible time. He had no sympathy with best men who would merely like to work the Act without this particular end in view. If people wanted only best men, the whole crop of the bureaucracy was abundant in best men, but they were not wanted and no Moderates or Besantites also if they did not respect the Amritsar resolution. Mrs. Besant moved an amendment to Tilak's resolution which would have enabled Moderates to stand for election in the name of the Congress and through the help of Congress agencies, but the amendment was defeated by an overwhelming majority. It must be noted that the Moderates had tried to muster strong at this Conference and for that purpose they had got elected hundreds of men from Sholapur as Poona delegates through the Deccan Sabha of Poona and they included "known minors, people of doubtful credentials and suspicious characters".

Within a fortnight of the conclusion of this Conference, Tilak published the manifesto of what he called the Congress Democratic Party and he wanted it to be the basis of discussion of the Congress manifesto to be issued by the Special Congress at Calcutta. This was somewhere in the middle of April 1920. At Sholapur the Moderates and non-Brahmans had hired goondas to break the Conference but the police and the District Magistrate brought it under control so soon as there was a little sign of it. Tilak wrote a strong article against Paranjpye's association with this and raked up the brute force incident at the

Congress session at Poona in 1895 and challenged Paranjpye to explain to what kind of force he had attempted to resort at Sholapur. Some more District Conferences were held and everywhere Tilak carried the day, the Moderates registered nominal opposition to it with half a dozen men supporting their amendments. In the month of May, the formal ceremony of presenting to Tilak a purse of over Rs. 3,25,000/-, to free him from the debt incurred on account of the Chirol case was held. This was on May 22. It was followed by the fourth annual session of the Home Rule League. Report of the Home Rule League deputation and a statement of accounts was passed. Lala Lajpatrai and Dr. N. S. Hardikar's work in America was highly recognized by a special resolution. The Congress Democratic Party's manifesto was approved and an Election Board consisting of Tilak, Vaidya, Karandikar and Belvi was formed to select candidates for the Council elections. Tilak spoke to explain his policy in regard to the reforms which was his last speech on the question as on some other questions. It bears reproduction here in its substance. Tilak said :

"It is no longer a debatable point whether we are going to make the best of use of the reforms or not. It has been decided to make the best use of them at Amritsar and while doing so, to put in efforts to attain complete Swaraj as soon as possible. We have decided firmly on the policy. It is necessary, therefore, to run our candidates in every district. Such a candidate must be our party man and one who would be ready to oppose Government, no matter what caste, creed or religion he belongs to. The point is that he must be of our view. Even if a candidate is ignorant of English, he need not be rejected, provided he has the other qualifications and the main qualification of obeying his leader and voting with him. The work in the new Councils will be somewhat complicated. Some of them would be chosen as ministers by the Governor and will continue to work during his pleasure. Such men must be tough men who will never surrender our rights and popular interests. As a matter of fact the reforms are very inadequate and we are going to get very little power. It is really not so much as to induce one to devote one's full attention to council work. But such as it is must be exploited for our benefit as a duty to the party and the country and when we adopt this attitude, it need not be considered waste of time."

Tilak then emphasized the need of propaganda in England and even other countries and observed that even if the League of Nations was more or less an empty formality from the point of view of getting immediate results, it must not be neglected and we must keep knocking at its doors, every now and then,

on one pretext or another, in order to build world opinion in our favour :

"If we want to lay our grievances before the world, it will never do to keep away from the Indian National Congress. If you are compelled to be in a minority, you should continue in a minority there as long as it may be necessary and convert your minority into a majority. Even if the Congress declines to become an active body, our Home Rule League should enforce and implement its resolutions. This is what we did in England. Quite many people thought that I would demand complete independence in the atmosphere of freedom which prevails in England while in India I was satisfied with Home Rule on colonial lines. But I stuck to the Congress demand and asked neither more nor less than the Congress did. For this some of our own people called me a Moderate. I did not care whether I was called a Moderate or an Extremist. I only wanted to be a staunch adherent of the Congress. I found that some people who had a reputation of being very moderate and very cautious here became extremist there because there was no fear of prosecution. Some others said that the reforms were inadequate and unsatisfactory when they were in India but in England the same people said they were satisfactory and acceptable in order to show to the British public that the Congressmen and Home Rulers were unreasonable and irreconcilables. Such shifting of positions is of no avail. Finally, let me tell you and Gangadharrao Deshpande in particular who has made the suggestion that I should stand for election that this matter should be left entirely to me, because I am really feeling that my powers of physical endurance are fast being sapped and I am not confident of taking up anything new that involves physical strain and do harm to my health."

After this annual conference of the Home Rule League, Tilak left for Banaras to attend the meeting of the A.I.C.C. on May 27. But he did not participate actively in the deliberations. The Khilafat question and the Punjab atrocities engaged the attention of the Committee most and Tilak wanted Gandhiji and the Muslim leaders to define their attitude firmly and make plans for the redressal of both and he said he would unhesitatingly abide by them. Tilak was given a reception by Sanskrit Pandits in Banaras where he delivered three public lectures. From there he went to Jubbulpore where he and Khaparde addressed public meetings on June 5. He came back to Poona and said the final word in a controversy that had arisen over some defalcation of money in connection with the purse given to him and in which the late Mr. A. B. Kolhatkar was involved. A sum of Rs. 3,500/- was lying with him and he was unable to explain how it was spent or how the cheque was cashed. Kolhatkar was a very great admirer and follower of Tilak and had suffered

much and sacrificed all to promote the Nationalist movement as a journalist and speaker and his *Sandesh*, a Marathi daily really taught the Marathi-reading public to appreciate politics from day to day. But he turned round and began to attack Tilak's policies on fictitious grounds and it was said that he had done it under an insidious influence and under stress of monetary difficulties. But Tilak had to make a final statement once for all regarding a party man under compulsion and perhaps this is a solitary example in his life of having exposed a follower of his in public.

Since July 12 Tilak was in Bombay where he began to have malarial attacks intermittently. On July 20, Dewan Chaman Lall, who was working on the staff of the *Bombay Chronicle* accompanied by his colleague Mr. R. K. Prabhu went to see him and suggested to him that he should go to Kashmir for a change for some days. Tilak said his Kashmir was Sinhagadh and that isolated hill station always helped him recoup his health. Chaman Lall asked him to accept the Vice-presidentship of the All-India Trade Union Congress that had been started. Tilak agreed and remarked that he was fully conscious of the necessity of organizing industrial labour in trade unions for their own and the country's welfare and feelingly referred to the six-day strike of Bombay's textile workers when he was sent to Mandalay. He observed that the organized working class must become an ally of the Nationalist movement in which it had a decisive role to play in order to achieve complete Swaraj. He also referred to Gandhiji's plan of non-co-operation and spoke generally in favour of it but told Chaman Lall that great circumspection was necessary while adopting the whole plan, because care must be taken to see that its adoption did not result in harm to ourselves. In his opinion, people's preparation for such a plan would take some time and a good deal of organized propaganda also. He did not favour boycott of Councils. Yet he was prepared to argue about it and reason with Gandhiji when they would meet.

Dewan Chaman Lall took him out for a drive. But it did not do him good. He had high fever at night and he was laid up in bed in Sardar Griha. On July 23, which was his birthday, he received many congratulatory letters and telegrams and no one

suspected that his end was near. From the night of July 26 "his fever took a decidedly serious turn and it was found that the basis of his right lung was affected and the fever developed signs of pneumonia. The whole of the 27th was a day of anxiety. There was no brain complication and his consciousness was unimpaired." Still the situation was critical and his friends and relatives gathered to wait upon him. He chaffed his son upon running to Bombay on a flimsy pretext and his daughters upon being rather too fond of their parental home! He did not want to leave any instructions about his affairs, though pressed to do so. "I am not going to die for another five years, be sure of that" he said. On July 28, the temperature became normal and the pulse was regular. It was considered a happy sign by all, including the doctors. But it was the final flicker of the candle in the socket. In the afternoon he got fever again and his heart began to show signs of weakness. He lost all consciousness and became delirious. He continued more or less in the same state on July 29th also. Another complication was noticed. His stomach began to be distended. With great difficulty doctors led him out of the crisis. On the 30th, he had an attack of *Angina pectoris* which threatened to be serious and fatal but thanks to the timely efforts of the doctors, he was pulled out of it. He had similar attacks three times afterwards, but they were weak in intensity. On the 30th and 31st he continued in the same unconscious state of mind with uncertain and irregular pulse and a weak heart. At 10-30 p.m. his heart began to show signs of exhaustion and his breathing became hard and at last at 12-50 a.m. on August 1, 1920, death snatched him away.

Tilak's scattered and incoherent utterances during the state of delirium were connected with the affairs of India and never his domestic affairs. He frequently referred to the Calcutta Congress and asked: "Has the special (train) been arranged? Have you wired to Mr. Patel? Has Gandhi arrived?" The Punjab and the Khilafat wrongs also came in for frequent mention. Once he said, "Five hundred rupees for the editor plus motor allowance. What will these lordlings do for the country?" This was probably a reference to the editor who was to be appointed to edit the *Democrat*, the proposed English daily which was to be started in Bombay by the National Democratic

Publishing Company with Pawar, Peerbhoy and Company as the managing agents. Ten lakhs of rupees was its authorized capital and Mr. Joseph Baptista, Tilak, V. J. Patel, Hansraj Pragji, Mavji Govindji, M. S. Captain, F. J. Jinwala, R. B. Lotwala and others were among its directors. The last significant words reported to have been uttered by him on July 29th at 1 p.m. were: " Unless Swaraj is achieved India shall not prosper. It is required for our very existence." Dr. R. H. Bhandarkar, Dr. G. V. Deshmukh, Dr. D. D. Sathaye and Dr. C. R. Athavle were among those who attended on him. At about midnight all of them came out of his room and told everybody that it was beyond their capacity to save Tilak. His body was taken on the floor from the bed and in an hour's time he was no more.

His funeral was as memorable as his life. It is better to lift the graphic and touching description from the *Bombay Chronicle* of the imposing event:

" It was one o'clock at midnight. All round was peace and calmness. There was a little drizzle of rain and men, not knowing the disaster that was to overtake them on the morning of the next day, were having a sound and sweet sleep. But the mysterious power, which rules the world was wide awake and stealing a march on the sub-conscious man, carried away one of the most honoured, respected and beloved of the people. When the dawn broke the people found that the vigilant watchman of India's cause had disappeared from their midst. The news of his death gave a shock to the people, it stunned them, they looked at each other with blank eyes and they knew not what to do. Never before in the history of Bombay was such a scene of universal grief witnessed. People had begun to flock near Sardar Griha from 7 in the morning and by 8 a.m. there was no room for anyone to go up to catch his last sight. The worker had left the mill, the Marwadi his account book, the Bania his purse and every man and woman was out to see the last of their beloved leader. Mussalmans, Parsees, Christians deserted their homes to pay their last respects to a man who had sacrificed his all at the altar of the country and suffered heavily and bravely defending her cause. In his lifetime, Tilak was the recipient of many popular demonstrations of goodwill but the trimphant march of dead Tilak through the streets on August 1, 1920, was more magnificent than any during his lifetime. The body of Lokamanya Tilak was brought out and put on the balcony so that it could be witnessed by the eager and expectant crowds. The crowds increased at every moment and they grew so tremendous that although the funeral procession was timed at 1 p.m. it could not be started till 2 p.m. The procession was about a mile and half long and at a very conservative estimate about two lakhs of people took part in it. In the

funeral procession were seen Mahatma Gandhi, Shaukat Ali, Dr. Kitchlu, Jamnadas Dwarkadas, Jawaharlal Nehru, Shankarlal Banker and many other prominent citizens of Bombay. Two special trains from Poona brought a number of Tilak's friends and admirers and devoted followers. They claimed that his body should be cremated at Poona. The people of Bombay insisted on getting the honour to themselves and in the end, they won and cremated him by special arrangements on the sands of Bombay's Back Bay. His body was seated in a palanquin and the pall-bearers included Gandhi, Shaukat Ali, Kitchlu, Jawaharlal Nehru and many others. On the route, the procession had to stop at innumerable places because a number of people came out to offer flowers. At every place most enthusiastic ovations were received. The body was gently placed on a fire of sandlewood, so lovingly and liberally supplied by Parsee traders with a generous supply of dried Tulsi stems and at sun-down, the last earthly remains of the great patriot were reduced to ashes."

It was Sir Ibrahim Rahimtullah and Mr. R. P. Masani, Acting Municipal Commissioner and the first Indian non-I.C.S. ever to hold that office, interceded with the Governor of Bombay to grant special permission for cremation of Tilak's dead body on Chowpatty sands. His unexpected death united for a time all parties and all India to mourn the loss of the greatest of her sons. Even the Anglo-Indian Press taken as a whole expressed appreciation of their life-long opponent. But the Government of Bombay refused to shed tears with the nation. His Excellency, Sir George Lloyd who had granted the request of Sir Ibrahim and Masani, failed to make what would have been a very tactful concession to popular and representative sentiment and forfeited a precious opportunity to win the hearts of the people. D. V. Belvi, a member of the Legislative Council from Belgaum, and 16 other official members of different political parties including R. P. Paranjpye, B. S. Kamat, G. H. Hidyatullah and others had united in desiring that the Council should be closed in honour of Tilak, "a former member of this Council, a great Oriental scholar and a prominent worker in the cause of the country, held in high estimation by a large number of the people of India." But the bureaucracy was quite unrepentant and as unwilling to forget its old grievances against Tilak as *The Times of India* and the *Statesman*. What Sir George Lloyd was able to do as Governor, he was unable to do as President of the Council and ruled out the motion on the ground that there was no sufficient notice, because the meeting began on August 2 and Tilak died only a day before. Ridiculousness could not go further and no wonder Belvi retorted that

Tilak had not the good sense to time his death in such a manner as to provide for the contingency of sufficient notice being given by him to the Council Secretary.

It may be mentioned incidentally that the Government of Bombay was in Poona when Tilak died in Bombay and all communication with it had to be carried on telegraphically by the Police Commissioner who had to regulate the route of the procession, the Municipal Commissioner and others concerned in the matter. The Police Commissioner was the authority concerned in securing the permission to cremate Tilak's dead body on Chowpatty sands and it was given. But the condition was laid down that it must not be considered as a precedent and people must not lay any claim to the cremation place in future. Yet permission was later obtained to erect a statue to Tilak on the same site and although a statue to Vithalbhai Patel was later erected face to face with Tilak's, his last wish to have his dead body cremated by Tilak's cremation place was not fulfilled, because no permission to do so was given to Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and others. Tilak's remains were taken to Poona on August 3 and they were taken in a monster procession to his residence. All the scenes in Bombay were repeated and they were duly deposited at Sangam, Allahabad to the accompaniment of all religious rites and obsequies by his elder son Ramchandra and his youngest son-in-law, Dr. Sane on August 8 at the Sangam. Tilak's mortal frame was no more but he became immortal in the shrine of his people's memory.

The entire Indian Press in English and the Indian languages joined in a chorus of tributes and reviews of his career. Most of them were high appreciations and all of them put together would cover 500 printed pages. The *Tribune*, the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* and the *Independent* observed mourning for ten days, writing an article every day on some aspect or other of his life. So did some Indian language papers, notably the *Sandesh* in Marathi. The Anglo-Indian papers also joined it, but *The Times of India* and the *Statesman* saw nothing in him to appreciate. The *Daily Herald* said, "Tilak was the best hated man of Anglo-Indian autocrats." *The Morning Post* called him "Promoter of disaffection". *The Times* described him as "arch-inspirer of Indian Unrest". The *Manchester Guardian*

saw in him "an inspirer and exponent of India's nascent nationalism." Only two obituaries are reproduced here in full, that of the *Indian Social Reformer* of Mr. K. Natarajan and *The Times of India*, then edited by Sir Stanley Reed who saw no reason to revise what he presumably wrote in 1920, even in his book *The India That I Knew* in 1949.

In the course of its leading article entitled "A Dedicated Life", the *Indian Social Reformer* said:

"The largest funeral procession witnessed in Bombay in recent years was that of Dadabhai Naoroji. Tilak's totally eclipsed it. Most of those who followed Dadabhai's remains to the Tower of Silence were English-educated men. Tilak's body was cremated on the sands of Chowpatti in the presence of a vast concourse to which the working classes of the population contributed as much as the English educated class. The difference marks the distinction between the politics of the two leaders. That, however, made no difference to the resident European population which was as conspicuous by its absence in Dadabhai's as in Tilak's funeral procession. Government House also has completely ignored the one as the other. One more lost opportunity!

"Tilak as a political figure was the embodiment of the bitterness of the disillusionment which Dadabhai lamented. Indians had been encouraged to take to English education by the hope that in course of time, they would be made co-sharers in the administration of India. But when the number of English-educated men increased and they began seriously to claim their share, they were told that they were sickly exotics and not true representatives of the masses. Tilak again was the answer to that challenge. The non-fulfilment of solemn pledges and the denial of the representative character of educated Indians, introduced the germs of what is now called the extremist view in Indian politics which had for many years proceeded on the ideas that actuated Dadabhai when he made his first speech in 1853. Tilak was the first in western India to seize hold of the new opening for leadership. And as the policy of denial ripened into the policy of repression, emphasizing itself in a constantly increasing arrogation by the executive to itself of the power of the judiciary in respect of the rights and liberties of the people, Tilak by his bold, persistent and unwavering opposition, extended and consolidated his influence far beyond the limits of Maharashtra. It has been said against him that he leaves behind him no constructive work to his credit. In the history of a nation, it is extremely difficult to draw a line between what is destructive and what is constructive. The extinction of slavery in itself was a merely destructive measure, but without it the ground could not be cleared for the brotherhood of man. Much social reform work has been condemned by the orthodox as merely destructive. We have often been asked as regards the abolition of caste, as we are asked today about non-co-operation, what is your alternative? Our reply in the one case as in the other is that there is no need for an alternative. Caste must go in order that the



Tilak after his death on August 1, 1920 was kept in this *Padmasana* pose and carried to Chowpatty sands for cremation in a huge procession.

nation may grow. Tilak started in his public career with the conviction that there can be no political salvation unless the bureaucracy was destroyed. The conviction was forced upon him at first, as it has been forced upon many others since by slow degrees, solidifying, owing to the O'Dwyer-Dyer doings in the Punjab into an article of faith that will last as long as the vestige of bureaucracy lasts. As the bureaucracy marched from repression to repression, the old guard of Indian politics fell back discredited in the eyes of the public and finally left the field to be brought entirely between the aggressive bureaucracy and an inflamed nationalism. Tilak was easily the most gifted, the most courageous, the most skilful and latterly the most experienced general leading nationalism to the attack. He stuck to his task grimly against tremendous odds. He scorned delights and lived laborious days. Here again his Geeta philosophy, no doubt, stood him in good stead. He lived what may be truly called a dedicated life.

"Tilak could have hardly failed to realize that the cause for which he fought is now assured of final triumph. The battle has gone decidedly against the bureaucracy and it has been declared by high authority that it is now only a question of time when the bureaucracy will be no more. The premises on which Tilak founded his policy are thus profoundly changed. We are no longer called upon to fight an aggressive bureaucracy claiming permanency of tenure, but a conciliatory one asking merely for time to wind up its affairs. Tilak's sacrifices and sufferings have largely contributed to this result. More than that he has left us the example of a selfless patriot working single-handedly for what he conceived to be the good of his country and his people."

What *The Times of India* wrote on August 2, 1920 presents a complete contrast :

"We are bidden to say nothing of the dead if we cannot say that which is good. As we cannot say much that is good of the political career of Tilak, we shall say little. He was a man of considerable intellectual powers; his studies of the Vedas contained in the *Orion* and *Arctic Home in the Vedas* earned the commendation of scholars of repute. He was a man of courage, enterprise and unflagging zeal in the propaganda to which he devoted his life. Readers of the interminable translations of his speeches and articles wonder at the appeal they undoubtedly made to his audiences; his style would not bear translation and in Marathi, he was a pithy and effective speaker and writer. These talents and energies were, however, devoted to a life of political violence, social reaction, and campaigning terrorism to which we know no parallel in constitutional history. From the moment, he entered political life in the early eighties, until his powers began to fail, he was no friend to real social or political progress in India. He at once arrayed himself against the band of intellectuals in Poona who under the leadership of Ranade believed that the legitimate constitutional progress of India was bound up with social refom; he violently opposed the Age of Consent Bill. In the exaltation of Shivaji, the Ganpati *melas* and the no-rent campaign, he was pursuing no real national policy, for

his enmity to the Mahomedans was inferior only to his hatred of the British Government. And when his activities produced, amidst the uneasiness caused by the visitation of the plague and the measures which in the then existing knowledge of the disease were deemed necessary to combat it, the atmosphere which induced the murders in Poona in 1897, the prosecution in the High Court which resulted in his conviction and light sentence afterwards reduced, he learnt nothing. Very soon after his release, he renewed his turbulent activities and was again convicted of sedition in 1908. Afterwards there emerged the widespread conspiracies in the Deccan which resulted in murder and grave plottings which were directly attributed to the effect of his teachings. In the judgment of the late Justice Davar who tried him on the second prosecution for sedition, appears the memorable description of the articles which formed the subject of the charge, 'they are seething with sedition, they preach violence; they speak of murders with approval; and the cowardly and atrocious act of committing murders with bombs not only meets with your approval, but you hail the advent of the bomb into India as if something had come into India for her good.'

"When Tilak was released from his easy confinement at Mandalay, he made his public submission, but how genuine it was may be gleaned from the measures which almost immediately followed it. He then set himself two objects — the rehabilitation of his moral character, which had suffered from the verdicts of the courts in the Tai Maharaj case and the rehabilitation of his political character against which stood the damning verdict of the High Court. He succeeded through a series of accidents which form an interesting chapter of legal history in getting the decision of the courts in the Tai Maharaj case reversed by the Privy Council; he then sought to get behind Justice Davar's judgment by an action for libel against Sir Valentine Chirol, who had elaborated these points in his book, *Indian Unrest*. He took his case to a British Judge and jury; he had the assistance of the ablest counsel at the British Bar; and he completely failed. Thereafter, with the weight of advancing years, his political activities were less marked. He lived to see the Deccan react against the destructive political violence which he had so long preached. Forced into the declaration of such constructive ideas as he possessed, he showed how completely, he and his followers were out of harmony with the spirit of the age in the opposition to compulsory female education in Poona. With a great era of social and political reform opening out for the country through the Reform Scheme, people asked what he could contribute to it and found nothing. His recent programme for the Democratic Party was aptly described as neither democratic nor progressive. In other ways he changed not at all. The turbulent spirit which opposed in turn Ranade, Mehta, Chandavarkar and Gokhale and which broke up the Surat Congress rather than accept the verdict of the majority waned in bitter opposition to his one time colleague, Mrs. Besant and in its closing days found the weapon of vituperation which he had used with such unscrupulousness against all who differed from him, turned against himself by a master hand over the disposal of certain funds raised for public purposes. He died leaving

behind him no constructive monument; the Deccan Education Society parted company with him early in its existence; the national schools and the Swadeshi work perished because they were founded not on the desire for service but the doctrine of hate; his nationalism was no true nationalism, for it was mainly anti-British and anti-Mahomedan and aimed not at a genuine democracy but at the survival of a theocratic domination. It is a lamentable record for a man of his abilities, courage, energy; but such it is."

CHAPTER XXXI

ATTITUDE TO CULT OF VIOLENCE

Tilak's public career of forty years is an open book. As a journalist, he had to write from week to week on all sorts of events and affairs. Yet, being a missionary journalist, he used his journals and the platform to the utmost political progress of his people. Political power, in his opinion, would enable people to devise measures and formulate policies and programmes which could bring about the desired social, economic, industrial, educational and other reforms and so he deliberately concentrated on agitation to achieve that power. He was impatient to get Swaraj and he would have it by any means, any possible means. Here, there was no consideration of conscience and scruples.

Supposing, he thought that an armed rebellion of the people was possible to achieve Swaraj, he would not have hesitated to organize an armed insurrection. Supposing, an alliance with a foreign power had shown possibilities of the realization of this desideratum, he would not have been deterred from entering into such an alliance. Supposing, putting up one or many from among the Indian Princes to rise in revolt against the British to regain lost Swaraj was possible, he would have adopted that course. Supposing he had come to the conclusion that a campaign of terrorism and private conspiracies to murder big officials and small fry would strike terror in the hearts of the brave British and make them flee from India, he would have become a terrorist and a conspirator. Supposing a religious penance, devotional prayers and resort to *yoga* had appealed to him as remedies for Swaraj, he would have retired to the Himalayas to perform such a penance.

The open book of his life and career, however, has established beyond doubt that he did none of these things and he resorted only to persistent and unceasing efforts to rouse the people to continuous action, to organize their power for united and constant agitation to demand the removal of their complaints and redressal of their grievances, to self-reliance in the matter of as many of their day-to-day requirements as possible, to exert pressure on the powers that be by a constant and continuous pursuit of their ultimate end of securing full political power to shape their destinies as they wanted. In other words, he deliberately chose this path of continuous political action to any short cuts, which involved unseen risks and unthought of dangers, more chances of failure than success and above all secrecy ; because exposure of any premature or immature plans meant only being blown up at the mouth of the cannon.

It was, therefore, a practical and deliberate conclusion of his, reached by him and his colleagues like Agarkar at the very beginning of their public life that lawful and constitutional action, education of public opinion and organization to follow deliberately taken resolves were the only means open to them for the service of the people. Tilak had known of the revolt of 1857. He had seen that it was not an insurrection of the people, but of the discontented aristocrats, Sardars and Nababs ; it was a revolt by the troops who had arms and yet, it had failed. He had followed the effort of Vasudeo Balvant and although he knew that it originated in a selfless and intrepid spirit, all his courage had proved to be only foolhardiness and in the midst of cowards, a single man of courage could achieve little. A slow, steady, gradual course of popular education was the only course that could be followed by even the most restless of spirits, if assured, though delayed, even inordinately delayed, success was in sight.

After all, the British power was a democratic power and among the British administrators, there were enough high-minded men who had given expression to noble sentiments and had held out the hope that India was not to be kept perpetually in bondage, that it would be freed and her progress would be directed along lines of western civilization and culture and she would be helped to take equal rank with Britain herself, at some distant date. Why not accelerate that process ? Why not

co-operate with the noble souls who had envisaged this plan and who had shown at least some signs of being in earnest about it? Such was the psychology of men like Tilak when they started their public careers. As far as he was concerned he never departed from this course, but since he considered all means fair for achievement of political power, he did not think it was anything immoral, illegitimate or improper, if other people in their judgment, differently placed in life, followed other courses, although, he himself saw little possibility of events ever taking any such turn. In any case he did not visualize any such development in the affairs of the world in the normal way.

Yet the belief has persisted that Tilak was, in casual or constant touch with individuals or groups who believed in violent or armed action for the attainment of Swaraj, that he not only encouraged them when they asked his advice or counsel, but that he even guided and goaded them to such action. that he was secretly in conspiracy with such people and that his constitutional and lawful or legitimate and peaceful agitation was only a cover, a cloak to conceal his real motives and subterranean activities. People who picture Tilak in this way before their mind's eye, probably think that their hero suffers in their estimation and does not come up to their expectations as a real patriot without such associations or attributes. It is more for their own psychological satisfaction that they invest him with active sympathy and complicity with violent revolutionaries, terrorists, organizers of political murders and dacoities, instigators of uprisings and revolt among the military or naval ranks and so forth. Those who hold to this belief quite tenaciously are doubtless his admirers and their conception of Tilak as a national hero or fighter for Swaraj is not complete without thinking of him in some such way. His opponents and enemies, like the Anglo-Indians and the spies of the police department have conjured up his vision in the same way in their scribblings in the Press and the secret reports about him respectively, but that was because they wanted to give the dog a bad name and hang him. Their designs have always been to damn him as such because they were out to establish if they could, that he was something much more than a mere militant, aggressive, constitutional and lawful agitator.

Tilak sometimes met their wishes as it were, by deliberately overstepping even lawful and constitutional limits that he had always set for himself by advocating passive resistance, which involved suffering to one who offered it and not the party against whom it was offered, and sometimes by advocating even non-payment of taxes, boycott, social ostracism and non-co-operation. But there was no violence in this and although this was disobedience of laws and orders passed under established laws, it was civil. It was only desperate action resorted to by its author to draw the attention of the opponent to his grievance by shock tactics. This was not really considered unconstitutional by not only himself but also Gokhale. According to both it was to be resorted to as the last recourse, when every other lawful means had failed.

It is necessary, therefore, to examine Tilak's whole career from the point of view of those who love to associate him with the terrorists, armed insurrectionists, conspirators, intent on overthrow of the British domination etc. His criticism of Government's measures was quite often very strong, he employed violent language, showed temper and sometimes used such condemnatory language as amounted to vilification. That landed him in trouble three times and twice he was held guilty of sedition. But this he did not consider as derogatory. What he considered derogatory was his direct or indirect and alleged complicity with murder and violence. He said it in so many words during the course of his cross-examination in the Chirol case. He considered it defamatory to be associated with murder. He did not mind that he was held a seditionist, although, even this he did his best to disprove in the first two sedition cases, although without success.

Mahatma Gandhi went a step further. He pleaded guilty of sedition when proceeded against and stated that sedition was a duty in certain situations. Tilak's writings and speeches were always within limits of law and he never advocated violence. In fact it was a matter of pride with him that, however stringent the laws might be, he would keep within them and convey his meaning to the people without coming within the long arms of the law. He did not complain against stringency and rigour, but against vagueness and indefiniteness. As far as mere words

went there was no difference between what he said and the Moderate leaders said. It was the determination, the persistence and the constant contact with the masses that he maintained that was the bugbear to the bureaucracy and that invested his words with power and influence.

By temperament Tilak was an extremely fearless person. As the proverb says, a man is known by the company he keeps, but as is equally well known all proverbs are half-truths. Tilak did not shun anybody's company, simply because somebody happened to hold different opinions from his. During the course of his cross-examination in the Chirol case Tilak was asked by Sir Edward Carson many questions about his association with S. M. Paranjpe who was convicted of sedition before him and came to be known as the inspirer of the Savarkar cult, and the Nasik conspirators on the admission of Savarkar himself later. But even this cannot be interpreted as more than mere spiritual inspiration, because Paranjpe was not himself a terrorist or a conspirator, whatever the extent and intensity of his admiration for them may be. Sir Edward tried to provoke Tilak by telling him that he was moving about in company of such men as Paranjpe and Tilak candidly told him that he did not take such a serious view of it as Sir Edward did.

On another occasion he was asked whether he did not employ in his office Mr. V. M. Bhat who was convicted in the Nasik conspiracy case and sent to jail for five years. Tilak flatly told him that he did employ Bhat and even helped him. He was not ashamed of it because such men sat even in the British Parliament. He apparently meant that a man's past should not overshadow his future. He had a right to revise his past and plan his present and future. It was not only Bhat that he employed in his office but also P. M. Bapat, who was an accomplice of Savarkar and actually brought a revolver to India without being exposed and also V. M. Joshi who, too, was previously convicted of sedition. So it is clear that he did not consider that the character of these men was sullied on account of their advocacy of sedition, violence or terrorism. He would rather have liked them to see the error and inefficacy of their ways under his influence and association with him and win them over to the way of militant constitutionalism and

determined resistance to injustice by following democratic methods, ways of educating public opinion and making it a force to be reckoned with.

It is on record that he warned the Savarkar Brothers and their confreres to desist from their terrorist and conspiratorial designs in 1906 at Nasik. He regarded them not as undesirable people, but hotheads who needed cool treatment, sound advice and cautious coaching up to make themselves more useful, more serviceable and more circumspect, because he believed that their ways would lead them only to their ruin and discomfiture.

It was conclusively established that Tilak had nothing to do with the murder of Rand and its authors, the Chaphekars, and all attempts to establish some relationship between them by hook or crook by the secret police and the suspicious Government of the day proved futile. All that his traducers could do by going to the farthest limit was that the strong, vigorous, militant language, employed by him in his writings and speeches was calculated to rouse impressionable and impetuous minds to violence. This charge could probably have been laid at the door of even Dadabhai, Pherozeshah, Rash Behari Ghose and several others as it was laid at the door of men like Lala Lajpatrai and Bepin Chandra Pal. But none of them was a terrorist, armed revolutionary or an accomplice of either. Yet, strangely enough, even the murder of Jackson was traced to Tilak's writings by Chirol and all the advocacy of Sir John Simon to establish its utter untenability proved unavailing in the course of the Chirol case, as the summing up of the Judge and the verdict of the jury proved. The Rowlatt Committee's assertions in this behalf are also apiece with those of Chirol.

But when all this is said, and it is also taken into consideration that his close colleagues like Kelkar and Khadilkar have also finally and conclusively pronounced that Tilak was only a militant constitutionalist and a discerning scholar and critic of all political developments in post-British India as the late Acharya Javadekar has fully endorsed this view, the belief in certain circles of politically minded people persists that Tilak was a sympathizer and supporter of violence, terrorism, armed resurrection, political dacoities and conspiracies. Why ? Let it

incidentally be noted that also Aravinda Ghose, who was his close colleague in the Swadeshi-Boycott-National Education-Swaraj campaign laid it down that Tilak was no more than a militant constitutional agitator and therefore not useful to any secret society missions that had sprung up in Bengal and which he was actively trying to spread in Gujarat and the Deccan as recorded in Barindra Kumar Ghose's Bengali book, *Bengal of the Bomb Age*. What Aravinda Ghose himself did later is common knowledge. Barindra Ghose tried to contact Tilak at the time of the Surat session of the Congress in order to persuade him to take the lead of their activities. Tilak did not meet him but sent him word indicating his full sympathy with their objective of Swaraj. His message was: " My path has already been chalked out before me through open constitutional agitation for the political liberation of India and I am too old to change now." Yet people of such persuasions kept on meeting him and he did not place a ban on mere meetings. Nor did he report their activities to any police people and act as Government's informant. That was his fixed attitude.

It may be mentioned here that a very clever police official, Mr. Brewin had become very friendly with Tilak in 1897 who called on him every now and then and discussed with him any subject under the sun. Tilak never discouraged his visits. After a few days' intimate contact he put it to Tilak that he should offer to tell Government whatever he knew about the murder of Rand by Chaphekar and save him from all bothersome investigations, searches, inquiries, detention of innocent people, third degree methods, tortures and so forth. Tilak quietly but firmly told him: " I do not really know anything. I have nothing to do with murderers and you should believe in it as a gentleman's word. But be sure that even if I knew or come to know later, I shall never tell you anything and play the spy. That is none of my business." Brewin was convinced of what Tilak said and made his report to Government accordingly. But this very fearless and forthright conduct encouraged people from any section of society to repose confidence in him. Every one felt certain that confidence would be kept. That is the reason why any terrorist freely approached him, took his counsel and perhaps some of them even condemned him as a timid, old, coward !

It may be that he did not even like to discourage those whom he regarded as men of sterling stuff, unflinching in their belief, prepared physically and mentally for any suffering resulting from their course of action, though he would not be their associate. It may be that sometimes he was curious to know what a bomb was like, what a machine-gun looked like and how a rifle was different from a musket and he satisfied his curiosity without ever wanting to make use of a bomb, a rifle, a machine-gun or a revolver. He might probably have thought that by some accident, some coincidence, some situation might arise in the international affairs on India's borders or in the relations of the British Empire with others which, if adroitly exploited, might drop in India's lap the ripe fruit of Swaraj as from a tree overhead, and then India herself may be amazed, and like a dazed person may even reject Swaraj. Therefore some of the Indians should be previously introduced and trained in the military art and use of arms. So probably he did not object to others trying in their ways to procure knowledge of such things, in India, if possible or even in foreign countries but at their own risk and on their own responsibility. All this is within the range of imagination, but it did in no sense form part of his programme. Since this comes within the range of imagination and since Tilak was not opposed to violence or use of arms, on principle, some people deduce that he actively encouraged advocates of the terrorist or the armed revolt cult. Their mere meeting him and his cross-examination of them and curiosity to know about their activities and whereabouts appears to have been interpreted by them as encouragement or blessings. Yet, one cannot but think that this is sheer wishful thinking on their part and a good many like, for instance, Dr. P. S. Khankhoje, who has now returned to India after living like an exile in Iran, Afghanistan, Mexico and Argentina.

There is one episode, however, in Tilak's life or better still in Khadilkar's life which lends itself to the surmise that Tilak played with the idea of some armed rising if a suitable opportunity presented itself by some favourable combination of circumstances. Again, in fairness to Tilak or in order to give the benefit of the doubt to Tilak, it is better to say that Khadilkar, aided and encouraged by Mr. Vasudeo Ganesh Joshi, who was

another of Tilak's intimate friends, played with the idea of such a rising. It so happened that at the time of the Calcutta Congress of 1901 held under the presidentship of Dinshaw Wacha, a woman, known as Mataji who hailed from Karnatak and knew Kannada and Marathi well, made a call on Tilak and Joshi who were camping together. She had started a Marathi school in Calcutta for the benefit of the Marathi-speaking residents of Calcutta. But she was not merely an educationist. Apparently she was far more ambitious and entertained ideas of bringing about a political revolution in India. She belonged to the retinue — or may be harem — of the Maharaja of Nepal. She had heard a great deal about Tilak being the foremost and most advanced politician of the day and was anxious to help him. She offered to take Tilak and Joshi to meet the Maharaja of Nepal. Tilak and Joshi agreed to go to Nepal and wished to find out what substance there was in the offer. If nothing happened, they would pay a visit to the Pashupateshwara temple and forget all about Mataji. But, there was outbreak of plague on the Nepal border and Tilak and Joshi were unable to go there. They, therefore, returned and went to Banaras and thence to Poona.

Tilak apparently lost sight of Nepal, but Joshi worked on the idea. He induced Khadilkar who had joined Tilak permanently as his assistant on the staff of the *Kesari* and held charge of it during his first incarceration, to pursue the Nepal idea. It is doubtful, whether Khadilkar went of his own accord or Tilak asked him to go or Joshi prevailed upon him to go, but the fact remains that Joshi and Khadilkar went to Calcutta and met Mataji. Reasonably speaking, this could not happen without Tilak's consent or connivance. He must have given some kind of leave to Khadilkar, at least to find out what this Mataji business was and to make a report to him. Joshi and Khadilkar returned to Poona after Mataji had agreed to send for Khadilkar again. After a few months Khadilkar again went to Calcutta and was introduced by Mataji to one Col. Kumar Narsinha Rana. The idea in brief was to start an armaments factory in Nepal, equip the Nepal army with modern arms, train its officers in Japan and Germany and when the time was ripe, to invade India. Khadilkar started, to all appearances a factory of bricks and tiles, but machinery for manufacturing arms and

ammunitions was ordered from Germany. Khadilkar stayed with the Mahratta Brahman priestly family which officiates in the temple of Pashupateshwara and it appeared that the stage was being set for further systematic progress. Khadilkar was joined by one Hanmantrao Kulkarni and one Ketkar also who was in Gwalior State army. Some young Nepalese were sent to Japan and Joshi accompanied them. But soon enough, before any armaments and ammunition factory could start work, the British Government got scent of something suspicious and the Maharaja of Nepal asked Khadilkar to leave Nepal. He was soon back in Poona after a year or so and resumed his work at his desk in the Kesari-Mahratta offices.

With a similar purpose or merely on a tour to examine how the land lay in Afghanistan, Mr. A. V. Patwardhan, who later became one of the founder-members of the Servants of India Society, was sent to Peshawar and thence to Kabul, but nothing more is known about it. Apparently, nothing incriminating was traced either to Tilak or Khadilkar. Had anything been found, the British Government would not have left them alone. But one cannot escape the conclusion that something out-of-the-way and unusual was attempted with Tilak's knowledge, if not secret sympathy and tacit consent. Who can ever lift the veil decisively, behind which this episode is concealed in mystery ? Tilak, Khadilkar, Joshi are all now dead.

The history of the freedom movement in India is now under preparation. The Government of India and the State Governments have collected information from all possible sources and investigators employed by the committee looking after this tremendous task possibly have some revelations to make about many persons. Could any one ever have thought that Justice Madgaokar, I.C.S. and Charu Chandra Dutt, I.C.S. had something or other to do with a terrorist movement in Gujarat and the Deccan ? But Barindra Kumar Ghose's book referred to above records such information. The autobiography of one Bhide Guruji of Satara mentions that Chaphekar used to consult Tilak before the murder of Rand. But what did he consult him about ? One Khanderao Sathe, a police officer, is reported to have said that he conveyed Chaphekar's message to Tilak after the murder of Rand which was : "By the grace of God Ganesh the mission has succeeded." How far to believe a police

officer, who was a child of six at that time, must be left to every individual's own judgment. One Rambhau Gokhale, an old Poona gentleman also says that Tilak had close contacts with the Chaphekars. But none of these constitute valid, reliable and uncontestable evidence. It looks very much like gossip, cheap, incoherent and irresponsible. Then there are statements made by men like V. M. Bhat which are no more than expressions of opinion and in the nature of wishful thinking. He is reported to have said : "Tilak held that armed activities also had their place in the scheme of achieving independence. Tilak had faith in means both open and secret. He believed in accumulated efficacy of all political activities from petitions and prayers to armed revolts." This looks like an unexceptionable statement of a general belief only. What particular activity Tilak was indissolubly wedded to all through his life is what matters. That was obviously only constitutional and legal, but vigorous activity.

It is indeed worth pondering over whether acts of violence, reprisals and murders maintained people's spirit of resistance or terrorized them into no activity or cowardly silence. As against such statements, there are numerous others and Tilak's whole life is there to show that normally he was against secret, violent activities as a matter of definite poilcy apart from whether it was moral or otherwise to indulge in violence. Multiplying statements to prove anything to the contrary is futile. Still note has to be taken of a few more statements. The late Mr. Dinker Shastri Kanade is credited with the statement that Tilak was clearly against any armed rising in India in the first world war because he was certain that Germany would not come out victorious out of the war. Mr. P. M. Bapat is reported to have stated that Tilak not only used to take interest in revolutionary activities but used to help them. He had sent literature on bomb-making to him (Tilak) with Hotilal Varma who had asked for it from Bapat at the request of Tilak and Bapat got it corroborated from Tilak after his return from England in 1908. Here also Mr. Bapat's opinion cannot be taken for granted just because Tilak wanted to collect information about bomb-making. He had also asked another man, Baburao Sahasrabuddhe to collect all information about it when he went

to Germany. That does not mean Tilak helped them to explode bombs or wanted to do it himself.

But granting that there lurked somewhere in Tilak's mental make-up the idea that political murders and violent uprising were useful and legitimate, even if not practicable as he has shown by his whole career, what was this phenomenon due to? It was due principally to this fact that he was not wedded to non-violence as a creed. Gandhiji's creed was non-violence in any event. He would not have accepted Swaraj if it was to be had by violence. Tilak would not have hesitated to accept it. Even Gandhiji was suspected of having entered into a conspiracy with Japan when the second world war broke out but it was soon proved that that was a ficticious idea. He did ask the British to quit, but he did not ask Japan to invade India to free us. That he wanted to be left to ourselves. It was Subhas Chandra Bose who took that risk of making common cause with Japan and Germany on the condition that our freedom must remain in tact and must emerge as a fact of the aftermath of the war. In Tilak's thought processes, there might have lurked the idea that perhaps, at some time, something could be done to induce China or Afghanistan or Nepal to attack the British in India when they were embroiled in a European or Asiatic war, that there should be some kind of alliance between them and the Indian people or their parallel Government and in this way accomplish our independence. Subash Chandra Bose's effort was similar and it is claimed on behalf of Savarkar that he had advised Subhas to follow it or that he had approved Subhas's plan as he had explained it to Savarkar. Only some such idea harboured in some innermost recess of his heart can explain Tilak's interest, such as it was, in the Nepal affair or later still when some diamonds from Germany were reported to have reached him through some indefinable agency and which were reported to have come through one Mr. N. S. Marathe who had formed a Revolutionary Council in Germany and which he sent to Gangadharrao Deshpande for making such use of them as he could for espionage among the troops stationed at Belgaum. The same report, however, says that Gangadharrao Deshpande found that any such effort was impossible and the diamonds should go back to where they came from. Had Tilak been non-violent by creed, pledged to practise only non-violent

means for the achievement of Swaraj like Gandhiji, he would not have taken even the curious interest, lukewarm interest or deep interest that he is said to have taken in the activities of the terrorists, subvertionists, conspirators or armed revolutionists, even while conceding all the time as Gandhiji did, that they were patriots to be sure, but misguided and therefore engaged in activities that were bound to prove suicidal to themselves and harmful to others.

All the same, what was his normal and constant position as regards the means to be employed for achieving Swaraj ? The reply to this question, doubtless, is that he believed in persistent, constitutional and as far as possible lawful action and whatever may have found place in his forty years' public life to the contrary must be considered in the nature of an aberration indulged in out of curiosity and not conviction. Overwhelmingly he was a militant constitutionalist, a radical, in whose scheme of things there was no room for violence and "political" murders. His casual contacts with violent revolutionaries never meant active association with their work and he never intended or planned any organized effort with their help to attain Swaraj.

CHAPTER XXXII

TILAK AND GANDHI

There is a considerable body of opinion all over India, particularly in Maharashtra, which believes in some kind of antithesis, some kind of antagonism, some kind of alienation between Tilak and Gandhi. Without there being sufficient reason for this, sections of people and groups of opinion cling to this belief, chiefly because a systematic, well-documented, well-reasoned effort to refute the untruth contained in this belief has not been made. Individual writers of eminence like Prof. Javdekar and Prof. Phatak have done this service to the Marathi-speaking people in their stray discourses and writings. But immature journalists, columnists and writers of spicy stuff have submerged their sage utterances and the mass of people has gone away with the firm idea that Tilak and Gandhi were

hostile forces, opposite influences, contradictory personalities and that their principles and preaching had little in common.

Nothing, however, can be more untrue. To superficial readers of some of Gandhiji's writings, Gandhiji would appear to have provided some ground for this belief to arise and spread. There are very few who can write about complex and delicate subjects in such clear terms and limpid prose as Gandhiji and all that he has said with reference to Tilak and Tilak has written about him is sufficient to dispel anybody's doubts. These writings cover the field of the common ideas and diverse ideas of Tilak and Gandhiji regarding political agitation, social reconstruction, India's freedom, patriotism and humanity, attitude towards life and its problems, day-to-day transactions between man and man, man's obligations to society—in a single phrase philosophy and behaviour, theory and practice of life, ethics and religion. This is obviously a very vast subject, and its treatment postulates a treatise by much worthier hands in order to be exhaustive and if possible conclusive.

It will be proper, first of all to note a few facts. Mahatma Gandhi came to India in January 1915, from South Africa with the idea of settling down in India and making India the laboratory for carrying on his experiments in truth and non-violence. He had already experimented a great deal in South Africa. Although the scene of his operations was South Africa, he had become quite well known in India as an extraordinary person, in dead earnest about doing something along lines, never followed before, never thought of by India's dead and living leaders at that time. The first world war was then raging and every one was curious to know how Mahatma Gandhi was going to conduct himself. He had already declared in England that he would help and co-operate with the war effort of the British Empire. As soon as he landed on Indian shores, Lord Willingdon, the then Governor of Bombay sent for him at Gokhale's instance. Gandhiji told Lord Willingdon that he was a follower and disciple of Gokhale, that Gokhale was his political master. Gandhiji repeated this statement more than once, on subsequent occasions. He completely unburdened his mind about this spiritual relationship between the two in his article, entitled "A Confession of Faith" in *Young India* dated 13-7-1921. He surrendered himself completely to Gokhale who

was afraid that Gandhiji might throw himself headlong in some movement against some injustice somewhere and the heir-apparent to the presidentship of the Servants of India Society might become disqualified to hold that position! Gokhale enjoined on him one year of silence and study of the situation in India and Gandhiji implicitly carried out his wishes even posthumously, for within less than two months of Gandhiji's arrival in India, Gokhale was no more.

Gokhale had fully realized Gandhiji's worth. Speaking at the Lahore Congress of 1909 on the South Africa resolution, Gokhale had said :

"It is one of the privileges of my life that I know Mr. Gandhi intimately and I can tell you that a purer, a nobler, a braver and a more exalted spirit has never moved on this earth. Mr. Gandhi is one of those men who, living an austerely simple life themselves and devoted to all the highest principles of love to their fellow-beings and to truth and justice, touch the eyes of their weaker brethren as with magic and give a new vision. He is a man who may be well described as a man among men, a hero among heroes, a patriot among patriots and we may well say that in him, Indian humanity at the present time has really reached its high water-mark."

In a message sent to this session of the Congress, Gandhiji said :

"I do not know that I am at all competent to send any message. At the present moment, I am unable to think of anything but the task immediately before me, viz., the struggle that is going on in Transvaal. I hope our countrymen throughout India realize that it is national in its aim in that it has been undertaken to save India's honour. I may be wrong but I have not hesitated publicly to remark that it is the greatest struggle of modern times, because it is the purest as well in its goal as in its methods. Violence in any shape or form is entirely eschewed. The Satyagrahis believe that self-suffering is the only true and effective means to procure lasting reforms. They hold that loyalty to an earthly sovereign or an earthly constitution is subordinate to loyalty to God and His constitution. I venture to suggest that a struggle such as this is worthy of occupying the best, if not the exclusive, attention of the Congress. If it be not impertinent, I would like to distinguish between this and other items on the programme of the Congress. The opposition to the laws or the policy with which the other items deal does not involve any material suffering. The Congress activity consists in a mental attitude without corresponding action. May I also suggest that in pondering over and concentrating our attention upon passive resistance, we would perchance find out that for the many ills we suffer from in India, passive resistance is an infallible panacea. It is worthy of careful study and I am sure it will be found that it is the only weapon that is suited to the genius of our people and our land which is the nursery of the most ancient religions and has very little to learn from modern

civilization — a civilization based on violence of the blackest type, largely a negation of the Divine in Man and which is rushing headlong to its ruin."

Pandit Malaviya was President of this session, but neither he nor any other Congress leader appears to have taken Gandhiji's message very seriously. They appear to have contented themselves with expression of admiration for his achievement and by way of its recognition they raised a big fund to help his work. The leaders of the New Party or Nationalist Party were neither in the Congress nor on the Indian scene. Tilak was behind the bars in Mandalay Jail, but he was the one man who had placed the idea and a programme of passive resistance before the open Conference of Nationalists at Banaras in 1905 as Lala Lajpatrai has placed on record in his *Young India* (Page 172) : " No formal resolutions were passed, but the better mind of the people present had decided to inaugurate an era of self-help and self-reliance based on an active boycott of Government service and of the semi-government institutions." Bepin Chandra Pal, who has explained this programme completely in his *Spirit of Indian Nationalism* was an exile in London. Lala Lajpatrai was an exile in U.S.A. and Aravinda Ghose had shut himself up in Pondicherry for the practice of yoga. India had, therefore, to wait until Gandhiji set foot again on her soil on January 9, 1915 for the proper development and use of the weapon of passive resistance which later came to be designated as Satyagraha.

During the silence imposed upon him by Gokhale for a minute study of the Indian situation, Gandhiji met Tilak and spent a few days with him at Sinhagarh. They had several conferences together and many heart-to-heart talks. Whether they had agreed with each other or not may be open to question but they surely understood each other fully well and their respective philosophies of life and their application to current politics must have figured prominently in their conversations. Whatever that may be, the fact remains that mutual attraction was steadily on the increase since then and no flagging in it was noticeable till Tilak died on the first day of August 1920. After one year's silence, Gandhiji was free to act according to his light. Gokhale's disciples had very great admiration and respect for Gandhiji but he was not considered suitable as successor to Gokhale as President of the Servants of India Society

by them. It was very probably a case of disqualification, there being overwhelmingly more qualifications than required for that particular position according to Gokhale and his colleagues. But there was sufficient *liaison* always maintained between the Servants of India Society and Gandhiji as well as individual members of the Society and Gandhiji who always looked upon the Society as his " mother's house " even when he was " disinherited ". Yet he was entertained with due courtesies and ceremonies as a scion of the ancestral house ! How intimate Gandhiji on the one hand and Sastri or Thakkar or Deodhar on the other were with each other is common knowledge. Their differences never spoilt their non-political relations. Gandhiji once called Sastri " an amiable and worthy usurper ".

Tilak continued to watch with sympathy and respect and admiration Gandhiji's movements after Gokhale's death. He carefully followed what he had done in Champaran and Kheda. He had noted how Gandhiji had induced Lord Chelmsford to suspend the system of indentured Indian Labour in Fiji during the war period. He had followed how successfully, Gandhiji had led the textile workers against the Ahmedabad Millowners and got them to accept arbitration. He was mindful of the fact that in deference to his wishes, Gandhiji had changed his original plan of speaking in favour of unconditional recruitment and contributions to the War Fund at the Conference convened by Lord Willingdon and had once neatly rebuked Khaparde for remarking " Gandhi is not our man " by observing, " If he is not one, he must be nursed and made our man. He cannot be neglected." At the Lucknow Congress, none of the Moderate candidates was elected to the Subjects Committee from Bombay. Gandhiji belonged to the Moderate Camp, but Tilak made an exception in his case and got him elected to the Subjects Committee as his candidate, dropping one of his men. He had also noted his behaviour at the opening of the Banaras Hindu University in the presence of princes, potentates and high Government officials. Tilak saw that Gandhiji's heart was overflowing with sympathy and anguish for the ignorance and helpless masses of India and he only gave vent to his uppermost feelings in his speech at Banaras, frankly and fearlessly, yet in all humility.

Tilak discovered that here was emerging into prominence a kindred spirit which was irrepressible and deserved all possible support. He found the policy and the strategy followed by Gandhiji to be extraordinarily simple and straight and that here was a man of resolve who had the humility, fearlessness and self-confidence that had something of the Divine touch. Tilak had understood the efficacy of the method of passive resistance, but he had not come to the conclusion that that was the *only* method, the only effective method, the only just, legitimate and powerful method to convert and win over the human mind and therefore he had not practised it and tested its efficacy. His appreciation of it was more or less intellectual. During the anti-drink campaign or the non-payment of taxes campaign when famine prevailed, he had advocated passive resistance, but his conception of it was more akin to retaliation and reprisal, not presumably free from a spirit of vindictiveness. Probably he realized that he himself was not a proper person, a suitable vehicle to preach the message of such a movement when Gandhiji had risen as a new luminary in the skies of Indian public life, threatening to outshine everyone else. That Tilak had thought of passive resistance as a legitimate method is evident from the replies he had given to Sir Edward Carson during his cross-examination in the Chirol case. Tilak had justified adoption of passive resistance as legitimate though it involved breach of laws and had to be followed by suffering on the part of the breaker. If such suffering was borne in a religious and selfless spirit it produced the necessary effect on the wrongdoer, said Tilak in his replies. But much more convincing and direct support to Gandhiji's method has luckily been recorded in his own words in the preface he wrote on March 16, 1918 to the biography of Gandhiji written by Mrs. Avantika Gokhale who had joined Gandhiji as a volunteer in Champaran. The book was published in the middle of 1918. Gandhiji's work in India had just begun and Mrs. Gokhale was able to deal with Gandhiji's career as from his childhood to the Kheda and Champaran episodes only. Far more important events and episodes were still in the womb of the future. Non-co-operation was not even in the air. Gandhiji had declared himself a co-operator and was twitted, not long ago, by some on being a recruiting sergeant of the British Government. Yet, Tilak had

the insight to see all through this and make an estimate of Gandhiji's personality as a new, irresistible and irrevocable force in India's public life. In this preface Tilak said :

"In my opinion, not much trouble is necessary to find out the reasons why Mahatma Gandhi's life should become instructive and worthy of being followed. There are numerous barristers-at-law like Gandhiji. His father was a minister of an Indian State. Many others may have such parentage. There may also be many people who are simple and forthright like him. Quite many people have become proficient in Western arts and sciences, since the universities were started. Numerous people from among our intellectuals, during the last 100 or 150 years have known from A to Z the histories and geographies of the world's nations or achieved proficiency in scientific subjects. Similarly, our English-educated people have attained a high degree in intellectual or dialectic discussions of western thought, western social systems, western conventions and manners. But few have been able to show that they are men of high character, which enables one to master the field of one's activity or subjugate and control one's environments by reason of one's high moral stature. This is an outstanding characteristic of Mahatma Gandhi.

"Some people appear to believe that if the condition of the country is to improve, there must be reform of society and when that is done, political reform will come. Gandhiji's life teaches us how erroneous this belief is. For all kinds of reforms and improvements, the leaders of the nation must have at least some power to enforce reforms. All wisdom and intelligence are futile in the absence of power. Therefore efforts must chiefly be directed towards establishing this fundamental basis. Had Mahatma Gandhi not felt like this, he would never have bothered about political reform. Whatever he did for the well-being of the Indians in South Africa was not mere social work; it chiefly pertained to reform of the administration in South Africa, in fact it was because of the oppressive character of the Government of South Africa that Gandhiji was required to offer passive resistance and he taught Indians in South Africa to do the same. Gandhiji was convinced that unless there was reform of Government in South Africa, there was no hope of improving the conditions of the Indian people there. It is quite obvious that if we are partners in the Empire, we must have the same rights as the white people have. But the whites believe that all colonies are there to serve their own selfish interests and therefore they are not ready to extend the rights of equality to other people in the Empire. But this does not mean that they do not altogether want the other people. They want others because there is abundant land and minerals and they do not have sufficient man power to exploit fully these sources of wealth. Even if the few thousand settlers began to work with four instead of two hands and even if they employ machines which do the work of hundreds of men, they require human hands to exploit properly and fully the wealth deposited in the bowels of the earth in South Africa. Therefore, just as formerly they treated the Negroes, they wanted to treat Indians by taking them there as labourers, treating them

as mere beasts of burden and enriching themselves by exploiting them. The Indian bureaucracy consisted of their own kinsmen and therefore, did not care very much about the deplorable condition of Indians in South Africa for years and until Gandhiji emerged, there was not the slightest improvement. The people realized their condition but did not know what to do. Gandhiji led them out of this *impasse* by personal example. How he did this would be found explained in detail in this book.

"What precisely Gandhiji did to help the people out of their adversity must be studied a little more closely. It is no sedition to try to improve administration if it is unjust. To call this sedition is to say that the administrators do not care for justice, morals, resistance to injustice and equal treatment to the subjects committed to their care. We hold firmly that the people's well-being is the real support, the real power and the real idea of government, whichever it is and whatever its form. Once this principle is accepted the corollary follows that there must be resistance to injustice wherever it prevails and to try to remove it is to help the Government to do its duty. But prejudice accumulated for years, or selfishness sometimes so influences some individuals from the subjects themselves that they are unable to perceive these principles of justice and they become instruments of oppression and injustice. Government finds it difficult to hurt this class of people of selfish and conceited people because they are required to preserve traditional practices and Government does not usually do anything unless those who are oppressed and suffer offer persistent resistance. Government prefers the sleeping dogs to lie as long as its peace of mind is not disturbed. As long as there is no obstruction in its routine, why should it bother ? Human nature is such that it loves to conform to the existing order unless compelled to bring about change. No statesman also tries any reform unless he finds it inevitable or actually sees the evil effects of the existing order. Then it becomes the duty of patriots and social workers to draw the attention of the powers that be to the condition of people by every possible means and in a demonstrative and effective manner and help bring about necessary reform. Gandhiji has done this most capably and most creditably and therefore he has become an object of popular praise and reverence.

"It is necessary to say a few words about the secret power behind Gandhiji's way of passive resistance. It is naturally considered unlawful to rebel against the laws or disobey the orders under the laws issued by the Government officers, because the laws are made to preserve peace and order. Immense difficulties are required to be faced by a patriot who is anxious to bring about necessary reform. He is constantly ill at ease and ardently desires reform. He realizes that to disobey laws is not proper and he finds himself in a peculiar predicament. Gandhiji devised the way of passive resistance when placed in such a situation. This passive resistance, obstruction or Satyagraha as he terms it is discovered by him and he has sanctified it by his penance. It is difficult to say whether it could be followed on all occasions, even if justifiable or whether it will be effective everywhere. But every one will have to admit that it has very great possibilities. There are always penalties prescribed for the breach

of every law in order to compel the subjects to conform to it. But when a law itself is immoral and is sought to be enforced by Governmental authority, it becomes necessary to test our faith in truth, justice and *dharma* and defy the immoral law. People wedded to truth and justice say that it is perfectly legitimate to disobey such laws as a duty, a religious duty. But faith and devotion to truth and justice have got to be of such a high degree of fervour that no other consideration but performance of duty must enter the mind of the devotee and the faithful. Doing duty in spite of everything is the only sentiment that must take his complete possession. This is what is called moral courage, truthfulness, character. This virtue is not attainable by learning and scholarship. Birth or social station is no condition of its attainment nor can high intellectual powers achieve it. This is spiritual power. This is the teaching of the Upanishads.

"Although this spiritual power is not attainable by learning or intellect, a determined man can attain it by practice of penance and utter selflessness according to the Geeta. That the lives of great men and noble men are useful to build our character is due to this. One who is naturally virtuous finds his tendencies strengthened by the study of the lives of such men. They are a powerful aid to those who are weak and feeble-minded. Gandhiji's life is such a life and I heartily recommend that it should be studied from this point of view to build one's moral strength and spiritual power."

This preface is uncontestable evidence of Tilak's appreciation of Gandhiji as a beneficent influence in public life which had immense possibilities. When Gandhiji started the agitation against the Rowlatt Acts by resort to passive resistance, Tilak extended his support to it from England by asking the editors of the *Kesari* and the *Mahratta* to participate in it. He also wrote from London to Dr. D. D. Sathaye to support Gandhiji. Dr. Sathaye was then Secretary of the National Union and the Home Rule League in Bombay and a devoted follower of Tilak. Tilak says in this letter, "I have already written before that we should fully support Mr. Gandhi. It is impossible to give you any more detailed advice from here for by the time it reaches India it may be stale and useless." Dr. Sathaye accordingly signed the Satyagraha pledge and became Secretary of the Satyagraha Committee in Bombay in 1919. After returning to India from England Tilak publicly expressed regret that he was not in India when Gandhiji had embarked upon the Satyagraha campaign against the Rowlatt Acts. At the Amritsar Congress, they came in closer contact and a little conflict also. There was some difference as regards the wording of the resolution on the Montford Reforms, but eventually there was an agreed

resolution which was unanimously passed. But within a few months of this Congress session, the Punjab and Khilafat wrongs so greatly influenced Gandhiji's attitude that from an ardent co-operator he became an equally ardent non-co-operator. What Tilak's attitude was in this situation has been fully and authoritatively explained in Khadilkar's article previously reproduced fully in the chapter XIV entitled "Staunch Adherent of Congress". It is quite clear from that article that Tilak wanted to get on and co-operate with Gandhiji and not cut himself adrift from him. He had recognized in him a powerful ally and any breach between them, had he survived his last illness is unthinkable. Indeed, the conclusion forced on one's mind is that Tilak would have preferred even to play a secondary role to Gandhiji and would have liked to work as his helpmate and adviser in his advanced age and undependable state of his health. Corroboration of what Khadilkar wrote is also available from an unexpected quarter. Mrs. Besant in her preface to a volume of *Tilak's Reminiscences* compiled by Mr. S. V. Bapat in 1920 says: "We differed on the N.C.O. movement. As he (Tilak) said he wished for responsive co-operation but he thought that Gandhiji wielded power that might serve India and he would not therefore break with him." Gandhiji paid two visits to Poona in the first quarter of 1920 and had heart-to-heart discussions with Tilak at the latter's Sinhagarh residence. He had just then been elected President of the Bombay Home Rule League.

This is as far as day-to-day work and mutual co-operation in the political field are concerned, even when there were some differences of approach and attitude towards the problems of the day. The differences were always adjustable and capable of being bridged in the best interests of the country. But differences as to principles and philosophy of life were there and they would have always remained. Even these were not so great as is sought to be made out by some. But before dealing with them it will be better to follow Gandhiji's reactions to Tilak. Gandhiji first came to India from South Africa in 1895 to educate public opinion in India on the condition of Indians in South Africa. He met Ranade and Badruddin Tyabji. They sent him to Pherozeshah Mehta who made his way easy. Then he went to Poona and met Tilak and explained the purpose of his calling

on him. Tilak said, "You are quite right in asking the help of all parties. There can be no difference of opinion on the South African question. But you must have a non-party man for your President. Meet Dr. Bhandarkar. He has been taking no part, of late, in any public movement. But this question might possibly draw him out. See him and let me know what he says. I want to help you to the fullest extent. Of course, you will meet me whenever you like." After quoting these words, Gandhiji adds in his *Experiments with Truth*, "This was my first meeting with the Lokamanya. It revealed to me the secret of his unique popularity." Referring to this meeting again, after Tilak's death in the *Young India* dated 13th July, 1921 Gandhiji says, "I have no clear impression of Tilak, except to recall that he shook off my nervousness by his affectionate familiarity."

The occasion for making this reference and saying some other things arose out of someone calling Gandhiji an impostor because he had always described himself as a disciple of Gokhale "while really carrying on the work and tradition of Tilak". Gandhiji says:

"A strange anonymous letter has been received by me admiring me for having taken up a cause that was dearest to the Lokamanya's heart and telling me that his spirit was residing in me and that I must prove a worthy follower of his. The letter, moreover, admonishes me not to lose heart in the prosecution of the Swaraj programme and finishes off by accusing me of imposture in claiming to be politically a disciple of Gokhale. I wish, correspondents will throw off the slavish habit of writing anonymously. We, who are developing the Swaraj spirit, must cultivate the courage of fearlessly speaking out our minds. The subject-matter of the letter, however, being of public importance, demands a reply. I cannot claim the honour of being a follower of the late Lokamanya. I admire him like millions of his countrymen for his indomitable will, his vast learning, his love of country, and above all, the purity of his private life and great sacrifice. Of all the men of modern times, he captivated most the imagination of his people. He breathed into us the spirit of Swaraj. No one perhaps realized the evil of the existing system of Government as Tilak did. And in all humility, I claim to deliver his message to the country as truly as the best of his disciples. But I am conscious that my method is not his method and that is why I have still difficulty with some of the Maharashtra leaders. But, I sincerely think, that Tilak did not disbelieve in my method. I enjoyed the privilege of his confidence. And his last word to me in the presence of several friends was, just a fortnight before his death, that mine was an excellent method if the people could be persuaded to take to it. But he said he had his doubts. I know no other method. I can only hope that

when the final test comes the country will be proved to have assimilated the method of non-violent non-co-operation. Nor am I unaware of my other limitations. I can lay no claim to scholarship. I have not his powers of organization, I have no compact disciplined party to lead and having been an exile for 23 years, I cannot claim the experience that the Lokamanya had of India. Two things we had in common to the fullest measure —love of country and the steady pursuit of Swaraj. I can therefore assure the anonymous writer that yielding to none in my reverence for the memory of the deceased, I will march side by side with the foremost of Lokamanya's disciples in the pursuit of Swaraj. I know that the only offering acceptable to him is the quickest attainment of Swaraj by India. That and nothing else can give his spirit peace."

Under Gandhiji's leadership, India has attained Swaraj and true to his word Gandhiji has not only marched side by side with the foremost of Tilak's follower or followers, but excelled all of them and every other Indian in that march and Tilak's spirit must be resting in peace.

What Gandhiji wrote about Tilak after his death has already been quoted in the concluding portion of chapter I. In his Autobiography, he recalled those days and writing about Tilak, Gandhiji said :

"I felt the loss of the late Lokamanya very deeply at the special session. It has been my firm faith to this day that had the Lokamanya been then alive, he would have given his benedictions to me on that occasion. But even if it had been otherwise and he had opposed the movement, I should still have esteemed his opposition as a privilege and an education for myself. We had our differences of opinion always, but they never led to bitterness. He always allowed me to believe that the ties between us were the closest. Even as I write these lines, the circumstances of his death stand forth vividly before my mind's eye. It was the hour of midnight when Patwardhan (Appasaheb) who was then working with me conveyed over the telephone the news of his death. I was at that time surrounded by my companions. Spontaneously the exclamation escaped my lips: 'my strongest bulwark is gone.' The non-co-operation movement was then in full swing and I was eagerly looking forward to encouragement and inspiration from him. What his attitude would have been with regard to the final phase of non-co-operation will always be a matter of speculation and an idle one at that. But this much is certain; that the deep void left by his death weighed heavily upon everybody at Calcutta. Every one felt the absence of his counsels in that hour of crisis in the nation's history."

All of this should help to convince an unbiased reader to conclude that there existed no hostility between Tilak and Gandhi as Congressmen and as workers in the cause of India's Swaraj by

the method of passive resistance, non-violent non-co-operation or Satyagraha. Tilak would have gladly joined Gandhi in his experiments with truth through the method of Ahimsa. As Gandhiji says, " he did not disbelieve in it " and since it was not tried in the Gandhian way and with Gandhiji's prescription in every detail, Tilak would certainly have decided to give it a fair trial. As a matter of fact, all Tilak's followers led by Kelkar, with the exception of Baptista and Khaparde fell in line with Gandhiji at Calcutta, but all of them did not do it whole-heartedly. They had their mental reservations and they were unable to go against the current. Vithalbhai Patel appeared to have fallen completely in line. But even he, after the Bardoli episode changed his mind and also carried Motilal Nehru and Hakim Ajmal Khan with him as the report of the Civil Disobedience Inquiry Committee of the Congress later made clear. Kelkar bore the brunt of adverse criticism for his leading the revolt against the non-co-operation programme after Bardoli, but Patel and Nehru and Das also were of his view, more or less. There was some difference between Kelkar and the others which manifested itself later and the Kelkar-Jayakar-Aney-Moonje section of the Swaraj Party was formed. It is not necessary to go into all that. It is enough to say that when Kelkar, Khadilkar, Aney, Moonje, Patel, Bhopatkar, Jamnadas Mehta had all submitted to Gandhi, Tilak would have done the same or might have asked a concession from Gandhi only as regards the legislatures and Gandhi might have given it as he later did in the case of the Swaraj Party recognizing it as a wing of the Congress. Romain Rolland in his *Mahatma Gandhi* says on page 29-30 : "If Tilak had lived, Gandhi would no doubt have remained, a religious (spiritual leader of the movement. How magnificently the people of India would have marched on such a double leadership ! They would have been irresistible, for Tilak was a master of action just as Gandhi is a master of spiritual power. But fate decided otherwise." There is reason to believe that with Tilak and Vithalbhai Patel to lead the parliamentary wing of the Congress, the non-co-operation programme might have brought Swaraj nearer but the temptation to discuss " might have beens " must be overcome. Let it be noted here that even while delirious in his last illness Tilak was making inquiries about the arrival of Gandhiji although

he had seen him only two weeks before and discussed with him all questions of moment.

Now what does Gandhiji mean when he says, "I am conscious that my method is not his method"? Enough light is thrown on this when the veil on the Amritsar Congress Subjects Committtee discussions is lifted. Tilak thought that Gandhiji was leaning too much on the side of the bureaucracy and the British statesmanship when he accepted their bona fides without question. In the opinion of Tilak, their antecedents did not justify that kind of trust, while Gandhiji rejected the idea of having mental reservations once he was out to co-operate. Tilak said he would find that out before long. And indeed Gandhiji did, because failing to perceive any real sign of change of heart on the part of the bureaucracy or the British statesmanship when the Punjab and Khilafat wrongs remained unredressed, he turned a complete non-co-operator. But still his method did not imply retaliation or vindictiveness. Even non-co-operation proceeded from the feeling of love and goodwill. Here comes in precisely the consideration of method. Writing on the Reforms Resolution passed by the Amritsar Congress, Gandhiji said, "Tilak represents a school of thought of which he makes no secret. He considers that everything is fair in politics. We have joined issue with him in that conception of political life. We consider that political life of the country will become thoroughly corrupt, if we import western tactics and methods. We believe that nothing but the strictest adherence to honesty, fairplay and charity can advance the true interests of the country." Tilak promptly objected to such presentation of his view and wrote to *Young India* under date Poona city, January 28, 1920 saying :

"I am sorry to see that in your article on the Reforms Resolution in that issue you represented me as holding that I considered everything fair in politics. I write this to you to say that my view is not correctly represented therein. Politics is a game of worldly people and not of Sadhus and instead of the maxim *Akkodhen Jine Kkodham* as preached by Buddha, I prefer to rely on the maxim of Shri Krishna : *Ye Yetha Mam Prapadyante Tans Tathaiva Bhajamyaham*. That explains the whole difference and also the meaning of my phrase of responsive co-operation. Both methods are equally honest and righteous. But the one is more suited to this world than the other. Any further explanation about the difference will be found in my *Geeta-Rahasya*."

This discussion is to be met with in the third chapter of the *Geeta-Rahasya,* entitled "Karmajidnasa" and the chapter "Siddhavastha ani Vyavahara".

Mahatma Gandhi replied to this as follows:

"I feel naturally the greatest diffidence about joining issue with the Lokamanya in matters involving questions of interpretation of religious works. But there are things in or about which instinct transcends even interpretation. The Buddhist text lays down an eternal principle. For me, there is no conflict between the two texts quoted by the Lokamanya. The text from the Geeta shows to me how the principle of conquering hate by love, untruth by truth, can and must be applied. If it be true that God metes out the same measure to us that we mete out to others, it follows that if we escape condign punishment, we may not return anger for anger, but gentleness even against anger. And this is the law not for the unworldly but essentially for the worldly. With deference to the Lokamanya, I venture to say that it betrays mental laziness to think that the world is not for Sadhus. The epitome of all religions is to promote *Purushartha* and *Purushartha* is nothing but a desperate attempt to become Sadhu, i.e. to become gentleman in every sense of the term.

"Finally, when I wrote the sentence, about everything being fair in politics according to the Lokamanya's creed I had in mind the oft-repeated quotation *Shatham Prati Shathyam.* To me it enunciates bad law. And I shall not despair of the Lokamanya with all his acumen agreeably surprising India one day with a philosophical dissertation proving the falsity of that doctrine. In any case I pit the experience of a third of a century against the doctrine underlying *Shatham Prati Shathyam.* The true law is *Shatham Prati Api Satyam.*"

With what humility and with what great respect for Tilak, Gandhiji wrote and yet with what perfect self-confidence! This was in the year 1920. In one place Gandhiji says: "After many a chat with the Lokamanya, I had come to see that on some vital matters, we would never agree. Drawing illustrations from his inexhaustible store of Sanskrit learning, he used to challenge my interpretation of life, frankly and bluntly. He would say truth and untruth were only relative terms, but at bottom there was no such thing as truth and untruth, just as there was no such thing as life and death. I could not resist the abstract presentation." Having all this in mind and also the Sinhagarh conversations in his memory, it is but natural that Gandhiji should speak of difference between his method and that of Tilak and all the other Nationalist advocates of passive resistance during the post-partition period. There was preparedness to suffer for breach of law and faith in the justness and

righteousness of what they were doing but they were not non-violent in thought and sometimes in word. They were non-violent only deed. Gandhiji's insistence is on absolute non-violence and that is probably why he dropped the phrase passive resistance and adopted later the phrase non-violent non-co-operation and still later Satyagraha. But at present even this term is being abused limitlessly. The same thing precisely happened to Tilak's phrase "responsive co-operation" when handled by Jayakar and Kelkar and the Liberal Party leaders.

Even while dealing with practical politics, it becomes necessary to discuss their fundamental approaches to life. Tilak's approach is that of a patriot and a statesman. Gandhi's approach is that of a saint. The former's constitution is that of a *Kshatriya, Rajasa*; the latter's that of a *Brahmana, Sattvika*. Gandhi is essentially and basically a universalist, a humanitarian; Tilak is overwhelmingly a patriot and Nationalist, only secondarily a humanitarian. Gandhiji once said, "Patriotism is, for me, the same as humanity. I am patriotic, because I am human and humane. It is not exclusive. I will not hurt England or Germany to serve India. A patriot is so much the less of a patriot if he is a lukewarm humanitarian." How many of India's patriots could have honestly said it or can say it now? For that matter, patriots from any country will not be in a position to say this. But so long as Gandhiji was the leader of the Swaraj movement he insisted on his connotation of patriotism to be loyally accepted. If that was not acceptable, he was ready to give up leadership. He could be a leader only on his terms. For he said, "I have recognized that the nation has the right if it so wills to vindicate her freedom even by actual violence. Only then India ceases to be the land of my love, though she be the land of my birth, even as I should take no pride in my mother, if she went astray." Such has never been the belief of the average patriot or nationalist. Any one of them would be ready to hurt any other country to serve India and no qualms of conscience would be experienced by them.

The whole of Gandhiji's social philosophy as explained originally in his *Hind Swaraj* and propagated later from time to time and developed further by Vinoba is meant not for the consumption of India alone, but of the whole world. Such a

thing was never there in Tilak's consciousness, or in any other contemporary patriot's. Tilak must be classed with De Valera, Zaghlul Pasha, Sun-yat-Sen, Subhas Chandra Bose and Mazzini, but Gandhi has to be classed with Buddha and Christ. Among the makers of modern India, Ranade had the necessary mental equipment and saintly psychological make-up to play the role that Gandhiji played. Persons of such constitution can, in any age, be benefactors of humanity but the times and circumstances in which they are born, necessarily create limitations for them which they cannot get over. Buddha and Christ did not have the present day equipment and facilities to spread their message of human brotherhood. Gandhiji with all his old world externals fully exploited the means made available by modern civilization and has achieved even much greater results than Buddha or Christ could. If a World State, human brotherhood and abolition of all strife on earth are ever to be achieved, it will only be achieved by following Gandhi, the universalist, Gandhi, the humanitarian, and not a patriot from any country or clime nor any pseudo-universalist believing in the employment of force for establishing God's fatherhood and man's brotherhood on this earth. A votary of Truth and Ahimsa like Gandhiji, working for the moral, material and spiritual well-being of humanity, devoid of the slightest selfishness or consciousness of ego and in harness for twenty-four hours of the day can, if ever, modify or reform what has been described as eternal human nature.

It is the difference in attitude towards life's problems and formulation of social philosophy that makes Tilak and Gandhi deduce different conclusions from the same Geeta. To Tilak the Geeta ultimately teaches war, to Gandhi, peace. According to formal logic, Tilak's conclusion is correct, but according to Gandhi that is not the connotation, if Geeta is read as a whole ; no matter what the beginning, middle and conclusion of the work point to. For Gandhi, Geeta's lesson is truth and non-violence. To him, " instinct transcends interpretation." He throws off the slavery of the texts and his intellect refuses to be guided by commentators and grammarians. In a sense, he despises scholarship and learning which he seems to consider as only verbosity and pedantry, because to him they cause confusion and prevent right understanding. If all your learning and all

your powers of interpretation lead you only to conclude that the disorder and the chaos that has prevailed on this earth because strife in human life is perpetual and eternal and you rationalize to establish that the world was like this and so will it eternally remain, composed of *Sattva*, *Raja* and *Tama* and it will never be homogeneously *Sattvika*, why are we human beings gifted with brains and how are we different from animals ? That is the challenge Gandhiji wanted to take up and all genuine humanitarians must take up, if his line is to be continued and is to tread on this earth to fulfil his great aspiration. It is the job of a rival Creator, as it were, demanding the capacity and penance of a Vishwamitra who was the rival of God Brahmadeva, according to the Puranas. This may not be quite a far, far cry, because we have been lucky in having a Vinoba after Gandhi and the whole trend of world affairs points to the direction of human brotherhood in the midst of the interaction of forces to the contrary.

Gandhiji was fully aware that he was living in an imperfect world, that he himself was far from perfect in spite of his "having reached the high-water mark of Indian humanity" and therefore, although he placed truth and non-violence, above everything else, as fundamental and paramount principles of reconstruction of the world, they had to be conditioned and limited in this work-a-day world by certain factors which, again, were due to our imperfections, foibles and weaknesses or a less developed stage of our civilization and culture than the one we may look forward to. He expressed himself repeatedly on these lines in *Young India* and *Harijan*. While considering this aspect of his thought-process, we come across parallel, if not identical, positions taken up by Tilak and Gandhi from the ethical point of view. Both of them have regarded truth and non-violence as the supreme laws for the attainment of universal material and spiritual happiness and contentment. There is a belief abroad that Tilak was a supporter of violence and untruth if they served the interests of society but it is not supported by what he writes in the *Geeta-Rahasya*. He justifies occasional and rare untruth and violence as exceptions in the imperfect society in which we find ourselves. Lesser evils have sometimes to be chosen and it is only in that context that he does it. The same is the case with Gandhiji. He

is regarded as a hundred per cent upholder of truth and non-violence. But he also recognized exceptions in the same way as Tilak did. Some of the chapters in the *Geeta-Rahasya* and Gandhiji's series of articles entitled "Is It Humanity?" in *Young India* are worth comparing in this connection. Gandhiji wrote this series to justify the killing of stray and rabid dogs in Ahmedabad. Discussing the letters received by him for and against, he sums up as follows:

"Thus we arrive at the following result from the foregoing: (1) It is impossible to sustain one's body without the destruction of other bodies to some extent; (2) All have to destroy some life, (a) for sustaining their own bodies, (b) for protecting those under their care, (c) sometimes for the sake of those whose life is taken; (3) (a) and (b) in (2) mean Himsa to a greater or less extent. (c) means no Himsa and is therefore Ahimsa. Himsa in (a) and (b) is unavoidable. (4) A progressive Ahimsaist will, therefore, commit the Himsa contained in (a) and (b) as little as possible, only when it is unavoidable and after full and mature deliberation and having exhausted all remedies to avoid it. And, therefore, although there can be no absolute duty to kill dogs etc., it becomes a necessary duty for certain people, at certain times and under certain circumstances."

Gandhiji does not apply this reasoning in regard to animals only but human beings also. In this very series of articles he says:

"Suppose a man runs amuck and goes furiously about sword in hand, and killing anyone that comes his way, and no one dares to capture him alive. Anyone who despatches this lunatic will earn the gratitude of the community and be regarded a benevolent man. From the point of view of Ahimsa, it is the plain duty of every one to kill such a man. There is indeed one exception if it can be so called. The yogi who can subdue the fury of this dangerous man may not kill him. But we are not here dealing with beings who have almost reached perfection; we are considering the duty of the society, of the ordinary erring human beings."

Gandhiji was by no means the first to declare the ideal of non-violent or unarmed revolution in India, nor is that his claim. Tilak and Aravinda Ghose had also declared it. In one of his speeches Aravinda says, "On their fidelity to Swadeshi, to boycott, to passive resistance, rested the hope of a peaceful and spiritual revolution. On that it depended whether India would give the example unprecedented in history of a revolution worked only by moral force and peaceful pressure." Both Tilak and Aravinda had experienced the consciousness of having started such a revolution. But their temperaments and

habits of life did not fit them for the task. They had already practised the doctrine of *Shatham Prati Shathyam* for long and had disqualified themselves for a non-violent struggle based on the doctrine *Shatham Prati Api Satyam*. They were feeling consciously or sub-consciously the need of such a guide. Gandhiji answered that need in course of time. Before leaving for Pondicherry, Aravinda wrote :

> "The party is there, not less pervading and powerful as before but in want of a policy and a leader. The first it may find, the second, only God can give. The men who have led hitherto, have been strong men of high gifts and commanding genius, great enough to be protagonists of any other movement; but even they were not sufficient to satisfy one which is the chief current of a world-wide revolution. Therefore, the Nationalist Party, custodians of the future must await for the man who is to come, calm in the midst of calamity, hopeful under defeat, sure of eventual emergence of triumph and always mindful of the responsibility which they owe not only to India, but to the world."

The yearning of Aravinda's heart was reflected in Tilak's anxiety in his talks with Gandhiji in whom he had recognized the required general to lead an army of non-violent soldiers to conquer the fortress of Swaraj. His intellectual perception had a vision of a non-violent, bloodless political revolution in India. He had realized that *Shatham Prati Satyam* was the way to take humanity to a higher cultural level and he did not consider any lesser person to be able to practise that doctrine. He knew that it was preached not only by Buddha and Christ but by the Upanishads also and when he saw that there was a man who could wield that weapon, he would have entertained hopes about him and stood by his side. He differed from Gandhi not as regards ultimate principles but as regards the reading of given situations. More than that, he realized that he was not fit to be a commander of such a campaign. There are admissions to that effect in his discussion with Khadilkar, two or three weeks before his death. In any case, one thing is certain. Their moral standpoints were not only not different, but similar, almost the same. It is a thousand pities that there was not a dictaphone to record the Gandhi-Tilak dialogues on the Sinhagarh Hill or that none thought it worth while to keep authentic notes of them, duly approved by either. That would have put a stop to all intelligent or unintelligent guess-work that interpreters have to indulge in.

CHAPTER XXXIII

SOME LESS KNOWN ASPECTS

What were considered by the author as most important episodes and salient aspects of Tilak's life and career have been reviewed in the foregoing chapters. There still remain a number of things which he did but have not been dealt with. A movement for the Indian calendar reform, for instance, greatly interested him and he devoted some of his time and energy to it. He believed in a single script being adopted for all Indian languages derived from Sanskrit. He heartily welcomed, therefore, the adoption of Devanagari for Gujarati in his State work by the Ruler of Baroda. He was not a Theosophist himself, but in 1904 he was accused of being a partisan of the Theosophical Society and Mrs. Annie Besant. Explaining his position in this behalf, he wrote in the *Kesari* dated March 29, 1904, saying :

"Theosophy is not an independent religion. Theosophy preaches that Hindus, Muslims, Christians, Zoroastrians, Buddhists and Jains should conduct themselves according to their beliefs in everyday life but should recognize the fundamentals of all religions to be the same and live in peace with one another. Theosophy does not ask anybody to give up his ancestral faith. It is an institution of well-meaning, benevolently minded persons which preaches brotherhood of man and fatherhood of God. Theosophists believe in some occult and mystic principles which may not be found agreeable by many, but their propaganda in favour of promoting fellow-feeling among the followers of different religions is surely commendable. Although the Central Hindu College at Banaras is mainly run by Theosophists, still it must be remembered that it is not a Theosophist College but a Hindu College. The two main exponents of Theosophy are Col. Alcott and Mrs. Besant. While Col. Alcott is more inclined towards Buddhism, Mrs. Besant is more inclined towards Hinduism. So Col. Alcott has started Buddhist Schools in Ceylon and Mrs. Besant has started the Central Hindu School and College at Banaras. Even while agreeing with the principles of Theosophy, one can continue to have special regard for a particular religion and Mrs. Besant, though a Theosophist, is a Hindu by religion. She is fully qualified to expound Hinduism to Hindus. She is a foreigner, no doubt, and that itself in the eyes of many, is her overwhelming disqualification. We frankly do not hold that view. On the other hand, we believe that the expressions of great regard for Hinduism by such persons as Max Muller, Dawson and Besant are very valuable. Hinduism has been flourishing for thousands of years while Theosophy is a very recent faith and the service Theosophists have rendered to Hinduism by presenting its fundamental tenets in a new and attractive garb is such as we should be grateful for. It should be remembered that Theosophy has been instrumental in

reclaiming many who had turned their back against Hinduism and were looking for inspiration elsewhere."

Tilak also justified the national anthem that the students recited as prayer everyday in the Central Hindu School and College and affirmed that whatever was being done there in the name of Hinduism did no harm to Hinduism. As is commonly known the Banaras Hindu University grew out of this College.

Tilak wrote on a number of occasions about the Indian Princes and their administrations. He held that the Princes could do a great deal for their country from their privileged positions consistently with their dignity, self-respect and treaty obligations to the British Power. He recognized that there were varying degrees of independence as regards internal administration and with proper advisers and councillors they had opportunities for achieving a good deal. Reference has already been made to what wealthy merchants and Princes could do to promote Swadeshi industries by making capital available to deserving persons and corporations while quoting what Tilak said in regard to Jamshedji Tata. Tilak was further of the opinion that the Princes need not play only second fiddle to the British Political Agents and follow their whims or introduce wasteful western forms, habits and novelties in their States, but promote the welfare of their own people and fellow Indians. He found fault with the Rulers of Baroda and Mysore when they stopped their mints and adopted the coinage of British India while they had a right to their own coinage. It was a symbol of partial sovereignty and it should not have been surrendered in his opinion. On the other hand they should have introduced gold coins which had fallen into disuse, so that Britain might have been induced more easily to follow suit. He also blamed the Ruler of Baroda for introducing the Arms Act in his State. He regretted that the Rulers did not realize that the privileges of having their own ordnance factories, separate distinctive coinage and passing sentences indicated a superior status of rulership. When the Maharaja of Kolhapur introduced the principle of dividing Government jobs between Marathas and others in 50:50 proportion he gave the warning that it was a premium on inefficiency. It was a wrong principle to distribute jobs on a communal basis; no community must be debarred

from holding any job when a member thereof was fit and qualified. Whenever there was any conflict between the British Power and the Princes his natural inclination was on the side of the Princes.

That Tilak was a scholar and a political leader of pre-eminence is known to every one, but few would be aware that he had an eye for mechanics, sculpture, and paintings. He always wanted to keep himself informed about what new machines were being made, what new inventions and discoveries were being made, what improvement was there in photography and so on. He subscribed to journals like the *Scientific American*, *Trade Journal*, *Textile Journal* and called for catalogues and year-books of various industries from abroad. He evinced keen interest in the printing industry and its mechanical side. He wanted new type faces and improvement in casting types. His was an engineer's brain. He had certain very special improvements made in his house after it was purchased from Sir Sayajirao Gaikwad, so as to provide the conveniences and facilities required by his wife. He planned them himself. His mind was also working on making a model of a lino-type machine with Devanagari characters. In chapter III reference has already been made of his having written a book on mechanics when he was a teacher in the New English School and Fergusson College and helped Prof. Gole to fly a baloon, although it was not his subject at all. About his proficiency in mathematics, Paranjpye and Gokhale often spoke with very great regard and admiration both of whom were mathematicians. Curiously enough, he had no interest in music or dance or drama. His only recreation was Rigveda, Astronomy and the Mahabharata. The last book was his constant companion and he insisted that all members of the *Kesari-Mahratta* staff must study the Mahabharata because it was a great liberal education to think about the many problems that the characters in the epic had to face. His counsel was faithfully accepted by Khadilkar, whose writings bear testimony to it. Khadilkar wove a number of his plays on plots from the Mahabharata and invested them with new meanings and interpretations, consistently with the original content. Another member of the staff, the late Mr. D. G. Limaye wrote three books on the Mahabharata, to one of which Tilak contributed a foreword. Kelkar

also was a good student of the Mahabharata, though not as close and deep as Khadilkar and he also wrote a couple of plays on stories from the Mahabharata. Such was Tilak's regard for that great epic. He wrote a series of articles on the subject in the *Kesari* on the pretext of reviewing the late Mr. C. V. Vaidya's *Mahabharata — A Criticism* and showed that he was even a more intense student of it than Mr. Vaidya himself. Such were the man's intellectual interests and pursuits.

The second volume of the *Source Material for a History of the Freedom Movement,* collected from Bombay Government records and published by the Government of Bombay in 1958 has quoted an extract from a letter of July, 1909 addressed to the Government of Burma by Mr. B. S. Carey, C.I.E., Officiating Commissioner, Mandalay Division from the Judicial Department File No. 1223 of 1912 which says :

"Lieutenant Fennel, who took Tilak to Meiktila, tells me that the prisoner spoke most openly to him on the journey and told him that the moment he was released he should recommence his preaching and teaching against the British. He said that he knew law as well as any man and that had he but been a little more careful in choosing his words he could never have been convicted. He says that the British are treating India better than any other foreigners would treat her, but no foreigner has a right to rule India, and no amount of trying to do right can count against the initial wrong done by the administration of the country by the British. He says that he will run his newspaper again and that he will devote his life to getting the British turned out of the country. He quotes Japan and Russia, and he says that India will rise before long, already the people are preparing or being prepared and the Indian Empire will live and outlast the British Empire, which like all Empires must crumble. He confesses that our departure will be followed by years of bitter warfare, but one race or one religious body will conquer and will rule, and India will be for better or for worse ruled by her own sons."

If this is a correct version of the conversation between Tilak and Lt. Fennel, as it appears to be in substance, Tilak's political attitude as it was a year after his second conviction for sedition becomes obvious for any one to study.

There are numerous points still left untouched on which he has said something thought-provoking at some time or other and they can be almost endlessly tackled. But instead of taking that indulgence, it would be better to attempt to say what moral and intellectual qualities made him what he was. He could scarcely be said to have had any private life, but such as it was,

it was universally acknowledged to be spotlessly clean, even by his worst opponents and it was established to be so even in the highest courts of justice, though it was sedulously attempted to be proved otherwise by a strange conspiracy between Tai Maharaj, the Maharaja of Kolhapur and British officialdom. He was a much misunderstood, much misrepresented, much maligned man. It was only after his return from Mandalay Jail and since then till the time of his death that he was regarded as the only Indian who spoke for all India and who was acknowledged as the only leader, head and shoulders above every one else. But all his previous life was a continuous struggle with the bureaucracy and his own confreres very much like Shivaji and Shri Krishna. His leadership was questioned at every step by his opponents and Government was out to kill him politically. After the break-up at Surat. Sir Pherozeshah Mehta said to a press representative, " Mr. Tilak is now politically dead." Far from it, Tilak lived to see Pherozeshah dead not only physically but politically too. He had some superhuman qualities. He once told Prof. Jinsiwale whom he held in very high esteem, " I am a man of dry emotion." That was literally true. He burst into tears frequently while writing Agarkar's obituary and experienced similar emotional strain while writing the obituaries of Ranade, Namjoshi and Gokhale, but he was unmoved in that way when his son, Vishwanath, died of plague. That did not disturb his normal routine. When he was informed that another of his sons had an attack of fever and it was suspected to be an attack of plague, he remained undisturbed, finished the dictation of the article for the next issue of the *Kesari* and then looked after his son's needs. He kept wholly unruffled in the midst of the criminal action against him in connection with the Tai Maharaj case and commanded enough equanimity of mind to dictate chapters of the *Arctic Home in the Vedas* to his writer.

Had he not been married at the early age of 16 by his father he would probably have remained a celibate, so as to be wholly free to pursue his scholarly pursuits and service of the people. Writing in 1892 on grown-up men taking second wives instead of remaining unmarried or marrying widows he said :

" We do not advocate celibacy for all young men. It would be madness to do so, but a few people must be discouraged from entering into wedlock ;

men who do so twice, thrice or even four times. One may not remain unmarried altogether. But second marriages of men must be discouraged. Such men can then be available for public work of their liking and taste. It need not be necessarily political work. There are many who shower panegyrics on Max Muller for his learning but no one stops to consider that it became possible for Max Muller to be so learned and to write so many scholarly works, because he was a celibate. Such men free from private shackles and personal commitments alone could dare and venture and achieve something worth while."

This kind of writing when he had just entered public life is some indication of what he would have done, if left to himself. From 1907 to 1920, he never knew what it was to taste good food or relish a pet dish. He ate because he had to live, fighting his diabetes. He was once presented a bottle of Brahmi hair oil by a manufacturer, thinking it would be serviceable to a brain worker that Tilak was. He thanked the manufacturer, who was one Shinde, saying that he was sorry he could not use it, because he never used any oil for his head and he had a kind of dislike for it. Such were his ascetic habits. He hated all softness and delicacy. The only luxury he allowed himself was bits of areca-nuts and iced soda water in the hot season. He was also fond of good tea.

What made him so uncommon so as to look almost superhuman ? His indomitable courage was one such supreme quality. His spontaneous philanthropy was another supreme quality. Absence of jealousy was a third very remarkable quality ; forthrightness to a rare degree, appreciation of the good points in others, extreme simplicity, total absence of conceit, dogged determination and preparedness to sacrifice to the utmost for whatever he undertook to do were some of his qualities that made him uncommon or superhuman. The proper word to use is yogi. He was a living embodiment of the philosophy and ethics that he propounded in his *Geeta-Rahasya.*

It is impossible to keep count of the newspaper and platform tributes paid to Tilak after his death as well as those that are showered on him from year to year. Similarly, it is equally impossible to keep count of the memorials raised to him. Their variety itself is baffling. There are statues, busts, lecture halls, schools, colleges, buildings, roads, newspapers, endowments for scholarships and prizes in universities, factories, mills, and books dedicated to his memory and these have by no means

stopped yet. Some of them, however, must be mentioned. The fund of one crore of rupees which was raised under the auspices of the Indian National Congress at the instance of Mahatma Gandhi was a unique memorial. It was called the Lokamanya Tilak Swaraj Memorial Fund. It actually exceeded one crore by a few lakhs. The statue on the Chowpatty sands is also an extraordinary memorial in that while allowing his body to be cremated there, it was laid down as a condition that no enclosure or statue or anything of the kind would be allowed to be raised there. But Government later yielded to popular pressure. This memorial was invested with additional grandeur when opposite Tilak's statue was raised a few years later Vithalbhai Patel's statue. It is a constant reminder to the students of the careers of the two patriots, that although the two men were of one mind as regards the political strategy that was to be adopted with the introduction of the Montford Reforms, they were unable to meet and finalize it, because one of them was on his death-bed and the other was on the high seas speeding his way up to meet him after finishing his work in England. The proximity of the two statues is symbolic of their unfulfilled desire for consultations in this mortal world. The Kesari-Mahratta institution transformed into a public trust by Tilak's sons after his death in deference to his wishes expressed in a will left by him, will also remain for ever as one of the noteworthy memorials to Tilak.

The Indian National Congress took the lead in celebrating Tilak's birth centenary from July 23 to August 1, 1956 and the whole nation implicitly and cheerfully followed that lead. For ten days, the whole nation was in the midst of a great festival. From the President of the Indian Union to a peasant in the field, everybody joined in the celebration. Newspapers and periodicals published special issues, reviewing his career and dwelling on the lessons of his life; speeches were delivered from thousands of pulpits; the All India Radio organized special features every day from its many stations, the Government and the people joining hands in doing everything that could be done to express their gratitude to the illustrious patriot. Both the birth and death anniversaries of the year were declared public holidays. There was unprecedented enthusiasm throughout the country. The Congress appointed an all-party committee of

about 60 persons to organize the centenary celebration, with Shri Morarji Desai as Chairman. The committee was unable to carry out all its plans. But one of the plans was an eminent success. The committee announced a prize of Rs. 10,000 for the best biography in English. There were 31 manuscripts submitted. The committee's panel of judges found three of these as of equal merit and the prize was equally divided among the three. This book is one of them.

Some of the new memorials raised to Tilak on the occasion of the centenary are of a remarkable character. The most prominent among them is the tablet at the Bombay High Court. The Chief Minister of Bombay and the Chief Justice of the Bombay High Court were the recipients of congratulations from everywhere for their highly imaginative move, whereby Tilak was invested with due official honour in the very room of the High Court, in which he was twice held guilty of sedition. The plaque which Chief Justice Chagla unveiled on July 24, 1956 contains those very words that Tilak spontaneously uttered while addressing Justice Davar on July 22, 1908, viz. "In spite of the verdict of the Jury I maintain that I am innocent. There are higher powers that rule the destiny of men and nations and it may be the will of Providence that the cause I represent may prosper more by my suffering than by my remaining free."

While unveiling it, Chief Justice Chagla said:

"In this very room, on two occasions within the space of 12 years, Tilak sat in the dock as an accused and on both the occasions he was convicted and sentenced to a term of imprisonment. We have met here today to make atonement for the suffering that was caused by these convictions to a great and distinguished son of India. That disgrace tarnished our record and we are here to remove that tarnish and that disgrace. It may be said that those convictions were a technical compliance with justice, but we are here emphatically to state that they were a flagrant denial of substantial justice. He was sentenced because he loved his country more than his life or liberty. The verdict that our contemporaries passed on us and the verdict that our times passed on us are not of much value. We must always await the inevitable verdict of history and the inevitable verdict of history is that those two convictions are condemned as having been intended to suppress the voice of freedom and patriotism and the action of Tilak has been justified as the right of every individual to fight for his country. Those two convictions have gone into oblivion — oblivion reserved by history for all unworthy deeds."

The Chief Justice stated that Tilak had brought politics to the masses. He made it an open conspiracy. He proudly proclaimed that Swaraj was his birthright and he lit the fire of freedom in every home which Gandhiji ultimately fanned into a mighty conflagration. If Gandhiji gave us the weapons with which to fight for freedom, Tilak gave us the flag, the war cry, and the drums with which to go into battle. The Chief Justice continued, "Tilak was a Maharashtrian. He spoke and wrote in Marathi, but he was not parochial. His appeal was always to nationalism. He made politics into a religion and he taught people to give to patriotism and to the love of the country that passion and that devotion which they gave to their religion. If today this High Court is functioning in a free India, if there is an Indian presiding as the Chief Justice of this High Court, let us remember that it is in no small measure due to the suffering and sacrifice of Tilak."

Recalling his young days, the Chief Justice said that Tilak was always his hero and observed : "I remember that the first time I ever visited the High Court was to see Tilak. Mr. Justice Bachelor and Mr. Justice Shah were hearing an appeal against his conviction. I remember Jinnah appeared for Tilak and that was the first time I saw Tilak in court. After the judgment was delivered and he was acquitted, I have a vivid memory of Jinnah turning round and shaking hands with Tilak. Much as Jinnah changed in later life, he always had the greatest admiration for Tilak. I had never known him say anything except the most laudatory things about the work and sacrifice and suffering of Tilak." It may be added that even after Pakistan came into being Jinnah warned the Karachi vandals to leave Tilak's statue alone.

A portrait at India House, London which was presented by the Kesari-Mahratta Trust was unveiled by Prime Minister Nehru on July 18. Speaking on the occasion he said, "I have no doubt that in Indian history, Lokamanya Tilak will be revered as the Father of the Indian Revolution for the way in which he built it, prepared people for it and when his strength failed, handed down the torch to Mahatma Gandhi. There can be nothing more fitting at India House than this portrait, a great symbol of India's fight for freedom." A portrait presented by the Centenary Committee to the Parliament House, New

Delhi was also unveiled by Pandit Nehru. A portrait at the Bombay Council Hall was installed by Mr. Morarji Desai at the invitation of Speaker Kunte. A special significance attached to this function because, when Tilak died even a condolence resolution was disallowed notwithstanding the fact that he was an ex-member of the Bombay Council. A bust and a library in Tilak's name at Sardargriha at the hands of Shri Hare Krishna Mehtab also constituted a remarkable memorial because Tilak breathed his last there. Still one more posthumous memorial that should be mentioned is the projected hall and library which is being built by the India and Burma Governments in Mandalay Jail, whose inmates besides Lokamanya Tilak, were Lala Lajpatrai and Subhas Chandra Bose.

It will be appropriate to close the story of Tilak's life with what Vinoba said in one of his prayer discourses during the month of February 1958. He said:

"In whatever Tilak did, he had all India in his mind. Because his flesh and bones were burnt in Bombay, there may be a statue of his in Bombay. Because he lived in Poona, there may be more memorials to him in brick and mortar. Because he wrote a good deal in Marathi, Marathi language and literature may take pride in his writings. But he did not take pride in the fact that he was born a Brahman and in Maharashtra and spoke Marathi. Although he belonged to Maharashtra and had his residence in Poona, India occupied his mind and thoughts. Tilak was one of those seers of Maharashtra who thought of all India. Tilak put Maharashtra in one of his pockets and fought for all India. Whoever is intent on service has necessarily to do so in a specific and limited field. But even when fixed in a particular place or a particular location what matters is the emotion, the mentality, the spirit behind that service. The black pebble called *Shaligram* is a limited concept, a small thing, but I see in it representation of the omnicient, omnipresent Almighty, that pervades the animate and the inanimate world.

"Tilak had such breadth of vision. It was India-wide. It was there in him from very early days. When Bengal rose, he ran to help Bengal. He prepared Maharashtra to stand by Bengal's side. When Bengal has taken the field, we must join her in the field; whatever is her misery is our misery — that was his way of thinking. It is because he had this breadth of vision, this all-pervading patriotism which conceived all India as his motherland that he became the soul of *Bharatamata*, even though he was only an inhabitant of Poona."

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